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JAMES MACPHERSON ESQ.R

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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

RESTORATION,

TO THE ACCESSION OF THE

HOUSE OF HANNOVER.

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By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE Papers of the Family of BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURGH, and thoſe of the Houſe of STUART, having been placed in the hands of the Author of the following volumes, he was encouraged to write the HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, during a very important period. The new light thrown upon public tranſactions, the diſcoveries made in the ſecret views of parties, the certainty eſtabliſhed with regard to the real characters of particular perſons, and the undeviating juſtice rendered to all, will, he hopes, atone for his defects as a writer, and recommend his work to the public. Unwilling to advance any matter of fact, without proof, he has printed his materials; and, for their authenticity, he refers the reader to the papers themſelves.

IN the dates of great events, in facts which fell under public diſcuſſion, in deciſions of importance, in the ſtate of debts, taxes, grants, and ſupplies, he has availed himſelf of the records and journals of the two houſes of parliament. In the detail of battles he has followed the beſt military writers; in well-known events, the authors who wrote in the times. In deſcribing the ſecret ſprings of action, the

private negociations of parties, the intrigues of miniſters, and the motives of ſovereigns, he has followed unerring guides, original papers. In relating the affairs of Great Britain, he has frequently introduced a ſummary of the affairs of Europe. He has conſulted, with the utmoſt attention, the beſt writers of foreign nations; and endeavoured to give a comprehenſive view of the ſtate of other countries, in order to throw a more complete light on our own.

WHERE the facts are important and but little known, the authorities have been carefully quoted. Where their truth is univerſally admitted, the author has been leſs anxious about the preciſion of his citations. To crowd a margin with the names of different writers, is an eaſy, and, perhaps, a [illegible] In the eyes of the ſuperficial, the expedient might eſtabliſh an opinion of an Author's induſtry and knowledge; but it would have little effect on the judicious, from whoſe deciſion he has moſt to hope and to fear. To the latter it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that he has conſulted, on every point, a greater number of printed works, than he would chuſe to cite at the bottom of any page. He has taken no fact, in all its circumſtances, from any one writer. His narrative is the general reſult of an intenſe inquiry into what has been advanced on all ſides.

IN recording events, every poſſible attention has been paid to the order of time. The dates have been carefully inveſtigated;

inveſtigated; and, where they are not interwoven with the work, are placed at the bottom of the page. In matters already known and admitted, a comprehenſive brevity has been ſtudied. No circumſtance, however, has been neglected, no fact overlooked, that was thought either material in itſelf, or conducive to throw light on events of real importance. The intrigues of the cabinet have been more minutely recorded than the operations of the field. In the deſcription of battles, ſieges, and naval engagements, the Author has endeavoured to be conciſe. But he has marked the outlines of military operations with a preciſion that brings forward the whole figure diſtinctly to the view.

WHERE the tranſactions are moſt important, and leaſt known, the greateſt labour and time have been beſtowed. The intrigues which preceded the Revolution, and were partly the cauſe of that event, are inveſtigated at an early period, and traced through their whole progreſs. The circumſtances of the Revolution itſelf have been examined with the utmoſt care, and the moſt undeviating attention to truth. The events that immediately followed the acceſſion of William and Mary, particularly the affairs of Ireland, have employed a great deal of time, as they have hitherto been very imperfectly known. The negociations of King James in France, his ſecret intrigues with his former ſubjects, have been carefully connected with the great line of hiſtory; and their effects on public affairs,

as well as on the conduct of particular perſons, have been pointed out, as the circumſtances themſelves aroſe.

Upon the death of James, and the ſubſequent demiſe of King William, the whole ſyſtem of ſecret intrigues for the throne ſuffered a material change. In the firſt years of Queen Anne, the adherents of the Pretender abroad, fixed their hopes on the ſuppoſed affection of that Princeſs for her brother and family. Thoſe in England who were moſt attached to the hereditary deſcent of the crown, entertained the ſame views. The diſturbances in Scotland, which terminated in the union of the two kingdoms, were ſucceeded by events, which are related with brevity, as they are in ſome meaſure already known. But the change of men and meaſures, which happened in the year 1710, introduced a period of hiſtory that has been hitherto very little underſtood. The four laſt years of Queen Anne, therefore, coſt the Author much time and labour; and if he has not ſucceeded, his want of abilities muſt be blamed, and not his want of information.

The reign of Charles the Second has been much inveſtigated by other writers. The cauſes of many of the moſt important events are already ſufficiently known. But the ample extracts from the life of King James the Second, which were placed here in the Author's hands, the acceſs he had, in perſon, at Paris, to the papers of that Prince, together with ſome materials, equally un-

known, procured from other ſources, have enabled him to throw a new, and, he hopes, a complete light on that period. He was adviſed to prefix only a review of that reign to his work. But he neither liked that imperfect mode of writing hiſtory, nor could he be perſuaded, after he had examined the ſubject, that any of his predeceſſors had occupied the whole ground.

To decide on the execution of the work, is the province of the Public. To form ſome judgment of his own ſentiments, may be fairly left to the Author. In his progreſs through his ſubject, he is not conſcious of having once departed from the obvious line of evidence. He felt no predilection for any party. He has, ſurely, been biaſſed by none. In his obſervations on the worſt men, he has made allowances for human paſſions. In commending the beſt, he was forced to remember their frailties. He conſidered himſelf throughout in the light of a judge upon mankind and their actions; and, as he had no object but truth, he truſts he has attained his end.

To ſpeak with more warmth of the work, would be incompatible with the modeſty, which writers ought to obſerve when they treat of themſelves. To ſay leſs in its favour, the Author hopes, would be deemed inconſiſtent with juſtice. Without vanity, he may affirm, that the hiſtory of the period he has choſen, has been hitherto very

IMPERFECTLY

IMPERFECTLY KNOWN. He is far from ſuppoſing, that the following volumes are wholly free from errors. He hopes, however, that they are neither great nor many, with regard to matters of fact.

Juſt publiſhed,

In Two large Volumes, Quarto,

ORIGINAL PAPERS;

CONTAINING

The SECRET HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN,

From the RESTORATION, to the Acceſſion of the HOUSE of HANNOVER.

To which are prefixed,

EXTRACTS from the LIFE of JAMES II.

As written by himſelf.

The Whole arranged and publiſhed

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Eſq;

Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

CON-

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

The Reſtoration.——State of the times.——Character of the King ——Of the miniſtry.——Proceedings in Parliament.——Act of indemnity.——Confirmation of judicial proceedings.——Settlement of the revenue.——Marriage of the Duke of York.—— Death of the Duke of Glouceſter.——Trial of the Regicides.—— Prelacy reſtored.——Diſſolution of parliament.——Inſurrection of Venner.——Conference at the Savoy.——Affairs of Scotland. Its government reſtored.——Proceedings in Parliament.—— Execution of Argyle.——State of Ireland.——Difficulty—and ſettlement of Iriſh affairs.——Portugal-match.——King's coronation.——New parliament.——Their attachment to monarchy. ——New act of indemnity.——Bad ſucceſs before Algiers.—— King's neceſſities.——Corporation-act.——Surmiſes of a plot. ——Act of uniformity.——Militia ſettled.——King's marriage.——Execution of Regicides.——Trial of Vane and Lambert.——Two thouſand miniſters ejected.——Sale of Dunkirk. ——Quarrels at court.——King diſpenſes with the act of uniformity.——Proceedings in parliament.——Briſtol's charge of treaſon.——A plot diſcovered. Page 1

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Portugal——of France——of Scotland——of Ireland. ——Triennial act.——Addreſs againſt the Dutch.——Character of the Duke of York.——Riſe of the Dutch war.——Victory of the Engliſh.——Conſternation of the Dutch.——Affair of Bergen.——Biſhop of Munſter joins Charles.——The plague in London.——Rupture with France and Denmark.——Battle of four days.——The Dutch defeated.——The fire of London —— Diſcontents in parliament.——The fleet laid up.—— Diſgrace at Chatham.——Peace concluded.——Diſcontents.——Fall of Clarendon.——New miniſtry.——Foreign affairs.——Character of Lewis XIV.*——Triple league.——Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. ——Peace between Spain and Portugal.——Affairs of Scotland ——of Ireland.—— Proceedings in parliament.——A general tranquillity.——Intrigues at court.——Duke of Ormonde diſmiſſed.——Violence of Buckingham.——Act againſt conventicles. ——Death and character of Albemarle.——King changes his meaſures.—— Secret negociations with France.—— Converſion of the Duke of York.——Conference at Dover.——Treaty with France.——Death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.* p. 61

CHAP. III.

Reflections.——Character of the cabal.——Buckingham in France. —— Invaſion of Lorrain. —— A parliament. —— Prince of Orange in England.——Attempt upon Ormonde.——Blood's attempt.—— Coventry-act.——Scheme for a comprehenſion.—— Death of the Dutcheſs of York.——Tranſactions at court.—— Quarrel with the Dutch.——Imperious conduct of Charles.—— Embaſſies.——Exchequer ſhut.——Preparations for war.—— Smyrna fleet attacked.——Promotions.——War declared.—— Declaration of indulgence.——Battle of Southwold Bay.—— Death and character of Sandwich.——Invaſion of Holland.—— Conſternation of the Dutch.——Character of the Prince of Orange. ——He is declared Stadtholder.——Tumults in Holland.——

Murder

Murder of the De Wits.——Misfortunes of the Dutch.——Promotions.——Affairs of Scotland——of Ireland.——Reflections.——State of the nation.——A parliament.——Proceedings of the commons.——Indulgence recalled.——The teſt.——Deſigns to exclude the Duke of York.——Character of Monmouth.——Defection of Shafteſbury.——Battles at ſea.——State of the war.——Congreſs at Cologne.——Duke of York and Clifford reſign.——Oſborne made treaſurer.——His character.——A parliament.——Addreſs againſt the Duke's marriage.——Proceedings.——Chancellor diſmiſſed.——Duke of York's marriage.——A parliament.——Their proceedings.——Peace with Holland. p. 130

CHAP. IV.

Parliament prorogued.——Campaign of 1674.*——The King gains London.——Negociations with the Prince of Orange.——A ſeſſion of Parliament.——Their proceedings.——Campaign of* 1675. *——A ſeſſion of parliament.——They are prorogued.——New ſecret treaty with France.——Campaign of* 1676.*——Obſervations.——A profound tranquillity.——Affairs of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——France offers peace.——Parliament meets.——Proceedings.——Progreſs of the French.——The commons alarmed.——Reprimanded and adjourned.——Reflections.——Affairs of Europe.——State of France and of the allies.——Views of the King and Prince of Orange.——Marriage of the latter. ——They ſettle terms of peace.——France required to agree. ——Duplicity of Charles.——Treaty with the Dutch.——Parliament meets.——Ill humour of the commons.——Popular leaders intriguing with France.——Secret hiſtory of parties. ——Proceedings of the commons.——Progreſs of the French. ——Money treaty.——Alliance with Holland.——Peace of Nimeguen.——The King and Prince of Orange endeavour to break it.——Its effects on France——State of England.—— The Popiſh plot.——Otes's narrative.——Coleman's letters.—— Death of Godfrey.——A general conſternation.* p. 196

CHAP. V.

Popiſh plot abetted by all.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Their violence and fears.——Attack on the Duke of York.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Bill to diſable Papiſts.——Bedloe's evidence.——Queen accuſed.——Coleman and others condemned. ——Accuſation and impeachment of Danby.——Reflections.—— Parliament prorogued.——Diſtracted ſtate of the nation.——Parliament diſſolved.——Duke of York withdraws.——Monmouth declared illegitimate.——Intrigue with France.——New parliament.——Difference concerning a ſpeaker.——Violence of the commons.——Danby proſecuted.——A new council.——Propoſal of limitations.——Bill of excluſion.——Reſolution againſt Biſhops. ——Habeas-corpus act.——Condemnation of Jeſuits.——Langhorn condemned.——Parliament diſſolved.——Affairs of Scotland.——Murder of Sharpe.——Rout at Bothwell-Bridge.—— Affairs of Ireland.——State of parties and opinions.——King's ſickneſs.——Duke of York returns.——Monmouth diſgraced.—— The Duke of York in Scotland.——Monmouth returns, without leave.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——The King's firmneſs.——Meal-tub plot.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange. ——A change in the miniſtry.——Some members of the council reſign.——Secret views of the Prince of Orange.——Petitioners and abhorrers.——Whigs and Tories.——Duke of York returns. ——He is preſented for recuſancy.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth's progreſs.——Policy of the King.——The Duke retires.——A parliament.——Violence of the commons.—— Prince of Orange's negociations with the houſe of Luuenburgh. ——Bill of excluſion.——Rejected by the lords.——Violent proceedings of the commons.——They animadvert on the abhorrers. ——Impeach the judges.——Trial and execution of taſſord.—— Extraordinary votes.——Parliament prorogued.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Parliament diſſolved.——Firmneſs and views of the King.——Negociation with France.——Fitz-Harris's

ris's libel.——A parliament at Oxford.——Violence of the commons.——A quarrel between the houſes.——Bill of excluſion.——Parliament diſſolved.——Conſternation of the popular party. p. 256

CHAP. VI.

Reflections on the conduct of parliament.——King's declaration.——Addreſſes from all quarters.——City of London reprimanded.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Fitz-Harris and Plunket executed.——Caſe and trial of College.——Affairs of Scotland.——Succeſſion recogniſed.——A new teſt.——Trial of Argyle.——Conduct of the Duke of York.——Foreign affairs.——Prince of Orange in England.——Conference with the King.——Shafteſbury acquitted.——Paſſive obedience.——State of the times.——Of foreign affairs.——Return of the Duke of York.——He narrowly eſcapes ſhipwreck.——The King poſſeſſes himſelf of London.——Affairs at court.——Monmouth's progreſs.——Legal ſeverities.——Deaths and promotions.——Quo warranto.——City of London ſubmits.——Corporations reſign their charters.——Riſe and progreſs of a conſpiracy.——Rye-houſe plot.——Conſpirators ſeized.——Trial, condemnation, death, and character of Ruſſel.——Death of Eſſex.——Marriage of the Lady Anne.——Oxford declaration.——Trial, execution, and character of Sidney.——Monmouth's confeſſion and diſgrace.——Conduct and intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Hampden fined.——Proſecutions and executions.——Duke of York lord admiral.——Affairs of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——State of foreign affairs.——Domeſtic affairs.——Death of the King.——His behaviour in his laſt moments.——Reflections on his private life and character. p. 349

JAMES THE SECOND.

CHAP VII.

State of opinions.——King's popular declaration.——He continues the expired revenue.——His conduct at home,—and towards foreign

reign powers.——Domeſtic affairs.——A parliament.——Their ſubmiſſive proceedings.——Settlement of the revenue——The Prince of Orange encourages an invaſion.——His conduct to Monmouth.——Affairs of Scotland.——Rebellion, defeat, and execution of Argyle.——Monmouth's expedition.——His progreſs, defeat, and death.——Severities in the Weſt.——Jefferys made chancellor.——Execution of Corniſh.——Great power of the King.——A parliament.——Criminals of diſtinction pardoned.——King's religious views.——Affairs of Ireland.——Character of Sunderland.——A ſecret Popiſh cabinet.——Affairs of Scotland.——Hales's caſe.——Diſpenſing power.——King favours Papiſts.——Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.——Biſhop of London ſuſpended.——Encampment at Hounſlow.——Imprudence of James.——Affairs of Ireland.——Schemes of the Prince of Orange.——Foreign affairs.——Reflections——Papiſts promoted.——Indulgence in Scotland.——The ſame in England.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——An attempt on Cambridge.——The affair of Magdalen college.——Parliament diſſolved.——King's progreſs.——He courts the Diſſenters.——Proceedings againſt Magdalen college.——Reflections.——Queen with child.——Surmiſes of an impoſture.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——James inſulted by the Dutch.——Indulgence renewed.——Biſhops petition.——They are committed to the Tower.——Birth of a Prince.——Biſhops acquitted. P. 425

CHAP. VIII.

Unpopularity of the King.——Intrigues and preparations of the Prince of Orange.——Security and imprudence of King James.——He is betrayed by Sunderland.——Convinced at length of his error,—he endeavours to gain the people.——Charter of London reſtored.——Sunderland diſgraced.——Reflections.——Prince of Orange takes leave of the States —His declaration.—He ſails, and is driven back.——Engliſh fleet detained by the winds.——Dutch land.——Diſtreſs of the Prince.——Many join

join him.——Petition of peers.——King joins the army.——Officers deſert.——Princeſs Anne flies.——A general confuſion.——A deputation to the Prince.——Queen and Prince of Wales ſent away.——Dictatorial anſwer of the Prince.——Reflections.——The King flies.——He is ſeized at Feverſham.——Confuſion in London.——Conduct of the Prince.——A council of peers.——King returns.——He is ſeized by the Dutch guards.——He is ſent to Rocheſter,—and eſcapes to France.——Obſervations.——Prince of Orange in London.——Aſſembly of Peers.——Paper left at Rocheſter.——Peers and commons addreſs the Prince.——His ſecret intrigues for the crown.——Intrigues of Halifax and Danby.——Convention meets.——Reflections.——They thank the Prince.——Arguments.——Grand reſolve.——Debates in the houſe of lords.——They amend the vote of the commons.——Reject a letter from James.——Prince of Orange declares himſelf.——Conference between the houſes.——Crown conferred on the Prince and Princeſs.——Declaration of Rights.——Obſervations on the breach on the ſucceſſion.——Reflections on the reign of James.——His character, views, and ſituation.——Arguments for the Revolution. p. 503

WILLIAM AND MARY.

CHAP. IX.

Reflections.——Promotions.——King's firſt ſpeech.——Convention converted into a parliament.——Tranſactions in parliament.——Commons refractory.——Coronation.——Affairs of Scotland.——Adminiſtration conferred on the Prince of Orange.——Convention meets.——Letters from the two Kings.——A ſeceſſion.——Settlement of the crown.——Affairs of Ireland.——Strange neglect of that country.——Commotions.——Rout at Drumore.——James arrives in Dublin.——Wretched ſtate of his army.——Proceedings of the parliament of England——War with France.——State of Europe.——Engliſh fleet defeated.——Diſcontents.——Parliament adjourned.——Affairs of Scotland.——Military.

tary operations.——Battle of Killicranky.——Death and character of Dundee.——A violent oppoſition.——Iriſh affairs.——James before Derry.——He holds a parliament at Dublin.——Their proceedings and violence.——Coin debaſed.——Siege of Derry.——De Rozen's cruel order.——Siege raiſed.——Rout at Newton Butler.——Factions at court.——Diſtreſs of James.——Schomberg's invaſion.——James offers battle in vain.——Both armies retire to winter-quarters.——Foreign affairs. p. 575

CHAP. X.

State of the nation.——William confirmed on the throne.——Parliament meets——Their proceedings.——Commons refractory. Parliament diſſolved.——Whigs diſguſted.——A Tory parliament.——Revenue ſettled.——Affairs of Scotland——Affairs of Ireland.——William arrives in that kingdom.——Paſſage of the Boyne.——James defeated.——Reflections.——He retires to France.——Schemes of that kingdom in his favour.——He is treated with great coldneſs——Military tranſactions.——Athlone beſieged in vain.——William repulſed at Limerick.——He returns to England.——Mary's adminiſtration.——Battle of Beachy-head.——Foreign affairs.——Battle of Fleurus.——Campaign of 1690.——Proceedings of parliament.——Torrington acquitted.——Preſton and Aſhton ſeized and condemned.——Intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin.——Princeſs of Denmark's correſpondence with her father.——King William in Holland.——Conference at the Hague.——Campaign of 1691 in Flanders,—Germany,—Savoy,—Spain,—and Hungary.——Tranſactions at ſea.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of King James.——Affairs of Ireland.——Miſeries of that country.——Athlone taken——Battle of Aghrim.——Siege of Limerick.——Pacification in Ireland.——Reflections.——Engliſh parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Unpopularity of William.——Oppoſition in parliament.——Proceedings.——William in Holland.——Affairs of Scotland.——Maſſacre of Glen-o. p. 642

CHARLES THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

The Reſtoration.——State of the times.——Character of the King ——Of the miniſtry.——Proceedings in Parliament.——Act of indemnity.——Confirmation of judicial proceedings.——Settlement of the revenue.——Marriage of the Duke of York.—— Death of the Duke of Glouceſter.——Trial of the Regicides.—— Prelacy reſtored.——Diſſolution of parliament.——Inſurrection of Venner.——Conference at the Savoy.——Affairs of Scotland. Its government reſtored.——Proceedings in Parliament.—— Execution of Argyle.——State of Ireland.——Difficulty—and ſettlement of Iriſh affairs.——Portugal-match.——King's coronation.——New parliament.——Their attachment to monarchy. ——New act of indemnity.——Bad ſucceſs before Algiers.—— King's neceſſities.——Corporation-act.——Surmiſes of a plot. ——Act of uniformity.——Militia ſettled.——King's marriage.——Execution of Regicides.——Trial of Vane and Lambert.——Two thouſand miniſters ejected.——Sale of Dunkirk. ——Quarrels at court.——King diſpenſes with the act of uniformity.——Proceedings in parliament.——Briſtol's charge of treaſon.——A plot diſcovered.

CHARLES the Second was proclaimed, at London, on the eighth of May, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. He entered that city, on the twenty-ninth of the month, amid the acclamations of an infinite concourſe of ſpectators.

CHAP. I.

1660. The Reſtoration.

CHAP. I. 1660.

ſpectators. The two houſes of parliament attended the King, at Whitehall; and, by their ſpeakers, congratulated him, in terms full of ſubmiſſion and loyalty. The populace, with their uſual extravagance, expreſſed their ſatisfaction in riot and intemperance. The terrors of anarchy and confuſion yielded to the hopes of a regular ſteadineſs in government. The pomp of royalty pleaſed the bulk of mankind; its novelty all. The change was great, but not ſurpriſing, among a people, who had fallen, under an abject ſpecies of tyranny, after all their efforts to be free.

State of the nation.

THE joy, which the reſtoration of monarchy diffuſed over the kingdom, ſeemed to level all parties into a voluntary obedience to the King. The nation, however, was not to be ſettled, at once, from the convulſions which had overturned the throne. Jealouſies, animoſities, and high expectations prevailed, among the adherents of monarchy. The Independents were afraid of a retaliation of ſeverities. The Preſbyterians, in ſome meaſure, deſpaired of eſtabliſhing their favourite ſyſtem of church-government. Silence and melancholy ſeized the republican party, at the diſappearance of all their hopes. The army, though, at different times, purged by Monk, were rather paſſive to his meaſures, than fond of kingly government. Moſt of the old ſoldiers were fanatics. Even thoſe, who had attended the General from Scotland, obeyed him more from an affection to his perſon, than any regard to his political views. The eagerneſs of the body of the people, to return to the ancient conſtitution, had formed the firmeſt foundation for its ſupport. They regarded, in their elections, the political character of their repreſentatives. A great majority of thoſe, who were choſen to ſerve in the houſe of commons, were men known for their attachment to monarchy, or remarkable for their moderate principles. The declaration from Breda had left the ſettlement of the nation in the parliament;

parliament; and though the forms of their proceedings were productive of an inconvenient delay, that important buſineſs could not be placed in ſafer or more able hands. CHAP. I. 1660.

THE diſpoſition and character of Charles, as far as they were THEN known, were well ſuited to the times. Attached to no ſyſtem of religion, he ſeemed favourable to all. In appearance deſtitute of political ambition, his ſudden elevation was more an object of admiration, than of jealouſy. Accommodating in his profeſſions and eaſy in his manner, he pleaſed even thoſe whom he could not gratify. Men, from principle, enemies to monarchy, were prejudiced in favour of the perſon of the Prince. Thoſe in whom fear might excite averſion, loſt their hatred, in his apparent forgetfulneſs of paſt injuries. Though a lover of diſſipation and pleaſure, he could bear confinement, and had a talent for buſineſs. Though naturally unſteady, he could aſſume the appearance of firmneſs; and his quickneſs of apprehenſion was miſtaken, by the ſuperficial, for uncommon abilities of mind. Adhering ſtrictly to no principle himſelf, he was not much offended at the want of it in others. He gained the profligate by indulgence; by his good-nature and attention, he flattered the pride of the virtuous. Inſinuating, diſſembling, but frequently judicious, he came upon mankind, through the channel of their ruling paſſions; and till his profeſſions of regard to men of oppoſite principles became too common to be thought ſincere, he gained the affection, if not the eſteem, of his ſubjects. Character of the King.

HIS accommodating character was the chief ſupport of Charles throughout his reign. The careleſſneſs of his meaſures raiſed him many opponents; but the eaſineſs of his temper prevented him from having perſonal enemies. His defects, however, were not perceived when he mounted the throne. A penetrating judge of

CHAP. I. 1660

the character of others, he was no ſtranger to his own; and he reſolved to turn its faireſt ſide to the world. With too much good ſenſe, to throw away, by wantonneſs and folly, what fortune had unexpectedly beſtowed, he was cautious in his firſt meaſures, and, by the appearance of a ſtrict impartiality in the diſtribution of his favours, he diſarmed the moſt inveterate among the parties, which ſtill divided the nation.

The miniſtry;

A PRUDENT choice of his principal ſervants promiſed better meaſures, than thoſe which Charles afterwards produced through his reign. He filled his council, indiſcriminately, from all parties. Ability was more regarded, than political principle, or previous conduct. Many, who had oppoſed his father, were admitted into ſtations near his own perſon. Several, who had ſupported the late republic, were now employed in the ſervice of monarchy. The principal departments of the ſtate were truſted to friends. Sir Edward Hyde, diſtinguiſhed for his fidelity, as well as for his talents in buſineſs, was made chancellor. The Marquis of Ormonde, more remarkable for his honour and integrity, than for great abilities, was conſtituted ſteward of the houſehold. The treaſury, after having been for near nine months in commiſſion, was delivered over to the ſole management of the Earl of Southampton *, a man of unſhaken firmneſs and unblemiſhed reputation. The Duke of York was inveſted with the office of lord high admiral of England. Monk, created maſter of the horſe to the King, was continued captain-general of all the forces in the three kingdoms. Nicholas, a man of unbiaſſed integrity and experience in the ſervice of the crown, and Morrice, who owed his elevation to the patronage of Monk, were ſecretaries of ſtate.

* Feb. 1661.

To

CHAP. I.

1660.

To reſtore juſtice to its ancient courſe, employed the firſt care of the King and his ſervants. The courts in Weſtminſter-hall were filled with judges of known abilities in their profeſſion; of profeſſed affection to monarchy, and the re-eſtabliſhed laws. The ſervants of the crown opened a free and friendly intercourſe with the leading members of both houſes [b]. They concerted the beſt meaſures for carrying on the buſineſs with expedition and ſucceſs. The King himſelf ſeemed inclined to manage the great affairs of the nation, through the medium of an aſſembly to whom he owed his throne. An enemy to trouble, and fond of pleaſure, he threw early the weight of the ſtate on his miniſters. Hyde poſſeſſed the moſt credit and the greateſt power. Indefatigable in his nature, and placing even his amuſement in buſineſs, he was the moſt experienced, and, perhaps, the moſt able of the ſervants of the crown. Southampton, though a man of abilities, was indolent; Monk, more verſant in the labours of the field, than the intrigues of the cabinet. Nicholas, unambitious in his character, ſacrificed the importance of his office to his high opinion of the chancellor's talents; Morrice, though a man of integrity, loſt his conſequence, in his ignorance of foreign affairs. Ormonde, in the warmth of a ſincere friendſhip, adhered in every thing to Hyde. The Duke of York, by the expreſs orders of the King, lived on the beſt terms with the miniſtry [c]. Every thing fell, ſooner than could have been expected, into regularity and form. A general ſettlement in the civil juſtice of the kingdom prevailed. No injury was without its remedy; and complaints, more frequent even in the worſt governments than injuſtice, were ſcarce ever heard [d].

their character.

THE two houſes of parliament proceeded to the ſettlement of the nation. The lords, lately reſtored to their function in the

Proceedings of parliament.

[b] James II. 1660.
[c] James II. 1660.
[d] Clarendon's life.

ſtate,

CHAP. I. 1660.

ſtate, ſeemed ſenſible of the injuries, which had deprived them ſo long of their right. They, however, had not arrived at their former weight and conſequence. The Commons, who had given ſuch recent proofs of their importance, ſtill retained their ſuperiority. In terms of the King's declaration from Breda, they brought into their houſe a bill of general indemnity, before he took poſſeſſion of the throne. They reſolved, on the fourteenth of May, to except ſeven of thoſe, who ſat in judgment on the late King, out of the act of oblivion. In their zeal to animadvert upon paſt offences, they even extended puniſhment beyond the grave. Serjeant Bradſhaw, preſident of the high court of juſtice, though dead, was attainted for treaſon. On the eighth of June they reſolved, that the number of twenty, and no more, beſides the King's judges, ſhould be excepted, not extending to life. Hutchinſon, for his ſignal repentance, was left out of the clauſe of exception[e]. Colonel Ingoldsby, for his late ſervices, was forgiven and rewarded. The debates, which aroſe upon naming the perſons, rendered tedious the progreſs of the bill; and, though the King, in ſeveral meſſages, expreſſed his impatience, the act took ſome months in paſſing through both houſes[f].

Act of indemnity.

THE debates in the houſe of commons were not the only cauſe of the delay which attended the act of indemnity. The lords, in their zeal for monarchy, and exaſperated by former injuries, ſeemed reſolved to except every perſon who had ſat in judgment on the royal party. The earl of Briſtol, who had declared himſelf a Catholic, ſome months before the Reſtoration[g], was the moſt violent. Though excluded, on account of his religion, from holding a place in the privy-council, he was ſtill truſted with the ſecret of affairs[h]. Haughty and arrogant, impetuous in his

[e] Journals of the houſe of commons. [f] Journals. [g] James II. 1660.
[h] James II. 1663.

manner,

CHAP. I. 1660.

manner, and ambitious in his diſpoſition, he was determined to direct councils, of which he was not permitted to partake [i]. To ſecure his intereſt with the King, he pretended zeal in the royal cauſe. He moved in the houſe, that no pardon ſhould be granted to thoſe who had any way contributed to the death of the late King. Briſtol's influence at court was no ſecret. The nation was alarmed at ſo wide an exception. They began to think that the King, by an artifice, intended to elude his declaration. Charles came to the houſe, and put an end to their fears. He requeſted the lords to extinguiſh the terrors of the people, to remove their apprehenſions of ſafety. He deſired them to conſider his promiſe, and to exclude none but the regicides from the benefit of the act of oblivion. He preſſed them to forget their animoſities, to lay aſide revenge, to drop even the memory of the paſt. He plainly told them, that the peace of the kingdom, if not the very exiſtence of monarchy, depended upon expedition in paſſing the bill [k].

Confirmation of judicial proceedings.

THOUGH the bill of indemnity engaged almoſt the whole attention of both houſes, ſome other matters of great public concern came neceſſarily under their conſideration. To quiet the poſſeſſion of the ſubject, by confirming the judicial proceedings which had paſſed ſince the beginning of the late diſturbances, was an object nearly as important as the act of oblivion. All ſentences in law and equity, ſince the firſt of May, 1642, were confirmed by an act of the legiſlature. Some few reſtrictions were made, with regard to crown and church lands. The two houſes filled their debates with declarations againſt the legality of the proceedings of the long parliament, after it had been mutilated by the army. Their zeal might even have led them to reſcind all the acts of the parliament, which met in the Novem-

[i] James II. 1660.

[k] Journals of the lords.

CHAP. I. 1660.

ber of the year 1640; but the chancellor ſhewed no inclination to look back ſo far. James the Second, in his Memoirs, blames this negligence in Hyde, in terms expreſſive of his reſentment againſt a body of men who had ſo much injured his family[l].

Settlement of the revenue.

In the ſettlement of the revenue, the houſe of commons ſhewed as much regard for the liberties of the ſubject as they had done in their other reſolutions for the royal prerogative. It was reſolved, before the King's arrival, to aboliſh the courts of wards and liveries[m], as a public grievance; and to make, for that revenue, a compenſation to the crown[n]. One hundred thouſand pounds was propoſed by the parliament. Double the ſum had been offered, and, in the reign of James, refuſed for thoſe branches of the prerogative, together with that of purveyance. This compoſition was charged upon the exciſe; one half of which was ſettled, in perpetuity, on the crown. The other half of the exciſe, and the revenue ariſing from tonnage and poundage, were granted to the King during his life. A committee reported to the houſe on the fourth of September, that, by an eſtimate, the King's revenue might be computed at little more than eight hundred thouſand pounds. The commons came to a reſolution to increaſe it to twelve hundred thouſand pounds. The charging of this revenue upon adequate funds was a matter of difficulty, and was therefore adjourned to the next meeting of parliament[o]. An act was, however, paſſed for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds for the King's preſent ſupply; which ſum was to be levied, by way of land-rate, within the ſpace of one month, to begin on the twenty-ninth of September[p].

Proviſion for diſbanding the army.

To diſband an army accuſtomed to revolution and change, was neceſſary for the ſafety of the nation, and employed the principal

[l] James II. 1660. [m] Journals, May 25. [n] Journals, Auguſt 4.
[o] Speaker's ſpeech, Sept. 4. [p] Journals, Sept. 4.

attention

CHAP. I. 1660.

attention of parliament. An aſſeſſment of ſeventy thouſand pounds, to continue for three months, at firſt voted, was unequal to the purpoſe of paying their arrears [q]. Another act was paſſed, a few days before the adjournment, for an additional aſſeſſment, to begin on the firſt of November, and to continue for two months. The parſimony of the commons, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of unlimited loyalty, was evidently intended to keep the King in a ſtate of dependence on his parliament. The next houſe of commons, according to James the Second [r], were leſs attentive to the liberties of their conſtituents. He aſcribes their frugality more to, what he calls, the prejudices of Sir Edward Hyde, than to their own patriotiſm. In the warmth of their zeal for reſtored monarchy, they could deny nothing to their prince. It was propoſed by ſome leading members to ſettle a very large revenue on the crown [s]. The chancellor prevented the motion from being made in the houſe. He was afraid that the King would ſtand no longer in need of parliament; or, what was ſtill more contrary to his principles, that the Popiſh religion might be introduced, as favourable to the authority of the crown. "This overſight, or rather terror in Hyde," continues James, "was the ſource of the dangers which monarchy has ſince undergone. In every other particular, he ſupported, to the height, the power of the crown [t]." The two houſes having thus far brought forward the public buſineſs, on the thirteenth of September [u] adjourned themſelves, by the King's permiſſion, to the ſixth of November [x].

Honours conferred.

WHILST parliament was preparing puniſhments for the late King's enemies, Charles was buſy in rewarding his own friends. Thoſe who had adhered the beſt to his family, contributed, from that circumſtance, the leaſt to his reſtoration; and, therefore,

[q] Journals. [r] James II. 1660. [s] 2,000,000l.
[t] James II. 1660. [u] Journals. [x] Journals, Sept. 13.

CHAP. I. 1660.

their fidelity was forgot, in their want of power to be of ſervice. Beſides, their number was a kind of excuſe for an appearance of ingratitude. Though the King was not deſtitute of generoſity, he was not poſſeſſed of the means of exerciſing it, in an extenſive degree. The hereditary property of the crown had been diſſipated in the late troubles; and had even the revenue promiſed by parliament been ſettled, it was unequal, without the moſt rigid œconomy, to carry on the neceſſary ſervice of the ſtate. Hereditary honours were the only rewards which Charles could beſtow with eaſe. Monk, by the title of Duke of Albemarle, took his ſeat in the houſe of lords[x], on the thirteenth of July. Admiral Montague was introduced, on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month, by the name of Earl of Sandwich. The Marquis of Hertford, for his uncommon fidelity, attachment, and ſervices to the royal family, was reſtored to the dukedom of Somerſet by an act of parliament[y].

Marriage of the Duke of York.

THE joy, which the natural gaiety of Charles derived from his unexpected reſtoration to the throne of his anceſtors, was conſiderably checked by accidents and misfortunes in his own family. During a viſit, which the Princeſs of Orange paid to the Queen-mother at Paris, in the year 1657, the Duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour, and daughter to Sir Edward Hyde. The Duke's affection for the daughter began when he was on bad terms with the father; and the latter remained in abſolute ignorance of a circumſtance which was ſcarce a ſecret in his family[z]. In the violence of his paſſion, the Duke promiſed her marriage. "Beſides her perſon," ſays he, "ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities proper to inflame a heart leſs ſuſceptible than his, of the fire of love." By managing well her advantages, ſhe kept alive his paſſion. In the winter before the

[x] Journals of the lords. [y] Ibid. [z] James II. 1662. Clarendon's life, vol. i.

Reſtoration,

CHAP. I. 1660.

Reſtoration, he reſolved to give to none, but to her, his hand. He again ſealed his vows of affection with an abſolute promiſe of making her his wife. He aſked the King for his leave, but he refuſed; yet, at laſt, he ceaſed to oppoſe a reſolution which the Duke ſeemed determined to follow [a]. Under the faith of a promiſe ſo ſolemn, ſhe had admitted him to her bed, and became pregnant. On the third of September, they were privately married at Worceſter-houſe, where her father, at the time, reſided; and on the twenty-ſecond of October, ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon. Though the friends and ſervants of the Duke oppoſed a match, which they deemed unequal, he ſoon publickly owned the marriage; "and," to uſe his own words, "her want of birth was made up with endowments, and her carriage, in every reſpect, became her acquired dignity [b]."

Death and character of Glouceſter.

In the evening of the thirteenth of September, died of the ſmall-pox Henry Duke of Glouceſter, third brother to the King [c]. Though mankind are apt to exaggerate the virtues of princes who happen to die in early youth, their praiſes ſeem to have done no more than juſtice to the character of Glouceſter. He joined in himſelf the beſt qualities of both his brothers: the underſtanding and good-nature of Charles, to the induſtry and application of James. The facility of the firſt was, in him, a judicious moderation. The obſtinacy of the latter was, in Glouceſter, a manly firmneſs of mind. Attached to the religion, and a friend to the conſtitution of his country [d], he was moſt regretted, when his family regarded theſe the leaſt. The vulgar, who crowd with eminent virtues and great actions the years which fate denies to their favourites, foreſaw future misfortunes in his death; and even the judicious ſuppoſed, that the meaſures of Charles might have derived ſolidity from his judgment and pro-

[a] James II. 1660. [b] James II. 1660. [c] Public Intelligence.
[d] Burnet. Echard.

CHAP. I. 1660.

miſing parts. The King lamented his death with all the vehemence of an affectionate ſorrow. The Duke of York was much affected with the loſs of a brother, whoſe high merit he much admired. "He was a prince," ſays James, "of the greateſt hopes, undaunted courage, admirable parts, and a clear underſtanding. He had a particular talent at languages. Beſides the Latin, he was maſter of the French, the Spaniſh, the Italian, and Low Dutch. He was, in ſhort, poſſeſſed of all the natural qualities, as well as acquired accompliſhments, neceſſary to make a great prince[f]."

Trial of the Regicides.

WHEN Charles was indulging his ſorrow for the loſs of a brother whom he loved, the attention of the nation was engaged with the trial of the Regicides, excepted from pardon in the act of indemnity. The King iſſued a commiſſion to thirty-four of the moſt eminent and able nobility, judges, lawyers, and gentlemen, to ſit at the Old-Bailey, in trial upon thoſe who ſhould be indicted for the murder of the late King[g]. General Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher at Newcaſtle, and originally an attorney's clerk[h], was the firſt perſon brought before the commiſſioners. To an elevation of mind, which ſprung from his natural courage, Harriſon added an ignorance ſuitable to the meanneſs of his original ſtation. He defended the deed, of which he was accuſed, with boldneſs; and, with an enthuſiaſm peculiar to the extraordinary times in which he had figured, he made Heaven itſelf the author of an action deemed, by the generality of mankind, one of the worſt of crimes. Cook, a lawyer, argued for himſelf with all the ſubtlety of his profeſſion. Scot, a republican from principle, gloried in being inſtrumental in the death of a King. Carew and Scroope were the only perſons among the Regicides born gentlemen. The firſt was an enthuſiaſtic Millenarian. The

[f] James II. 1660. [g] Public Intelligence. [h] Regicides no Martyrs.

latter,

CHAP. I. 1660.

atter, by an ill-timed ſarcaſm on ſome of his judges, enſured his own fate. Peters, a fanatical preacher, who had rouſed the army to regicide, was condemned. Axtel, who guarded the court of juſtice, and Hacker, who commanded at the King's execution, received ſentence of death. Of twenty-eight perſons, who were brought to the bar, ten only ſuffered; and they met their fate with unexampled ſpirit, amid the clamours of an inſulting mob. Enthuſiaſm had armed their minds with that fortitude which men of abilities derive, in the laſt extreme, from philoſophy [i].

Prelacy reſtored.

DURING the trial and execution of the Regicides, the King and his miniſters were employed in giving ſatisfaction to men of different religious perſuaſions. The parliament, in their attention to the civil concerns of the ſtate, had left the difficult buſineſs of religion to be ſettled by the crown. Though the ſufferings of the church of England, during the late troubles, ſeemed to enſure the recovery of her ancient rights and ſplendour with the reſtoration of monarchy, the King was obſtructed in his deſigns in favour of the hierarchy, by the declaration of Breda. The Preſbyterians had claims upon his gratitude; and other diſſenters derived great hopes of kind uſage, from his known indifference to all religious forms. Charles wiſhed to gain all, by diſobliging none. On the twenty-fifth of October, he iſſued a healing declaration, conſiſting of eight articles [k]. The firſt ſix preſcribed rules to biſhops, in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual juriſdictions: the two laſt related to a propoſed amendment of the liturgy; and ſome ceremonies, to the obſervance of which no perſon was enjoined. Epiſcopacy was gradually revived. The biſhops themſelves, in conſequence of the act in 1641, remained ſtill excluded from their ſeats in parliament. Nine only had

[i] James II.

[k] Kennet's Regiſter, p. 289.

ſurvived

CHAP. I. 1660.

ſurvived the late diſtractions and confuſions. To theſe, ſeven were added, in the courſe of the preſent year; and, except in the article of voting in the houſe of peers, they were reſtored to their former rights. The King's declaration, though conciliating in its deſign, was by no means pleaſing to the Preſbyterians, as it did not alter the ſpecies of prelacy [m].

Diſſolution of parliament.

THE parliament, after a receſs of near two months, met on the ſixth of November [n]. They brought back to both houſes the good-humour with which they had adjourned, and applied themſelves with great unanimity to the bills which they had left unfiniſhed. On the firſt day of their meeting, they voted an addreſs to the Queen-mother and the Princeſs Henrietta [o], who had lately returned from France, to felicitate their family on the reſtoration of monarchy. The Princeſs of Orange had arrived, for the ſame purpoſe, in September. To compliments of ceremony, the commons added more ſolid proofs of their favour. They voted ten thouſand pounds to each of the princeſſes; and, ſoon after, the like ſum to the Queen of Bohemia. The latter and the Princeſs of Orange did not long enjoy this mark of parliamentary attention. The Princeſs died in December of the ſmall-pox, and the Queen of Bohemia ſurvived her little more than a year [p]. The parliament made proviſion for diſbanding the army, whoſe continuance was attended with danger, as well as expence. To ſhew their affection for monarchy, both houſes proceeded to an inſtance of puerile barbarity againſt its enemies. They ordered the carcaſſes of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, to be drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, to be there hanged up in their coffins, and afterwards buried under the gallows [q]. They ſettled the propoſed revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds on the King; and having, by an act for ſix months

[m] Love's Hiſt. of Popiſh and fanatical Plots. [n] Journals. [o] Ibid.
[p] Feb. 13, 1661. [q] Journals, Dec. 4.

aſſeſſment,

aſſeſſment, at ſeventy thouſand pounds a-month, provided for the debts of the navy, and the extraordinary expence of the ſummer-fleet, they were diſſolved on the twenty-ninth of December [r].

Character of the convention-parliament.

THUS ended the convention parliament, who, in the ſpace of eight months, reſtored to the nation, in a great meaſure, that regularity of government, which the diſturbances and revolutions of twenty years had completely deſtroyed. The people, rendered cautious by a ſucceſſion of public miſeries, had extended their views to a ſettlement in their election of repreſentatives; and party-ſpirit being greatly checked, by their fears of a renewal of violence, moderation and prudence became the only recommendations to their choice. The Preſbyterians, who held the chief influence, had loſt their objections to a limited monarchy, in the injuſtice and tyranny of the Independents. The lower houſe conſiſted chiefly of that ſect; and even many of the lords were prejudiced in favour of principles of eccleſiaſtical government ſo ſuitable to civil liberty. The commons carried the moderate views of their conſtituents into their public deliberations. Tho' they cheriſhed the legal rights of the crown, as being yet in their infancy, they never loſt ſight of the freedom of the ſubject. They ſteered between the limits of prerogative and the borders of popular liberty; rebuilding the breaches of both, as they moved forward through public affairs. Though the King had diſcovered no ſymptoms of a love of arbitrary power, they were willing to keep him, by a limited revenue, in a kind of dependence on parliament; wiſely judging, that they were no longer neceſſary than they had favours to beſtow. The convention-parliament, in ſhort, was the happy medium, between the ſtern violence of their predeceſſors, and the implicit complaiſance of their ſucceſſors, in the choice of the nation.

[r] Journals, Dec. 29.

THE

CHAP. I.

1661.

Inſurrection of

THE tranquillity in which the parliament, at their riſing, left the nation, was diſturbed, in the capital, by an inſurrection, more ſingular in its folly than dangerous in its conſequence. Among the extravagancies which the late confuſions had produced, there aroſe a ſect of enthuſiaſts, who derived, from their extraordinary opinions, the name of Fifth-monarchy-men. They believed that the time was come for the eſtabliſhment of that kingdom, which, according to the prophet Daniel, was to ſucceed the four great monarchies that are ſaid to have already appeared in the world. Theſe fanatics ſuppoſed that they themſelves were to be the inſtruments of beginning the reign of the ſaints upon earth. Utter enemies to all authority, from this wild expectation, they had formerly made an attempt againſt the government of Cromwell; but the vigilance of that able deſpot ſoon convinced them, that the time for commencing their ideal empire was not yet arrived. The head of the ſect was one Thomas Venner, who joined in his perſon the double vocation of a wine-cooper and preacher. In the indifference of Charles concerning opinions in religion, Venner was indulged with keeping a conventicle in Coleman-ſtreet. He choſe to deſcant upon thoſe parts of ſcripture which are leaſt capable of being underſtood, on the prophecies of Daniel and book of Revelations. He believed himſelf, and he perſuaded his audience, that the time of Chriſt's viſible reign was come; and that it was their duty to take up arms for King Jeſus againſt the powers of the world.

Fifth-monarchy men.

THE extravagance and abſurdity of this opinion enſured its credit with men, whoſe minds were warped from reaſon by enthuſiaſm. Fewer than ſixty perſons applied themſelves ſeriouſly to the conqueſt of the world. They printed a declaration, entitled, "A door of hope opened;" wherein they denounced war againſt all monarchies. They affirmed, that, after having "led captivity captive" in England, they would paſs to the continent, and

CHAP. I.

1661.

and ſpread far and wide their victories, till they ſhould "poſſeſs themſelves of the gates of the world." Venner, on Sunday the ſixth of January, having preached to his congregation, and faſted all day, iſſued forth, at eleven o'clock at night, from his meeting-houſe, with a party of ſaints well armed. They conſiſted of thirty perſons, and advanced to St. Paul's church-yard, crying aloud, "Live King Jeſus," and commanding all for them to join them, and thoſe who were not, to keep their houſes. A poor man, who, being queſtioned, made anſwer, he was for God and King Charles, was killed. The city was alarmed. The conſtables and watch durſt not attack them; and Venner, not being joined, forced his way through the train-bands, who had aſſembled to ſuppreſs the inſurrection, paſſed through Alderſgate, poſſeſſed himſelf of Canewood, between Hampſtead and Highgate, where he and his party ſpent the night [t].

Quaſhed.

INTELLIGENCE of the inſurrection being brought to the Cockpit to Albemarle, he communicated it to the Duke of York, who was then indiſpoſed, and reſided with his Dutcheſs at Whitehall [u]. The King was abſent at Portſmouth, whither he had gone to attend the Queen-mother and the Princeſs Henrietta, who were to embark at that place for France. Albemarle diſpatched his own troop, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, and the horſe-guards, in purſuit of the inſurgents. Venner kept the woods for two days. About ſeven in the morning of the ninth of January, with twenty-nine of his adherents, he entered the city through Aldgate, proclaiming King Jeſus. He advanced to Leadenhall, to the Exchange, to Woodſtreet, where he was oppoſed by twenty of the horſe-guards. The ſtreet being narrow, Venner and his party defended themſelves with the utmoſt ſpirit. The train-bands at length arriving, the inſurgents forced their

[t] James II. 1661.

[u] Ibid.

CHAP. I. 1661.

way into an ale-houſe, and there obſtinately maintained their poſt [x].

Execution.

THE Duke of York, accompanied by Albemarle, took horſe upon the news of Venner's arrival. With twenty troopers, no more being left on guard, they marched into the city. The nobility and gentry flocked from all quarters to join them; ſo that, before they reached St. Paul's, they found themſelves attended by fifteen hundred horſe. The lord-mayor met the Duke at St. Paul's. He told him, that Venner and his party were all either killed or taken. Theſe enthuſiaſts defended the houſe in which they had taken ſhelter with ſuch obſtinacy, that it was impoſſible to diſlodge them, without ſetting it on fire; which could not be done, without endangering the whole ſtreet. Lambert, a ſeaman, accompanied by a few others, untiled the roof, and forced an entry from above. All Venner's party were either killed or wounded. One only aſked for quarter. A comrade, lying wounded in the room, attempted to kill this ſpiritleſs friend with his ſword; reviling him, at the ſame time, with his meanneſs. Venner himſelf had nineteen wounds. The ſurgeons with difficulty kept him alive till he was condemned and executed. His ſurviving friends, except two reſerved as witneſſes, and two more reſpited by the King, ſhared the ſame fate [y].

Troops raiſed.

THE chancellor, who had been advanced to a peerage, in the month of November, by the title of Lord Hindon, terrified either at Venner's inſurrection, or from an averſion to all ſectaries, wrote an alarming account of the whole affair to the King [z]. He conjured him to ſtop the diſbanding of Albemarle's troop of horſe-guards and his regiment of foot, who, by a particular indulgence, were the laſt to be paid off, and were to be diſmiſſed that very day. He entreated his Majeſty to raiſe more men, for the ſecurity of

[x] James II. 1661. [y] Ibid [z] Ibid.

his perſon and government. There was little difficulty in perſuading Charles to adopt the meaſure. Orders were immediately iſſued for raiſing a new regiment of guards, conſiſting of twelve companies, under Colonel Ruſſel, a regiment of horſe of eight troops, commanded by the Earl of Oxford, and a troop under Lord Gerard. The Duke of York's troop of guards were ordered from Dunkirk. Commiſſions were iſſued to the Earls of Cleveland, Southampton, and two other noblemen, to inliſt men, in ſeveral companies, not admitted to immediate pay, but to be ready on an emergency [a]. On the fourteenth of February, the Duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot, after laying down their arms as diſbanded, took them up as an extraordinary guard for his Majeſty's perſon. Their attachment to their general ſeemed to entitle him to this diſtinction from a prince who owed to him his throne.

CHAP. I. 1661. February.

CHARLES, wiſhing to continue the tranquillity which the nation enjoyed, endeavoured to reconcile the differences between the church of England and the Preſbyterians. The attachment of his father to the former had contributed more to his misfortunes, than his high exertions of the prerogative; and he was extremely unwilling to permit a renewal of religious conteſts, whoſe fatal effects had deprived his family of the throne. He hoped that the felicity of the preſent times, and the remembrance of paſt miſeries, might diſpoſe men to a healing temper. He was bound to the church, by her invariable adherence to the royal cauſe. Recent favours demanded his gratitude to the followers of the Preſbyterian ſyſtem. His indifference as to modes of worſhip rendered him impartial; but he was a ſtranger to the ſubject, when he hoped it could be ſettled by argument. A commiſſion, however, was iſſued, on the twenty-fifth of March, to twelve biſhops and nine epiſcopal divines, on the one ſide; and, on the

Conference at the Savoy. March.

[a] James II. 1661.

CHAP. I. 1661.

other, to twelve Preſbyterian divines and nine aſſiſtants. They were empowered to review the book of Common-prayer, to compare it with the liturgies uſed in the primitive and pureſt times, to conſider the directions, the rules, the forms of prayer; to weigh all objections, to make all neceſſary amendments and alterations, and to reſtore and continue, by theſe means, the peace and unanimity of the churches under his Majeſty's government and protection. The conference was held at the lodgings of the Biſhop of London, in the Savoy. Argument ſoon degenerated into altercation. All temper was loſt. Diſtruſt prevailed. At the end of two months they ſeparated, having added perſonal reſentments to polemical differences.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE ſtorm which had diſcompoſed the ancient conſtitution of England, had fallen with ſtill greater violence on Scotland. The indignity of a foreign yoke had been added to the other misfortunes of the Scotiſh nation; and their ſpirit ſeemed to have vaniſhed with their independence. The flattering circumſtance of giving a king to their ancient enemies had greatly diminiſhed the martial ardour, which their anceſtors derived from a ſtate of almoſt continual hoſtilities; whilſt the weight which England threw in the ſcale of the crown enabled the ſovereign to extend to a kind of tyranny, what formerly was a very limited power. The enthuſiaſm, which Calviniſm introduced among the vulgar, raiſed their confidence, without preſerving their intrepidity. They loſt their reverence for authority, in their ſpiritual pride; and the nobles, finding themſelves no longer followed or obeyed, ſunk into the ſuperſtition of the mean and low, to retrieve a part of their power. In the beginning of the troubles, which terminated in the ſubverſion of monarchy, the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the Scots againſt the liturgy gave time to the diſcontents, which lay concealed among the Engliſh, to kindle into a flame. During the civil war, they ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, the umpires of the conteſt.

CHAP. I. 1661.

conteſt. Their attachment to the covenant prevailed at laſt over loyalty to their native prince. The Preſbyterians of England obtained a complete triumph over monarchy, partly by their means; and there is ſcarce any doubt to be entertained againſt the gratitude of the former to the Scots, had the fabric which they reared continued to ſtand.

Its ſtate under Cromwell.

THE fall of the Preſbyterians in England, under the violence of the Independents, ruined, in its conſequences, their brethren of Scotland. Subdued by their own folly, as well as the abilities of Cromwell, the Scots found themſelves under the mortifying neceſſity of ſubmitting to the indignities attending upon conqueſt. The whole frame of their ancient government was diſſolved. The power of the nobility was extinguiſhed. Preſbytery itſelf became a reproach. The pride and activity of their divines were ſubdued. Religion was remitted to the ſole order and direction of a commander in chief of the forces. All criminal caſes, where the general choſe not to proceed by martial law, were tried by judges ſent from England, and by Engliſh laws. Property and matters of civil intereſt were decided by the rules and cuſtoms obſerved in England; and the only mark of liberty left to the nation, was the permiſſion of ſending a few members to parliament[b]. Their ſtrong holds remained in the hands of the forces, by whom they had been ſubdued. The tranquillity of a military deſpotiſm ſucceeded the turbulence of a freedom that was ill underſtood; and men began at length to conſtrue the lenity of a commander in chief into public happineſs. Monk, by his moderation and integrity, had attached the Scots to his perſon, and even reconciled the majority of the nation to the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. The feuds of families and the animoſities of parties were extinguiſhed by his authority. Juſtice was ad-

[b] Clarendon's life, p. 49, 50.

miniſtered

CHAP. I. 1661.

miniſtered with impartiality and preciſion; and the chief objection to the government in general, was the novelty of its form.

New miniſtry.

THE affairs of Scotland received no alteration for three months after the reſtoration of monarchy in England. It was even a ſubject of debate, whether the Scots ſhould be reſtored to their independence, or retained under the yoke impoſed upon them by Cromwell. The commiſſioners ſent from Scotland to negociate the re eſtabliſhment of her affairs, argued for the freedom of their country; and Charles himſelf was inclined to the ancient conſtitution of government. Middleton, created an Earl, a man of abilities, and attached to monarchy, was declared commiſſioner for holding a parliament. The Earl of Glencairn, diſtinguiſhed for his parts and good-breeding, was made chancellor. The Earl of Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worceſter, had been confined in England in different priſons, roſe, by his addreſs, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate. Rothes, a man of dexterity in buſineſs, was made preſident of the council: and the Earl of Crawford was reſtored to his former office of lord-treaſurer[c].

Proceedings in parliament.

THE chancellor, having arrived in Scotland in the beginning of Auguſt 1660, ſummoned a committee of eſtates to meet on the fourteenth of the month, at Edinburgh. Their firſt care was to ſecure the public peace, by reſtraining ſome of the heads of the Preſbyterian clergy, who had met to remonſtrate againſt grievances. The commiſſioner opened the parliament, in the end of the year, with a ſpeech, recommending a condemnation of the invaſions on the regal authority, and a reſtoration of all the ancient prerogatives of the crown. To prevent the return of ſuch calamities as had lately covered the nation, he deſired them to make proviſion for a force to ſecure the public peace. The an-

[c] Clarendon's life, p. 50.

ſwe

CHAP. I. 1661

ſwer of the parliament to the King was full of loyalty and unlimited ſubmiſſion. They had felt ſeverely the miſeries of the late times, and they aſcribed them to the oppoſition of the nation to monarchy. The authority of the crown was reſtored, in its utmoſt extent. The power of framing the bills was again inveſted in the lords of the articles. An additional revenue of forty thouſand pounds a-year was granted to the King for life. All the acts that limited the prerogative were repealed [d]. All leagues with foreign nations, not made by the King's authority, were declared treaſonable; by which the famous covenant was rendered null and void. To extinguiſh, if poſſible, the memory of the late troubles, all parliaments held ſince the year 1633 were reſcinded [e]. The Preſbyterian ſyſtem of church-government was virtually diſſolved by this act; and all the reſtrictions laid upon the too extenſive power of the crown were at once removed. The meaſure was violent and impolitic. In removing a few of the paſt evils, it eſtabliſhed a dangerous precedent for future times. It was concerted at a feaſt, by the officers of ſtate; and it partook of all the extravagance of a debauch.

Execution of Argyle.

THOUGH Charles had made no promiſe of indemnity to the Scots, it was neither his temper, nor conſiſtent with prudence, to carry his animadverſions on paſt offences into extravagant ſeverity. To make a few examples of puniſhment, after violences that had deſtroyed the ancient conſtitution, ſeemed as neceſſary in Scotland, as it had been judged in England. The Marquis of Argyle, from his delinquency as well as his rank, ſeemed a proper ſacrifice for the crimes of the nobility; and one Guthry, a violent and ſeditious preacher, was pointed out as a ſuitable atonement for the political ſins of the clergy. Argyle was no ſooner informed of the King's arrival, than he haſtened to London.

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 160.

[e] Ibid. p. 162.

Artful

CHAP. I. 1661.

Artful in his converſation, and full of conciliating addreſs [f], he might have gained the eaſy temper of Charles, into an oblivion of the indignities which he had thrown on himſelf, as well as the late King. But he was denied the advantage of his inſinuating talents, by a warrant which confined him, upon his arrival, to the Tower. Before the meeting of the parliament, he was ſent to Scotland to be tried. The informality of the proceedings againſt him could ſcarce be juſtified by his crimes. He was condemned and executed. His misfortunes were the leſs regretted, for his barbarity and inſolence to Montroſe. The rudeneſs [g] of the Lord Lorne to the King, when in Scotland, was forgot in the puniſhment of his father; and he obtained a gift of the eſtate of his family, which had been forfeited to the crown. Guthry ſuffered, without being regretted; having added wanton acts of inſolence towards the King, to a conduct ſubverſive of all legal authority.

Reflections on

THE Iriſh nation came down from antiquity, marked with an uncommon ſingularity of political misfortunes. Diſtracted by domeſtic feuds, and labouring under all the miſeries of anarchy, they became, in part, ſubjected to England, before either time or accident had poliſhed her own government into preciſion and form. The natural averſion entertained by natives againſt all foreign intruders, combining with the violence and injuſtice inſeparable from conquerors, eſtabliſhed an enmity between them, which was augmented by various unfortunate incidents, in the progreſs of time. The opinions of the two nations were as different as their manners and intereſts; and they invariably affected, in every thing, to run into the oppoſite extremes. The converſion of the Engliſh to the Reformed religion was ſufficient to induce the Iriſh to adhere to the old ſuperſtition. A ſpiritual enmity added its rage to temporal

[f] Clarendon's life, p. 53.

[g] Clarendon.

animoſity;

animoſity; and if at any time an appearance of tranquillity prevailed, it proceeded from the preparations made to enſure revenge. As long as the government in England retained its force, a kind of a cold and unwilling obedience was paid by Ireland to its laws. But when the reins became relaxed, in the hands of Charles the Firſt, the Iriſh Catholics carried their averſion to the Engliſh race into acts of unprecedented barbarity. CHAP. I. 1661.

the ſtate of Ireland.

In the courſe of the troubles which followed the maſſacre of the Proteſtants in Ireland, the inhumanity of the Catholics was ſeverely retaliated upon themſelves. Under the ſpecious pretence of revenging the cruelties committed on the Engliſh, Cromwell made large ſtrides toward the extirpation of the natives. The difficulty of deſtroying a whole nation, more than motives of pity, induced the conqueror to confine to the half of the province of Connaught and the county of Clare the remnant that had eſcaped his ſword. All the Iriſh, under pain of death, were ordered to retire within the allotted pale, on a certain day. Diſeaſe and famine accompanied them to their wretched retreat. But the enemy hovered on their frontier, and prevented their eſcape from miſery. The reſt of the iſland was left to the Engliſh. Some of the old lords and juſt proprietors, being Proteſtants, were permitted to retain their poſſeſſions. The lands of the Catholics, now baniſhed into Connaught and Clare, were parcelled out among the adventurers and ſoldiers. The ſpirits of the Iriſh were ſo entirely broken, that this ſummary diviſion of their property was made without exciting a murmur. Miſery had arrived at a pitch beyond complaint, and the ſenſe of injuries ſeemed to have vaniſhed with the power of revenge. Ireland remained quiet under the dominion of Cromwell. The enemies of his authority lay ſubdued by his violence; and thoſe whom he had gratified with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, being from principle, as well as fear, averſe from monarchy, were determined to adhere to any ſyſtem

CHAP. I. 1661.

that might prevent the reſtoration of the royal family to the throne.

Its ſtate

RICHARD CROMWELL, upon the death of his father, raiſed his brother Henry to the government of Ireland. Soon after Richard had yielded the protectorſhip to the violence of the army, the remains of the long parliament reſumed their power, and appointed commiſſioners for the management of Iriſh affairs. Ludlow, with the other commiſſioners, arrived at Dublin in May 1659, and continued in the government till the parliament was expelled, on the thirteenth of October, by Lambert. They changed their obedience with the times, and ſubmitted [i] themſelves to the junto, who, under the name of a committee of ſafety, aſſumed the government of the three kingdoms. To reform the army, they broke, without any trial, above two hundred officers, who had deſerved well in the ſervice. The Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, Sir Theophilus Jones, and other conſiderable perſons, diſpleaſed with the conduct of the commiſſioners, formed a deſign to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, which they effected on the thirteenth of December [k]. To juſtify their enterpriſe, they declared for the parliament; and, by a committee of the principal officers, managed the affairs of Ireland [l].

at the Reſtoration.

A CONVENTION of eſtates, ſummoned by the committee, met on the ſeventh of February 1660, at Dublin, and choſe Sir James Barry, afterwards Lord Santry, for their chairman [m]. In contempt of orders from the council of ſtate, they proceeded to buſineſs, aſſerting their independence on England [n]. The convention was filled with members who favoured monarchy. They expreſſed their deteſtation of the late King's murder. They prepared every ſtep neceſſary for reſtoring his ſon. The whole na-

[i] 1659. [k] 1659. [l] Carte's Ormonde. [m] Ibid. [n] Pub. Intel.

CHAP. I. 1661.

tion ran with violence into the meaſure; and the King was proclaimed, on the fourteenth of May, at Dublin. Their expreſſions of loyalty were followed by marks of their bounty. They voted conſiderable ſums for the King and his two brothers [n]. On the twenty-fifth of May, they appointed the Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and other commiſſioners, to attend the King, to preſent to him the deſires of the Iriſh nation [o]. They beſought his Majeſty to call a parliament, conſiſting of Proteſtants, to appoint a chief governor and council, to grant a general pardon and indemnity, with ſuch exceptions as ſhould be ſettled in parliament, a confirmation of judicial proceedings, and, above all, an act for ſettling the eſtates of the adventurers, ſoldiers, and the Iriſh tranſplanted into Connaught and Clare [p].

Settlement

THOUGH the loyalty of the convention reſtored monarchy in Ireland, the affairs of the kingdom ſtill wore a difficult and gloomy aſpect. The native Iriſh, expelled by the violence of Cromwell, entertained hopes of being reſtored to their lands. The adventurers and ſoldiers added the pretenſions of law and poſſeſſion to their demands upon the gratitude of the King for their recent ſervices. It was difficult to do juſtice to any, to ſatisfy all impoſſible. The affairs of England furniſhed the King with an excuſe for not entering upon the intricate buſineſs of Ireland, till the receſs of parliament, on the thirteenth of September. He [q] was perplexed beyond meaſure when he took the firſt view of a ſubject, which furniſhed no light to direct his way. He wiſhed to throw the weight of the whole upon an able lord-lieutenant; but the Duke of Albemarle was unwilling to reſign the government of a kingdom, where he poſſeſſed a great eſtate, upon a precarious tenure [r]. To find a deputy of high rank was difficult. Lords juſtices, from their number, might be ſwayed by

[n] Carte's Ormonde. [o] Clarendon. [p] Vid. Inſtructions.
[q] Clarendon. Carte. [r] Clarendon's life.

CHAP. I. 1661.

either prejudice or party. Sir Maurice Euſtace, recommended by the Marquis of Ormonde,[s] was, on the twenty-fourth of October, ſworn into the office of chancellor. The Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, raiſed to the peerage as Earls of Orrery and Mountrath, were conſtituted, together with Euſtace, lords juſtices of Ireland[t].

of its affairs.

THE uncertainty and diſorder which prevailed in Iriſh affairs were not abated by the appointment of lords juſtices. The whole property of the kingdom had changed hands, under the tyranny of Cromwell. To reſtore things to their ancient ſtate, would be as unjuſt as to permit them to remain in their preſent form. The deſpair of the parties finiſhed happily a buſineſs, wherein the utmoſt efforts of government had failed[u]. The adventurers and ſoldiers judged that any ſettlement would be better than none. They met together. They found that each, by relinquiſhing ſome part of what he either claimed or poſſeſſed, might in ſome degree gratify all. They unanimouſly propoſed, "that all perſons who were to receive benefit by the act of ſettlement, were to give up a fourth part of their claims, to raiſe a ſtock to ſatisfy ſuch of the old Iriſh as the King ſhould be pleaſed to reſtore to their eſtates[x]." Charles received the propoſition with joy. Two unavailing acts of ſettlement had been made; a third, but after a long interval, was paſſed, which contributed to quiet all. A kind of ſilence, rather, than tranquillity, ſucceeded to perplexity, clamour, and diſorder. In this ſettlement the King neglected not his beſt friends. He gave a grant to the Marquis of Ormonde of all the lands of his anceſtors; a deed of gratitude to a noble perſon, who had ſerved him and his father with unexampled fidelity, honour, and attachment[y]. If the crimes of the Iriſh nation were great, they were ſufficiently puniſhed by their misfortunes. Diſ-

[s] Carte's Ormonde, 1660. [t] Ibid. [u] Clarendon's life, p. 134.
[x] Ibid. [y] Carte's Ormonde, 1660.

order,

order, confuſion, and tyranny, had prevailed in the two Britiſh kingdoms. In Ireland, maſſacre, famine, and peſtilence, had been added to all the miſeries of war and conqueſt. CHAP. I. 1661.

THE attention of Europe followed the good fortune which had eſtabliſhed Charles on the throne of his anceſtors. Though the treaty of the Pyrenees had put an end to open acts of hoſtility between the two rival monarchies of France and Spain, their ancient animoſities were rather ſuſpended than extinguiſhed. The conteſt was removed from the field, but it ſtill ſubſiſted in the cabinet. Each retained the memory of paſt injuries, under a veil of preſent amity; each wiſhed to gain the friendſhip of a prince whom both had treated with a coldneſs that bordered on diſdain. France jealous of an ancient enemy, envied to Spain the proſpect of reconquering Portugal. Lewis, unwilling to recompenſe hoſtilities againſt Philip, hoped to ſtop the progreſs of his arms, by rendering Charles a party for the houſe of Braganza. The Portugueſe themſelves perceived no means of ſafety, but in the power of the Engliſh nation. Swayed by her perilous ſituation, and, perhaps, inſtigated by France, the Queen-regent of Portugal ordered her ambaſſador at London to propoſe a marriage between her daughter and Charles. She offered terms that were likely to gain a prince, in whom his neceſſities, and a deſire of poſſeſſing the means of proſecuting his pleaſures, had created a love of money that approached to avarice. The proffered portion was five hundred thouſand pounds in money, the ceſſion of Tangier and Bombay, with a free trade to the Brazils, and the poſſeſſions of Portugal in the Eaſt-Indies [z]. Portugal match.

THOUGH Charles, from his violent love of pleaſure, was averſe from the reſtraints of marriage, he liſtened with attention to propoſals of ſuch manifeſt advantage to himſelf and the kingdom. Promoted by Clarendon.

[z] Clarendon's life.

During

CHAP. I. 1661.

During his exile, he had paid his addreſſes to the ſiſter of William the Second, Prince of Orange; and ſome of his friends had made overtures in his name to Cardinal Mazarin for his niece, Hortenſia Mancini, whom James the Second calls "the moſt beautiful woman in the world [a]." In the cloud which was ſettled on his fortunes, he was rejected by the friends of both, with circumſtances that bordered on ſcorn. Their opinions changed with his proſperity. Mazarin, in particular, offered his niece, with a vaſt ſum of money; but both were, with a compliment, refuſed [b]. The King's affections were now too much diſſipated to fix upon one object; and he valued leſs the beauty than the convenience of a wife. Catharine of Portugal derived to him a recommendation from her very imperfections. The reported narrowneſs of her underſtanding would prevent her from interfering in matters of ſtate [c]; and the homelineſs of her perſon might furniſh an excuſe for a breach of fidelity to her bed. Clarendon, if ever averſe from the match, promoted it afterwards with all his credit; either gained by the arts of France, or in oppoſition to others, who hoped to govern Charles through a queen of their own recommendation [d]. He removed, it is certain, every obſtacle which aroſe in the courſe of the treaty; and though he, probably, had no ſiniſter deſigns in the meaſure, he by it furniſhed his enemies with the means of his ruin [e].

Obſtructed by Spain.

THE treaty with Portugal, though kept a profound ſecret, eſcaped not the vigilance of the Earl of Briſtol. Affecting great predilection for Spain, he conveyed this important intelligence to her ambaſſador at London [f]. Alarmed at the new enemy, which ſeemed to threaten his maſter, this miniſter broke out with a violence more ſuitable to his temper than to his office. He wrote to Philip. He remonſtrated to Charles [g]. He mixed threats with

[a] James II. 1662. [b] Ibid. 1661. [c] Clarendon's life.
[d] James I. 1662. [e] Ibid. [f] Clarendon. [g] March 28, 1661.

advantageous

CHAP. I. 1661.

advantageous propoſals[h]. He conveyed to the King diſadvantageous accounts of the perſon of his propoſed conſort. He informed him of her ſuppoſed ſterility, an opinion even then generally received. The undermining policy of France defeated the open vehemence of Spain. The offer of a large portion made by the latter was rejected for the ſecret promiſe of a conſiderable ſum of money by the former. The King himſelf was more inclined to an union with the French, than with the court of Spain. The memory of former ſlights died with their author, Cardinal Mazarin, who had expired on the ninth of March[i], after a lingering illneſs. Impreſſed with the dread and jealouſy of the power of an Engliſh parliament, Charles hoped to derive ſecurity to his own authority from the friendſhip of France[k]. This maxim he carried down through his reign; and to that circumſtance ought chiefly to be aſcribed the ſervile attention to a French alliance, which has branded his name with political meanneſs.

Forwarded by France.

FRANCE joined promiſes of preſent benefit to the King's hopes of future aid. Fouquet, who had ſucceeded, after the death of the Cardinal, to the moſt credit with Lewis, diſpatched an agent to England, to confirm Charles in his reſolution of marrying the Infanta of Portugal. The buſineſs was too important to be truſted to the common line of embaſſy. The meſſenger was la Baſtide. He brought a credential letter to the chancellor, and communicated to that miniſter his inſtructions. To encourage Charles to aid the Portugueſe, Lewis "offered an immediate payment of three hundred thouſand piſtoles, with a promiſe of a future proviſion proportionable to the charge. He complained of the pride of the Dutch. He reminded Charles of their inſolence to himſelf in his adverſity. He propoſed a communication of councils between the two crowns; he expreſſed the propriety of reducing

[h] Clarendon's life, p. 87, 88.
[i] Hiſtoire de France, tom. iii. 1661.
[k] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 252.

theſe

CHAP. I. 1661.

theſe haughty republicans to a juſt ſenſe of the deference which they owed to crowned heads." To theſe propoſals to the King, la Baſtide added the offer of a preſent to the chancellor. Clarendon rejected with a degree of indignation what reſpected to himſelf of the propoſitions of France [l]. He was not, however, ſo delicate with regard to his maſter's honour. In the courſe of a correſpondence with Fouquet, he aſked for Charles the loan of fifty thouſand pounds. When the fall of that miniſter happened, in the month of September [m], Lewis returned all his letters to Clarendon; but he, at the ſame time, wrote to him, "from that time to communicate with all freedom with D'Eſtrades, who reſided at London, in quality of his ambaſſador." In the courſe of the chancellor's correſpondence with Fouquet, the loan of fifty thouſand pounds was ſuperſeded, by the demand of a larger ſum, which was granted in the beginning of the enſuing year [n].

King's coronation. April.

THESE tranſactions happened between the diſſolution of the convention in December, and the aſſembling of the new parliament in May. On the twenty-third of April, the King was crowned at Weſtminſter with uncommon ſplendour. In the joy which attended the ceremony, party diſtinctions were forgot. The former enemies of monarchy mixed in the proceſſion with its faſteſt friends. Denzil Hollis, one of the five members whom the late King attempted to ſeize in the houſe of commons, was created a baron upon this occaſion. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, whoſe parts and verſatility were, even then, well known, was raiſed to the peerage, by the title of Lord Aſhley. Anneſly, preſident of the late council of ſtate, a man of accommodating principles, was created Earl of Angleſey. The royaliſts themſelves were not neglected in the article of honours. Sir John Grenville was made Earl of Bath, and Sir George Booth Lord Delamere. Ingoldſby,

[l] Clarendon's life, p. 92. [m] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. 1661. [n] D'Eſtrades.

whoſe

whoſe hand appeared at the warrant for the execution of the late King, walked, as a Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of his ſon. Recent ſervices had atoned for his former demerits. He had contributed, with his courage and activity, to the Reſtoration; yet diſdained to make any conditions for himſelf. He affirmed, that he had been conſtrained by force to ſign the warrant; and his late zeal in the cauſe of monarchy added credit to his aſſertion [n]. CHAP. I. 1661.

THE new parliament met on the eighth of May, the anniverſary of the day on which his Majeſty had been proclaimed in the preceding year. The prudent management of Charles, and the public joy which naturally attended a legal ſettlement, after ſo many troubles and diſaſters, diffuſed an affection for monarchy through the nation. The loyalty of the people appeared manifeſt in their choice of repreſentatives. The popularity of the court prevailed more with the electors, than its influence. The nation had not yet, by an exorbitant revenue, furniſhed the crown with the means of ſwaying, with motives of advantage, their own votes. The principles of the houſe of commons were known before they met. The moſt of the members were men at once well affected to the church of England and to monarchy, whoſe intereſts appeared inſeparable, ſince they fell by the ſame hands. Charles made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes; leaving to the chancellor, lately created Earl of Clarendon, to enlarge upon particular affairs. To expreſſions of the greateſt affection for the proſperity of the nation, the King added "that he had prepared two bills to confirm the act of indemnity. He derived from that act," he ſaid, "his own happineſs and the ſecurity of his people; and he declared, that he could not think HIM either a wiſe man or his friend, who ſhould perſuade him to infringe engagements New parliament.

[n] Kennet's Regiſter.

CHAP. I. 1661.

into which he had ſo ſolemnly entered, before his reſtoration to the throne." He concluded with communicating to them his intended marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which had been reſolved upon, with the unanimous approbation of his council[o].

Their attachment to monarchy.

THE commons choſe Sir Edward Turner their ſpeaker[p]; and both houſes, after addreſſing the King, proceeded to buſineſs with great unanimity and zeal. The affection of the commons for the church appeared in their firſt vote. They ordered all the members to receive the ſacrament, according to the liturgy, within a limited time, upon pain of being prohibited the houſe. Their zeal for monarchy went hand in hand with their love for the church. The ſolemn league and covenant[q], the act for erecting a high court of juſtice for the trial of the late King, that for conſtituting the people of England a commonwealth, for renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, and for the ſecurity of the perſon of the protector, were, by the authority of both houſes, burnt by the hands of the common hangman[r]. The commons added ſolid marks of their bounty to the King, to theſe proofs of their attachment to monarchy. They reſolved to provide a preſent and plentiful ſupply for his Majeſty, as well as to ſettle a full, conſtant, and ſtanding revenue for the time to come[s]. Both houſes entered with alacrity upon every meaſure which tended to the ſafety of the prince, and to the honour of the crown[t]. They declared in various acts, "That the making any diſtinction between the King's perſon and his office ſhould be treaſon: That he could not be diveſted of his negative voice: That no order or ordinance of either houſe could be binding on the ſubject, without his aſſent: That the militia was inſeparably veſted in him alone; and that it was high treaſon to levy ſoldiers, without his expreſs

[o] Clarendon's life, p. 95. Journals, 11th May 1661.
[p] Journals, 11th May. [q] Ibid. May 21. [r] Ibid. May 27.
[s] Ibid. May 30. [t] Clarendon's life, p. 107.

commiſſion." They alſo declared, that the ſaying "the king is a papiſt, or popiſhly affected, ſhould be felony." The parliament were more than complaiſant to Charles; they were zealous for monarchy. The royal prerogative was vindicated, if not augmented. A revenue was ſettled ſuitable to the neceſſary expences, if not to the dignity of the crown, had it fallen into hands leſs laviſh than thoſe of the King [u]. CHAP. I. 1661.

In their ardour for the rights of the crown, the parliament ſeemed to have forgot the ſafety and liberty of the ſubject. Though the King, in his ſpeech, had recommended a confirmation of the act of indemnity, they proceeded with languor and an apparent unwillingneſs in that important affair [x]. His frequent meſſages on that head were attended with little effect. Terror ſeized the obnoxious and guilty. Many, who thought they had done away their former demerits by recent ſervices, were not free from fears. They dreaded that the ſhelter of the late act of indemnity might be removed, under pretence of an illegality in the convention [y]. They ſolicited the King for a confirmation of the act of oblivion by the preſent parliament. On the twentieth of June, Charles wrote to the commons [z]; and, his letter having little effect, he went in perſon, on the eighth of July, to the houſe of lords [a]. He ſent for the commons. He reminded them of his own declaration from Breda. He recalled to their memory a declaration of oblivion publiſhed by the moſt eminent of themſelves. He could not ſolicit a favour in vain, from an aſſembly ſo much devoted to his ſervice. They ſoon diſpatched the bill, and he as ſoon gave his aſſent. But though Charles favoured the act of indemnity, his parliament forgot not the injuries done to his father. They confiſcated the eſtates of twenty-one Regi- New act of indemnity.

[u] Journals, paſſim.
[x] Clarendon's life, p. 138.
[y] Continuation of Baker, p. 625.
[z] Journals of the commons.
[a] Journals of the lords.

CHAP. I. 1661.

cides deceaſed [b]. The Lord Monſon, Sir Harry Mildmay, and Sir James Harrington, were by a bill deprived of their honours and eſtates. They were ordered to be drawn upon ſledges, with ropes about their necks, to the gallows at Tyburn, on the anniverſary of the late King's death; and thence to be conveyed, in the ſame ignominious manner, to the Tower, and there to remain priſoners during their lives. With the power of the crown, they reſtored the dignity of the church. The act which excluded the biſhops from their ſeats was repealed. This was the laſt buſineſs of the ſeſſion. On the thirtieth of July, the parliament was prorogued to the month of November [c].

Bad ſucceſs before Algier.

DURING the receſs of parliament, an untoward incident furniſhed an opportunity to the diſaffected to compare with diſadvantage the preſent times to thoſe of the late commonwealth. The inſolence of the petty ſtates of Barbary, particularly the depredations of the Algerines, induced the King to ſend the Earl of Sandwich with a fleet to the Mediterranean. He arrived on the twenty-ninth of July in the port of Algier. He ſummoned the Dey to come out and confirm the league made with England. A treaty was begun; but the terms offered by thoſe pirates were ſo inſolent and exorbitant, that the admiral weighed and ſtood in to the harbour. He was ſo warmly received by the batteries aſhore, that, having ſet ſome ſhips on fire, he thought it prudent to withdraw the fleet. Sir John Lawſon was left to block up the port. Sandwich himſelf retired to Liſbon [d]. The domeſtic affairs of England were carried on with the utmoſt ſucceſs and tranquillity. Some idle bickerings between the different ſects ſtill ſubſiſted, but their ſpeculative diſputes diſturbed not the repoſe of the nation. The conteſt was for power and influence, and the leaders quarrelled upon trifles. The enthuſiaſm of the people

[b] Journals [c] Ibid. 30th July. [d] Sandwich's Journal.

equalled

equalled not the vehemence of the clergy; otherwiſe a ſyſtem of religion, which recommends peace and unanimity, might again be converted into an inſtrument to promote confuſion and war. CHAP. I. 1661.

THE parliament met on the twentieth of November [e]. They brought back their former zeal for monarchy into both houſes [f]. The upper houſe was now full, by the addition of the bench of biſhops. The King's ſpeech was artful and conciliating. "He felicitated himſelf upon meeting a complete parliament. He aſked money in the ſofteſt and moſt inſinuating manner. He repreſented the neceſſity of ſettling a conſtant revenue on the crown. He laid before them the preſſing urgency of his debts, and the unavoidable anticipation of the revenue. To convince them that his wants were real, and not imaginary, he ſhewed his willingneſs to ſubmit his diſburſements and receipts to their inſpection." To haſten their granting his demands of a ſupply, he endeavoured to awaken their fears. "He affirmed, that the nation was not yet well compoſed: That many wicked inſtruments were ſtill active to deſtroy the public peace: That late diſorders were not removed: That new diſeaſes required new remedies. He explained the neceſſity of a good correſpondence between the King and his parliament, to render the nation happy at home and reſpected abroad." King's neceſſities.

THOUGH Charles wanted œconomy, other cauſes, more than his own profuſion, contributed to the debts of which he ſo much complained. The conſiderable ſums raiſed upon the people ſince his reſtoration, had been applied to the payment of the navy and land-forces; yet, when all the money collected for thoſe neceſſary purpoſes was diſburſed, much ſtill remained due to the ſeamen and ſoldiers [g]. Another great expence was incurred by the King, The King in want of money.

[e] Journals. [f] Clarendon's life. [g] Ibid. p. 145.

which,

CHAP. I. 1661.

which, till it provided againſt the miſchief, could not in prudence be diſcovered. In the confuſion which ſucceeded the death of Cromwell, to ſupply the military ſtores employed no part of the care of the juntos who ſucceſſively governed the nation. The expedition of Lambert againſt Sir George Booth, his preparations againſt Monk in the North, the embezzlements which are common in times of confuſion, had totally drained the magazines for the uſe of the army; and the fitting out of the fleet, which had attended the King on his return, exhauſted the naval ſtores. Though the army conſiſted, at the Reſtoration, of ſixty thouſand men, there were not three thouſand ſtands of fire-arms in the public arſenals; and, at a time that a hundred ſhips were at ſea, there ſcarce remained ſtores in the ports ſufficient to equip five[h]. The bounty of parliament had not hitherto kept pace with their profeſſions of loyalty. Though they reſtored the prerogatives of the crown, they kept the King in dependence upon themſelves for the means of exerting them with effect. Charles was obliged to pledge his own credit to purchaſe ſtores neceſſary for the defence of his people; and from that ſource aroſe the moſt of thoſe "crying debts" which he mentioned in his ſpeech to the parliament.

The commons vote a ſupply.

THE commons, on the twenty-firſt of November, voted a ſupply of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, to be levied in eighteen months, by aſſeſſment[i]. On the twenty-fifth, the lords reſumed the conſideration of the buſineſs of the Regicides. The convention-parliament had reſpited the puniſhments of ſeveral perſons concerned in the death of the late King, as well thoſe that lay under condemnation, as others not ſo flagrantly guilty of that crime. Thoſe who had ſurrendered upon the proclamation were brought to the bar of the upper houſe. They claimed the benefit

[h] Clarendon's life, p. 146. James II.

[i] Journals, Nov. 21.

of

of the King's declaration, and of the votes of the preceding parliament [k]. They ſolicited the mercy of both houſes, and their mediation for the mercy of the King. New debates aroſe on the ſubject. A bill was brought in for their execution, but it was dropt, after having been twice read. They were remanded to their ſeveral priſons, and owed their lives to the ſolicitations of the King, more than to the mercy of parliament [l]. Charles retained no animoſity againſt paſt offences; and the violence of the people againſt thoſe who had been acceſſary to the death of his father, had abated in the progreſs of time.

Corporation-act.

THE act for regulating corporations furniſhed a new proof of the zeal of parliament for monarchy. During the late confuſions, all magiſtrates liable to ſuſpicion of diſaffection to the prevailing powers were expelled their reſpective corporations. Proofs of affection to the ruling junto, and a ſubſcription of the covenant, were qualifications neceſſary for holding an office in a corporate body. To remove ſuch dangerous perſons from all authority, bore at leaſt the appearance of political prudence; and the parliament empowered the King to appoint commiſſioners to examine into the ſtate of the magiſtracy in the different corporations, to expel thoſe of doubtful principles, and ſuch as had intruded themſelves by violence [m]. It was provided in the act, that "no perſon ſhould be capable of being elected to any office in any city or corporation, unleſs within a twelvemonth, before, he had received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites of the church of England. He was alſo enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, at the ſame time that he took the oath of office. In default of either of theſe requiſites, ſuch election was declared to be void [n]." The oath tendered upon this occaſion conveyed a ſtrain of loyalty, which bordered on abſolute

[k] Kennet's Regiſter, Nov. 25, 1661.
[l] Rapin, vol. ii. p. 628.
[m] Hume, vol. vii.
[n] Statute 13 Car.

ſlavery.

CHAP. I. 1661.

ſlavery. The perſon elected was to ſwear, that, "it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the King." The proviſion was nugatory, on account of its abſurdity. As no rights can ſubſiſt without a remedy againſt invaſions, the laſt appeal muſt be to neceſſity, which ſuperſedes all law. This act, however, produced conſequences which were not then foreſeen. It gave birth to the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; and, having endangered religious and political freedom, ruined at length the family of the ſovereign.

Surmiſes of a plot.

THE King, having given his aſſent to the money-bill, and the act for regulating corporations, on the twentieth of December [o], the parliament was adjourned to the ſeventh of the following January. Clarendon, having carried a meſſage from the King to the houſe of lords, concerning the projects laid and meetings ſaid to be held by the republican party, a ſelect committee of lords and commons was appointed to examine into the conſpiracies, which were either forming or feared. The report of the committee was to have been received at the meeting of both houſes; but the chancellor acquainted the lords, that, on account of ſome imaginary jealouſies entertained by the people without doors, they had thought fit to leave the buſineſs to the wiſdom of parliament at large [p]. He deſcended from a general information of a plot, to an accuſation of particular men. The houſe of commons, alarmed at the ſuppoſed danger, reſumed their former order of proceeding againſt Vane, Lambert, and Waller. Among the perſons accuſed by Clarendon was the noted Praiſe-God Barebone; a name which added ridicule to ſedition and political noiſe. To ſtrengthen the crown and to eſtabliſh the church, whoſe intereſts were deemed inſeparable, the commons applied themſelves with activity to the militia and uniformity bills [q]. The convocation

[o] Journals, Dec. 20.
[p] Journals of the lords, Jan. 10, 1662.
[q] Journals, paſſim.

were

were in the mean time employed in preparing the book-office, for the baptiſm of thoſe of riper years; and they added the declaration at the end of the communion-ſervice, with the prayer, which called Charles "a religious King." CHAP. I. 1662.

THE bill of uniformity, which took its riſe[r] in the houſe of lords, received various amendments when it was ſent down to the commons[s]. The nation, though returned to its ancient political principles, was not yet become ſufficiently cool from the fervour of religious zeal. Without philoſophy to ſeparate ſpiritual opinions from their temporal concerns, men carried reſentment and animoſity into debates, which, by a ſtrange perverſion of their ſubject, have ſeldom been managed with common decency. The friends of the epiſcopal hierarchy, though very warm in promoting the bill, were not its only ſupporters in its progreſs through both the houſes. The Preſbyterians, deſtined to diſappointments in their views, were oppoſed, by the joint concurrence of other ſectaries. The Independents were their ancient enemies. They had offended the republicans, by contributing to the reſtoration of monarchy. The high-flying Royaliſts, in whom a zeal for the crown was a kind of religion, forgot not former demerits in their recent ſervices. The firſt they conſidered as flowing from principle; the latter they attributed more to a change occaſioned by the temper of the times, than to an alteration in their political ſentiments. The Roman-Catholics, to a dread of an union between the Proteſtants, added their abhorrence of a ſyſtem of church-government ſo oppoſite to their own. All parties ſeemed to concur in ruining the Preſbyterians, by a law which the diſpaſſionate muſt have deemed ſevere. The King, in his indifference for religious forms, looked upon the debates in both houſes with ſeeming unconcern. But his atten- Act of uniformity.

[r] Journals of the lords.

[s] Journals of the commons.

CHAP. I. 1662.

tion and eaſy acceſs to the Preſbyterians had raiſed their hopes of an indulgence to a pitch, which a man of more ſcrupulous morals than Charles could ſcarce reconcile to his tacit acquieſcence in ſuch harſh meaſures in his parliament.

Its ſeverity.

THOUGH the ſcheme of a comprehenſion, adopted by the King in the preceding year, promiſed no ſucceſs, it ought, perhaps, to have ſuggeſted to the church-party a greater latitude in the terms of their communion. Inſtead of ſhewing any inclination to comprehend the Preſbyterians, they turned the whole force of the act againſt the favourite tenets of that ſect. The intereſt of individuals ſeemed, in this inſtance, to combine with a zeal for the ancient rites of the church. Several of the followers of the Preſbyterian ſyſtem were poſſeſſed of livings conſiderable in their value; whilſt many of the epiſcopal clergy remained in want, for their adherence to their religious principles. The bill of uniformity left no room for evaſion, to the leaſt tender conſciences, without the danger of ſacrificing the character of conſiſtency to motives of intereſt. The act required, that every clergyman, to render him capable of holding a benefice, ſhould poſſeſs epiſcopal ordination; ſhould aſſent to every thing contained in the book of Common-prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the covenant, and renounce the taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the King. Theſe conditions were more apt to confirm men in their former opinions, than to bring them within the pale of the church. The political prejudices entertained by Clarendon againſt the Preſbyterians added force, upon this occaſion, to his attachment to the church. Though Charles had been treated with indignity in Scotland by the followers of preſbytery, he was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours; and he ſeems to have been ſwayed entirely by his miniſter, in agreeing to an act which infringed his declaration from Breda. The ſubterfuge of regulating the promiſed indulgence by the advice

advice and authority of parliament, ſuited more with the nice diſtinctions of a lawyer, than the comprehenſive ideas of a great ſtateſman. CHAP. I. 1662.

The ſame ſpirit which reinſtated the church in her ancient ſplendour, guided parliament in their meaſures in favour of monarchy. The command and diſpoſition of the militia, which had been ſeparated from the crown in the late reign, was reſtored, in the moſt ample manner, to the King. But though they placed the ſword in his hands, they were frugal in beſtowing the means of uſing it with effect. Debates on the act of uniformity, and even tedious altercations on private bills[x], diverted long the attention of the commons from all conſideration of any other buſineſs. The impatience of Charles for the ſettlement of the revenue was equal to the preſſure of his debts. To recall the attention of the commons to this neceſſary buſineſs, he ſent for them, on the firſt of March, to Whitehall[y], and, in a moſt obliging ſpeech, laid before them his neceſſities, and preſſed them for a preſent ſupply. A bill immediately paſſed the houſe, to enable the King to raiſe ſeventy thouſand pounds a-month, for the three enſuing years. Two ſhillings a-year on every fire-hearth in the kingdom were added, during the life of the King, to this tax. A conſtant revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds was ſettled on the crown; with a declaration, that if the funds upon which this ſum was charged ſhould appear inadequate, the commons would at another meeting make up the deficiency. Charles was at the time ſatisfied; but ſucceeding emergencies, deficiencies in the funds, and his own want of œconomy, convinced him that the ſum was too ſmall. To theſe ſupplies to the King the commons added an act of gratitude to his friends. They appointed ſixty Militia and revenue ſettled.

[x] Clarendon's life.

[y] Journals of the commons, March 1.

CHAP. I. 1662.

thouſand pounds to be diſtributed among the poor cavaliers [z]; a ſum inſufficient to remove their wants; but as little expected from the gratitude, as it was from the power of the crown [a].

Parliament prorogued, May 19.

THE King having, on the nineteenth of May, given his aſſent to all the bills that had paſſed the houſes, prorogued the parliament to the eighteenth of the following February. He found fault in his ſpeech with "the number of private bills, as a dangerous precedent of unſettling eſtates and property, which were moſt ſecure under the good old rules of the law." He complained of the luxury and diſſipation of the times. He owned his own errors in that way, but he ſaid he would reform [b]. He conveyed agreeable things, in a pleaſing manner. He promiſed good huſbandry; but he was by nature profuſe. Clarendon enlarged, by the King's command, upon "the general murmurs againſt the public expence." He affirmed, that two thirds of the ſums levied on the people had been iſſued for the diſbanding of armies and the payment of fleets, neither raiſed nor employed by the King. He put them in mind of the diſproportion between the neceſſary expence of the preſent and paſt times; and he derived an argument for an increaſe of revenue to the crown, from the growth of the proſperity of the ſubject. "The ſums expended by the King by ſea and land," he aſſured them, "amounted to no leſs than eight hundred thouſand pounds in the year." He magnified "the advantages which would ariſe to commerce from the new acquiſitions of Dunkirk, Tangier, Jamaica, and Bombay; and he deduced a certainty of peace from his Majeſty's reſources againſt a war [c].

King's marriage

ON the nineteenth of May, Catherine of Portugal, the intended Queen, landed in England [d]. She was the firſt princeſs

[z] Journals of the commons, March 1.
[a] Journals, paſſim.
[b] Journals of the lords.
[c] Journals.
[d] Ibid.

ever

CHAP. I. 1662.

ever permitted to leave her native country without being married by proxy [e]; a ceremony to which the Portugueſe would by no means agree, as the ambaſſador was a Proteſtant [f]. The Earl of Sandwich, who with a ſquadron of twenty ſhips of war had been ſent to chaſtiſe the ſtates of Barbary in the preceding year, was inſtructed to take poſſeſſion of Tangier, in terms of the treaty of marriage; and then to repair to Liſbon, to receive the Princeſs on board. His arrival on the coaſt of Portugal ſerved that kingdom effectually, by ſtriking a panic into the Spaniards, who had invaded it with a powerful army. When he came to Liſbon, he was diſturbed beyond meaſure with an untoward accident. The alarm of the Spaniſh invaſion had forced the Queen-regent to diſſipate, in levying troops, the money ſet apart for the marriage-portion. The common report among the Engliſh merchants, of the incapacity of the Princeſs to bear children, had added to his perplexity [g]. His inſtructions, however, muſt be obeyed. He received the remains of the money. He was forced to receive on board his ſhips ſome articles of commerce, under the inſpection of a Jew, to make up by their ſale the reſt of the ſum. On the thirteenth of April he fell down the Tagus. Having been kept hovering on the coaſt for ſeveral days by contrary winds, the Infanta landed at length at Portſmouth, indiſpoſed through the fatigues of a tedious voyage [h].

THE King arriving from London, was privately married to Catherine by the Earl of St. Albans, a ſecular prieſt [i], and almoner to the Queen-dowager, according to the rites of the Romiſh church. This ceremony was performed, probably, through the impatience of Charles; but the Queen, notwithſtanding, would not admit him to her bed till they were pronounced married by

with Catherine of Portugal.

[e] James II. 1662.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Colbatch's Portugal.
[h] Charles II.'s letter to Clarendon.
[i] James II. 1662.

Sheldon,

CHAP. I. 1662.

Sheldon, Biſhop of London [k]. None but ſome of her Portugueſe attendants were privy to the firſt marriage [l]. The Duke of York, who is ſaid to have been preſent, was not then arrived from Plymouth, whither he had gone with the Duke of Ormonde, under the ſuppoſition that the Infanta was to land at that port [m]. Charles, in a ludicrous letter to Clarendon, ſeems not to have been diſpleaſed either with Catherine's perſon or her manner. Though no beauty, ſhe was agreeable; and, in the abſence of vivacity, ſhe ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of good-nature [n]. Theſe favourable prognoſtics were not fulfilled by the event. Her perſon was not calculated to retain long the affections even of a huſband more conſtant than Charles; and her diſpoſition, though in appearance accommodating, was tinctured with that peeviſh melancholy, which offends more than violence of paſſion. She anſwered not either the expectations of the King, or the hopes of the kingdom. The miniſter himſelf derived no advantage from a match, which the flattery of France, and his determined oppoſition to Briſtol, ſeem to have accompliſhed. "The chancellor," ſays James the Second, in his Memoirs, "brought a Queen to England of his own chuſing; but ſhe proved his ruin. If Tangier, as was then thought, could be made a ſafe harbour for ſhips, if Catherine had proved fruitful, the marriage might have been advantageous to the people, and fortunate to the Prince [o]."

Execution of Regicides.

WHILE the parliament was yet ſitting, three Regicides, Corbet, Okey, and Barkſtead, were ſeized in Holland by the vigilance of Sir George Downing, the King's reſident at the Hague, and tranſported from Delft to the Tower of London. Corbet was of a good family, and bred to the law. Oakey, from being firſt a drayman, and afterwards a chandler, became an officer of rank, abilities, and character. But Barkſtead, though raiſed to ſome

[k] James II. 1662. [l] Ibid. [m] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 256.
[n] Charles II.'s letter. [o] James II. 1662.

conſequence

conſequence by his talents at leading mobs, carried through all his actions the vulgarity of his original profeſſion of a thimble-maker. Being brought to the bar of the King's Bench, and their identity being proved, they were condemned on the act of attainder; and executed, on the nineteenth of April, at Tyburn. Being all men of courage, they behaved with decency and firmneſs in their laſt moments; and, though they ſuffered for public crimes, they juſtified themſelves from acts of private injuſtice and oppreſſion. Downing, who was formerly a preacher in Okey's regiment, derived no reputation from his activity [p]. Men even wondered how the States ſhould conſent to ſend public criminals to England, contrary to the uninterrupted practice of the commonwealth. The people, whoſe thirſt for revenge was now abated, ſhewed ſome ſigns of pity at the execution of perſons whoſe crimes ſeemed diminiſhed by the diſtance of the puniſhment.

CHAP. I. 1662.

Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, in purſuance of an addreſs of the houſe of commons, were, on the fourth of June, arraigned for high treaſon at the bar of the King's Bench [q]. The carriage of the priſoners differed not more from each other, than it was oppoſite to their own known characters. Vane, though naturally timid, behaved with a confidence and boldneſs which bordered on inſolence. Lambert, formerly renowned for his courage, was full of a ſubmiſſion, which might have been conſtrued into fear. Vane, though an enthuſiaſt in religion, was a man of abilities in civil affairs. He offered ſeveral matters in arreſt of judgment. He defended himſelf with arguments more deciſive in theory, than ſuitable to the ideas of the prevailing powers. The indictment againſt him comprehended none of his actions during the life of the late King; and he ought not, in

Trial of Vane

[p] Kennet's Regiſter. [q] Ibid.

CHAP. I. 1662.

ſtrict juſtice, he affirmed, to be arraigned for want of fidelity to a Prince, who, though *de jure*, was not *de facto* King. A ſovereign, he urged, who cannot defend from injuries, has no right to puniſh his ſubjects for diſobedience; allegiance and ſubmiſſion being the price of protection, and not the inherent property of the chief magiſtrate. If compliance with the government of a commonwealth was a crime, it was, he added, only common to him with the nation; and he knew not, in that latitude of guilt, who was innocent enough to condemn him for treaſon. He denied his being acceſſary to the death of the late King. He mentioned as a merit, that he oppoſed the violence and tyranny of Cromwell[r]. He inſiſted, that as the two houſes of parliament had joined in a petition for his life, to which the King agreed, this concurrence of the legiſlative power had the force of an act of parliament. He diſplayed in his trial the known character of the reſt of his life; a great acuteneſs of underſtanding, mixed with an extravagance that bordered upon folly.

and Lambert.

LAMBERT, though modeſt in his defence, was condemned with Vane. The firſt, however, was reprieved at the bar, and confined for life to the iſland of Guernſey, where he continued in obſcure tranquillity above thirty years. A principle of ambition, more than any averſion to monarchy, was the ſource of Lambert's activity in the late troubles. He had intended, when he eſcaped from the Tower, in the beginning of April 1660, to have declared for the King, and to have precluded Monk from the rewards which he derived from the reſtoration of monarchy[s]. He lived a concealed Papiſt[t], and he died in the Romiſh communion. Vane's preſumptuous behaviour at his trial, was the cauſe aſſigned for his execution. The blood of the Earl of Straf-

[r] Trial printed by his friends.
[s] Kennet.
[t] Ibid.

ford

CHAP. I. 1662.

ford ſeems, however, to have been required at his hands. The virulence and activity with which he perſecuted that unfortunate nobleman, rendered his own fate leſs regretted. His enthuſiaſm ſupplied, in his latter moments, his want of natural courage; and he ſuffered with a firmneſs which argued that he had acted from principle. When he attempted to ſpeak to the people, his voice was drowned with the noiſe of trumpets and drums [y]; a mean piece of policy, which did more harm than ought to have been dreaded from the ſpeech of Vane.

Two thouſand miniſters ejected.

THE twenty-fourth of Auguſt, or the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, was the day appointed for putting in execution the famous act of uniformity. Two thouſand miniſters choſe to deſert their churches and relinquiſh their benefices, rather than comply with terms which they thought ſevere. Both ſides had carried their arguments to the preſs; both endeavoured to juſtify before the people their cauſe. The church argued for the convenience of one form of worſhip. The Preſbyterians exclaimed againſt impoſing reſtraints upon conſcience by law. The favourers of epiſcopacy repreſented the danger of introducing new doctrines by an extemporary ſervice. The adherents of preſbytery were loud againſt the obſervance of ceremonies, of which, as unneceſſary to religion, they could not approve. The abettors of the act affirmed, that it was unjuſt that men, who believed not the doctrines of the church, ſhould enjoy its revenues. The oppoſers of the law inſiſted, that orthodoxy of faith depended not upon forms. The firſt ſaid, that the conference at the Savoy had ſhewn the diſpoſition of the Diſſenters to quarrel. The latter replied, that the violence of the churchmen promoted ſchiſms, by forcing men of tender conſciences to ſet up ſeparate congregations. The one ſide ſhewed the neceſſity of an union of opinions. The other declared an union of charity to be ſufficient. The church ſpoke

[y] Trial.

CHAP. I. 1662.

of the covenant, as the ſeed of rebellions. The Preſbyterians urged, that it ſecured the juſt rights of the ſovereign, as well as the religious privileges of the ſubject. The firſt inſiſted, that the Diſſenters were intruders upon the livings of the church. The latter derived an argument, favourable to themſelves, from their poſſeſſing thoſe livings for many years. Both had their reaſons, but neither party was free from prejudice. Ancient injuries contributed more to their diſunion, than preſent differences in doctrine. In religious, as well as in civil concerns, men frequently cover paſſion and reſentment under the ſpecious appearance of argument and conviction.

Sale of Dunkirk.

THE accommodating manner of Charles had hitherto ſecured popularity to his government. He ſeemed to have transferred to his public councils the conciliating openneſs of his private converſation; and to have no deſign, but to derive his own happineſs from the proſperity of his people. The neceſſities into which he was early plunged, through the narrowneſs of his revenue and his own bad management, brought, at length, his character forward to view. The firſt meaſure that ſeemed to raiſe the diſtruſt of his ſubjects was the ſale of Dunkirk. It was propoſed by Southampton [z], the lord-treaſurer, and adopted by the King with that eagerneſs which he always exhibited, upon every proſpect of relief from pecuniary diſtreſs. Precluded by the treaty with Portugal from diſpoſing of the place to Spain [a], Charles made his firſt offer to France, as early as the month of June [b]. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, the King of France permitted his ambaſſador to treat [c]. Charles aſked ſeven hundred thouſand pounds [d]. Lewis propoſed ſcarce the fourth part of that ſum. In the courſe of a ſhort negociation, the firſt fell in his demands, and the latter roſe in his offers. On the fifteenth of September,

[z] Clarendon's life, p. 202. [a] Treaty of marriage. [b] D'Eſtrades.
[c] Ibid. [d] Clarendon's life, p. 204.

the

the bargain was ſtruck, at four hundred thouſand pounds [e]. The buſineſs was previouſly weighed, with the utmoſt attention, by the chief ſervants of the crown. After having been approved in the cabinet, it was laid before the council at large, where there appeared againſt it but one diſſenting voice. The Earl of St. Albans wiſhed to transfer the negociation to Paris, and the management of the whole to himſelf. He, however, aſcribed to his love for the public a diſapprobation ſuggeſted by private views [f]. CHAP. I. 1662.

THE ſale of Dunkirk, though ſtigmatized as one of the worſt meaſures of the reign of Charles, was leſs excuſable, as a mark of meanneſs in the King, than for its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining it was very conſiderable, and the profit ariſing from it extremely ſmall. It had no port to receive veſſels of burden; no harbour where ſhips of war could ride with ſafety. Weak to the land, and eaſily blocked up by ſea, it would be difficult to maintain it, but it might be commanded with eaſe. The keeping of Dunkirk, it was apprehended, might involve the King in a war. France looked upon it with an eye of jealouſy; Spain had demanded its reſtitution, as unjuſtly ſeized by the late protector [g]. Theſe were the arguments offered to ſatisfy the nation; others had ſtill greater weight with the King. His coffers were empty, and his debts were great. The parſimony of parliament ſuited but ill with his profuſion; and his late acquiſitions, inſtead of bringing him profit, burdened his revenue with expence. The two hundred thouſand crowns received, in the beginning of the year, from France to ſupport Portugal, were already expended upon the forces ſent, in the month of June, to the latter kingdom. His ſiſter had been married near eighteen months to the Duke of Orleans, and her portion was Reflections.

[e] D'Eſtrades. [f] Clarendon's life. [g] MSS.

CHAP. I. 1662.

not hitherto paid. Theſe were the urgent reaſons which weighed with Charles. The relief was trifling, and the loſs of reputation, which aroſe from the meaſure, great. But he was a ſpendthrift in politics, as well as in money. He purchaſed a moment of preſent eaſe with years of future diſtreſs.

Quarrels at court

DURING tranſactions in which the public were concerned, the private happineſs of Charles was diſturbed by domeſtic diſtractions, which proceeded from his own vices and weakneſſes. Given to women and addicted to debauchery, he was either the dupe of deſigning miſtreſſes, or converted into a tool by profligate men. Through a kind of vicious gratitude, he could refuſe no favour to the firſt. He was governed by the latter through the eaſineſs of a lively temper, that ſacrificed every thing to mirth. Though a man of abilities, he hated buſineſs, becauſe it interfered with his amuſements. He followed ſenſuality with an avidity which is apt to deſtroy pleaſure, by enjoying it beyond meaſure. Deſtitute of religion, he dropt its appearance; and by aſſociating with the diſſolute, he became an example and encourager of debauchery and vice. His good ſenſe and underſtanding yielded the reins to a thoughtleſs extravagance. His virtues, for he had ſome, came ſeldom in view, as he baniſhed morality from trifles. The Queen, inſtead of reclaiming him from his immoderate love of women, fixed him for ever in his infidelity, by her peeviſhneſs. His miniſter, though a man of abilities and virtue, was harſh and ſevere in his diſpoſition, and more apt to irritate than perſuade a prince, whoſe happineſs chiefly conſiſted in good-humour and indolence. He ſought for a relief againſt both, in the company of diſſolute perſons of either ſex. He avoided the dark melancholy of Catherine in the company of Barbara Villiers, now Counteſs of Caſtlemain; and he endeavoured to forget the moral prudery of Clarendon in the vicious converſation of the Duke of Buckingham and his aſſociates.

CHARLES,

CHAP. I.

1662.

CHARLES, who affected to contemn ſuch as were led by women [h], was himſelf under the influence of the Counteſs of Caſtlemain, a woman whoſe violence could be only equalled by her want of underſtanding [i]. Though ſhe had borne to him a ſon, the King, contrary to all decency and politeneſs, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to deſire the Queen to admit her near her perſon [k]. When the Queen refuſed this requeſt, with the indignation natural to a woman whoſe perſon is deſpiſed, Clarendon was employed to ſoothe her into conſent; an office more agreeable to his love of his maſter's repoſe, than ſuitable to the dignity of his ſtation and character. His behaviour during this odd negociation, inſtead of removing the former prejudices entertained againſt him by the favourite, added fury to her reſentment. At a time that he endeavoured to perſuade the Queen to admit her into her ſervice, he forbade his own wife to return her viſits [l]; an inſult to the laſt degree unpardonable in a woman's eyes. The dignified demeanour of the Dutcheſs of York, who would never admit any of the King's miſtreſſes into her preſence, was conſtrued into haughtineſs, and aſcribed to her father. The miſtreſs declared herſelf openly againſt the miniſter; and he, though the conteſt was unworthy of the gravity of his character, as openly oppoſed her meaſures and her avarice [m]. He permitted nothing to paſs the great ſeal in which her name was mentioned; and he often prevailed with the King to depart from reſolutions, which ſhe, as the tool of deſigning men, had adviſed him to take.

between the miniſter and miſtreſs.

THE heſitation in the mind of Charles, between his facility to his miſtreſs and his ſenſe of Clarendon's ſervices, eſcaped not the obſervation of ſome perſons of greater abilities than integrity. Sir Harry Bennet, keeper of the privy purſe, profited by it the firſt [n]. By the intrigues of the Counteſs, he ſucceeded Sir Edward

Intrigues againſt Clarendon.

[h] Clarendon. [i] Carte's Ormonde. [k] Clarendon's life. [l] James II. 1662.
[m] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 276. [n] Clarendon's life, p. 193.

CHAP. I. 1662.

Nicholas as ſecretary of ſtate, on the ſecond of October. Nicholas, worn out in the ſervice of the crown, received a gratuity worth twenty thouſand pounds for his reſignation [o]; a ſum unequal to his ſervices, but too great for thoſe expected from his ſucceſſor. Though Clarendon, perhaps, regretted that his old friend Nicholas ſhould retire, there is reaſon to believe he was not very averſe from Bennet's promotion. Jealous of the influence of Sir Charles Berkley with the King, he ſupported Bennet againſt him, upon his return from Spain; and, after Bennet had accepted the ſeals, he paid an attention to the chancellor, which bore the appearance of gratitude. Clarendon's ſupport of Bennet, proceeded, however, from policy, and not from friendſhip. He ſuſpected him to be a Catholic. Though he knew that he had abilities, he was no ſtranger to his want of principle. The coldneſs which aroſe between them, from Bennet's attention to the favourite miſtreſs, was gradually improved into a mutual averſion. Clarendon had many enemies raiſed by envy; he had ſeveral created by diſguſt. Bennet joined himſelf ſecretly to both, and the chancellor ceaſed to be abſolute in the cabinet. He was now deprived of almoſt all his friends. Southampton, being in a bad ſtate of health, began to withdraw from the court. The Duke of Ormonde, by being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had removed to his government; and Sir Edward Nicholas had yielded to the infirmities of age and the intrigues of Bennet. Charles, however, ſtill entertained a reſpect for Clarendon, for his ſervices; whilſt he derived a powerful ſupport from his connection with the Duke of York. He retained the reputation and a great part of the power of a miniſter. But the ſeeds of his fall and ruin were already ſown [p].

King diſpenſes with the act of uniformity.

THE firſt meaſure of the King, after the promotion of Bennet, ſhewed that new councils were adopted in the cabinet. The aſſo-

[o] Clarendon's life, p. 193.

[p] James II. Clarendon's life.

ciations

ciations among the Preſbyterian clergy, joined to the rigid ſeverity with which the act of uniformity had been put in execution, raiſed clamours and complaints, which Charles, by an inconſiderate ſtep, endeavoured to remove. In their uninterrupted acceſs to his preſence, the Preſbyterians had received repeated promiſes of his protection; and, on the twenty-ſixth of December [q], he iſſued a declaration, as head of the church, diſpenſing with the penalties impoſed by the act of uniformity. The Proteſtant Diſſenters owed, however, this indulgence more to the interceſſion of the Earl of Briſtol, who conſidered himſelf as head of the Papiſts, than to the King's favour. That nobleman, excluded from office by his religion, endeavoured to ſecure an influence at court for his friends [r]. He gained the favour of the Counteſs of Caſtlemain by deſerting his old friend the chancellor. She improved the coldneſs which had ariſen between them concerning the King's marriage, into that animoſity which ſoon after broke out into ſuch violence on the ſide of Briſtol. The King himſelf had ſhewn him ſuch countenance, that he gave, at his recommendation, a regiment of horſe to the Earl of Oxford, who then pretended to his daughter [s]. Though Charles knew Briſtol too well to truſt him in doubtful affairs [t], he followed his advice in a matter to which he was already inclined. He was an enemy to perſecution, from an indifference to religion; and the perſon whoſe counſel he followed, hoped that the ſame diſpenſing power which relieved the Proteſtant Diſſenters, might in time be extended to the Papiſts.

CHAP. I. 1662.

THE parliament meeting on the eighteenth of February, the only buſineſs mentioned by the King in his ſpeech, was his declaration in favour of the Diſſenters. He told them, "that being in his nature an enemy to all ſeverity for religion and conſcience, he had thought proper to diſpenſe with the penalties impoſed by

1663. Proceedings in parliament.

[q] Public Intell. Dec. 26, 1662.
[r] James II. 1662.
[s] Ibid.
[t] Ibid.

the

CHAP. I. 1663.

the act of uniformity. He apprehended," he ſaid, "that ſanguinary laws againſt any difference of opinion in religious matters were firſt promulgated in Popiſh times. He declared his own firm adherence to the church of England. He deſired ſome laws to be made againſt the growth of Popery. He ſignified his wiſhes, that, ſhould the Diſſenters demean themſelves peaceably under government, he had ſuch a power of indulgence, to uſe upon occaſion, as might prevent the ſeverity of the late act from driving them out of the kingdom, or from conſpiring againſt its peace, if they remained." The two houſes received this ſpeech with a coldneſs which diſappointed his hopes. The chancellor was either politically or conveniently ſick when Charles advanced to his parliament doctrines ſo different from the miniſter's firm attachment to the church. The commons appointed a day for conſidering the declaration and the ſpeech. On the twenty-fifth of February, "they thanked the King for his conſtancy in obſerving the act of indemnity, for his profeſſions againſt introducing a government by military power, for his invitation to the houſe to prepare laws againſt the growth and progreſs of Popery." But at the ſame time, they reſolved, "to preſent to the King their humble advice, that no indulgence from the act of uniformity ſhould be granted to the Diſſenters." Charles was not ſo fond of religion as to quarrel for its forms with his commons. He gave up the point, and the ſtorm was diſperſed before it fell[x].

Addreſs againſt Papiſts.

THE King having yielded his project of indulgence with little heſitation, the two houſes concurred in a remonſtrance againſt the Papiſts. Charles, though he ſcrupled not to own his obligations to ſome perſons of that perſuaſion, returned a gracious anſwer, and iſſued a proclamation againſt Jeſuits and Romiſh prieſts[y]. This meaſure, however, was only a mark of his complaiſance to parliament. The ſeverities which he affected to diſlike were

[x] Journals. [y] Proclamation.

avoided

avoided by a ſubterfuge in the terms of the proclamation; and it is even doubtful, whether the two houſes meant any thing by their remonſtrance, but to ſignify to the world their firm adherence to the act of uniformity. The commons, after ſettling theſe religious matters, proceeded to examine the ſtanding revenue of the crown. They had promiſed to make it twelve hundred thouſand pounds a year; but the funds upon which that ſum had been charged had failed. Notwithſtanding the price received through the ſale of Dunkirk, the King's coffers were again empty. Oeconomy prevailed in no department of the ſtate [z]; nor was the profuſion of Charles diminiſhed. Had even the funds, upon which his revenue was charged, anſwered the expectations of parliament, the amount would have been inſufficient for the neceſſary diſburſements of government. The ſum annually ſaved by the ſale of Dunkirk was ſcarce more than one-third of the money expended yearly on Tangier. An extraordinary ſupply was neceſſary. The King ſent for the commons, on the twelfth of June, to Whitehall [a]. He complained of their inattention to his revenue; and by acquainting them of a conſpiracy to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, he hoped to furniſh a reaſon for demanding a preſent ſupply. Four ſubſidies were immediately voted, though the previous queſtion was only carried by a ſmall majority [b].

Briſtol's charge of treaſon

THE charge of treaſon againſt the chancellor, entered, on the tenth of July, before the lords, by the Earl of Briſtol, cloſed the buſineſs of this ſeſſion of parliament. The animoſity between theſe two noble perſons was proportionable to their former friendſhip. Clarendon's attachment to the church was deemed by Briſtol the cauſe through which his favourite project of indul-

[z] James II. 1663. [a] Journals. [b] 159 againſt 111.

CHAP. I.

1663.

gence failed. Though a man of abilities, he was proud, paſſionate, and revengeful. He forgot all propriety and decency in his reſentments, and ruined his ſchemes by impetuoſity. The charge was couched in ſeveral articles, which he accompanied with a ſpeech, as indecent to the King, as it was ſevere on his miniſter. The lords referred the charges to the conſideration of the judges. They ſent, at the ſame time, a copy to the King. The judges declared, "that a charge of high treaſon cannot, by the laws and ſtatutes of England, be exhibited by any one peer againſt another in the houſe of lords; and that, even if the articles alleged were true, they did not amount to treaſon [c]." The King ſent a meſſage to the houſe, which bore, "that he found ſeveral matters of fact charged, which, upon his own certain knowledge, were untrue; and that he could not but take notice of the many ſcandalous reflections in that paper upon himſelf and his relations, which he looked upon as a libel againſt his perſon and government. For theſe and other miſdemeanours," continued the King, "I will, in due time, take ſuch courſe againſt him as ſhall be agreeable to juſtice [d]."

againſt Clarendon.

THE lords, on the fourteenth of July, went into debate on the ſubject. They voted the opinion of the judges, without one diſſenting voice. Briſtol, in confuſion, left the houſe; and, to add misfortune to the diſgrace which he brought upon himſelf by his own impetuoſity, the King iſſued a warrant to apprehend and confine him to the Tower. He concealed himſelf in ſeveral places for two years. He appeared not in public till the fall of Clarendon. He then came into the houſe, and exhibited ſuch ſymptoms of malignity againſt that unfortunate nobleman, as were inconſiſtent with the generoſity of a man of honour [e]. Briſtol's

[c] Journals of the lords, July 13.
[d] Journals, eodem die.
[e] Clarendon's life, p. 210.

indiſcretion,

CHAP. I. 1663.

indiſcretion, in his charge againſt the miniſter, could be only equalled by his prior inſolence to his ſovereign. Though he had experienced the royal bounty to a conſiderable degree, his profuſion had reduced him to diſtreſs. Having aſked a favour, which Charles did not think fit to beſtow, he flew out into expreſſions of the utmoſt extravagance. He accuſed him of his exceſſes and debauchery, of his careleſſneſs in buſineſs, of his neglect of his friends. Theſe charges were true, and, therefore, the more ſevere, and leſs apt to be pardoned. He vowed vengeance againſt his own enemies. He even threatened the King. He completely ruined himſelf with his maſter; who, though he forgot the injury to ſuch a degree, as to admit the Earl to his preſence, never truſted him with his councils [f].

A plot diſcovered.

THE parliament was prorogued on the twenty-ſeventh of July, and the King ſpent the two ſucceeding months in a progreſs through different parts of the kingdom. The public tranquillity was in ſome degree diſturbed by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy in the north of England. Charles, weary of diſcourſes concerning plots and inſurrections, had reſolved to give no countenance to ſuch informations. He determined to leave the kingdom to the vigilance of the civil magiſtrate, and the care of the officers of the militia [g]. But intelligence coming from ſeveral quarters, with the particulars of the deſigns of the republican party, and their place of rendezvous, he was rouſed from his inattention. He ſent ſome regular troops toward York; which city the conſpirators had deſigned to ſeize. Some of their principals being taken, their meaſures were broken. A commiſſion of oyer and terminer was ſent to York. One and twenty perſons, conſiſting of conventicle-preachers and old parliament-ſoldiers, were tried and condemned [h]. Some were pardoned, the greateſt number

[f] James. [g] Clarendon. [h] Continuation of Baker, p. 633.

CHAP. I. 1663.

executed. It appeared that the plot had been in agitation near two years [i]; but it was ill-concerted. Many perſons of rank were accuſed, yet proofs were brought home to none. The whole ſeemed to be the indigeſted plan of a few wild enthuſiaſts, who had neither the abilities to give ſucceſs to the enterpriſe, nor the prudence to foreſee its danger.

[i] Journals of the lords.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Portugal——of France——of Scotland——of Ireland. ——Triennial act.——Addreſs againſt the Dutch.——Character of the Duke of York.——Riſe of the Dutch war.——Victory of the Engliſh.——Conſternation of the Dutch.——Affair of Bergen.——Biſhop of Munſter joins Charles.——The plague in London.——Rupture with France and Denmark.——Battle of four days.——The Dutch defeated.——The fire of London.—— Diſcontents in parliament.——The fleet laid up.——Diſgrace at Chatham.——Peace concluded.——Diſcontents.——Fall of Clarendon.——New miniſtry.——Foreign affairs.——Character of Lewis XIV.*——Triple league.——Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. ——Peace between Spain and Portugal.——Affairs of Scotland ——of Ireland.—— Proceedings in parliament.——A general tranquillity.——Intrigues at court.——Duke of Ormonde diſmiſſed.——Violence of Buckingham.——Act againſt conventicles. ——Death and character of Albemarle.——King changes his meaſures.——Secret negociations with France.——Converſion of the Duke of York.——Conference at Dover.——Treaty with France.——Death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.*

CHAP. II. 1664. Affairs of

THOUGH Charles derived little happineſs from his marriage into the houſe of Braganza, he adhered, with a degree of firmneſs, to his reſolution of ſupporting them on the throne of Portugal. The Queen-regent being removed from the helm by the intrigues of the Conde de Caſtelmelhor, the nominal management of affairs fell into the hands of her ſon, Alphonſo the Sixth; a prince of little natural abilities, and altogether neglected in his education [k]. Alphonſo took the reins of

[k] Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de Portugal, 1663.

government

CHAP. II. 1664.

government ſoon after his ſiſter became Queen of England; and, in the month of June 1662, Engliſh forces to the number of three thouſand, horſe and foot, arrived in the port of Liſbon[l]. The Earl of Inchiquin, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Ireland, and Sir Thomas Morgan, whom Monk had left, before the Reſtoration, in the government of Scotland, commanded this ſmall but gallant body of veterans. Don John of Auſtria, the natural ſon of Philip the Fourth, led the Spaniſh army in Portugal, with ſucceſs and reputation. He forced the Portugueſe to raiſe the ſiege of Juremena. He took Evora. He opened a paſſage for his arms to Liſbon. Count Schomberg, in ſubordination to the Conde de Villa Flor, led the troops of Portugal, with her auxiliaries.

Portugal,

THE Conde de Caſtelmelhor, alarmed at the conſternation and tumults in the capital, gave ſtrict orders to Schomberg to engage the enemy, and to abandon at once the fate of the ſtate to the fortune of arms[m]. On the eighth of June 1663 was fought the memorable battle of Amexial, near Evora, which eſtabliſhed the independence of Portugal. The Portugueſe owed the honour and advantage of this important victory to the valour of an Engliſh regiment, led by Lieutenant-colonel Hunt. Aſcending with unparalleled ſpirit and impetuoſity a ſteep hill, on which Don John himſelf was poſted with the flower of the Spaniſh infantry, they routed him with great ſlaughter, ſeized his cannon, his tents, and his rich baggage. The Conde de Villa Flor, who was more a ſpectator than commander in this action, exclaimed with joy on the occaſion, "Theſe heretics are better to us than all our ſaints[n]." Of ſixteen thouſand Spaniards, four thouſand were killed, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners. The King of Portugal's generoſity to his gallant allies was more ſuitable to his own folly, than to

[l] Public Intell. [m] Colbatch's Account of Portugal. [n] Ibid. p. 141.

their

their valour. His largeſs was of an extraordinary kind; three pounds of ſnuff to each company. The ſoldiers received this royal gift with diſdain, and ſtrewed it upon the ground. Their native ſovereign was more juſt to their merit. Notwithſtanding the emptineſs of his coffers, Charles ordered forty thouſand crowns to be diſtributed among them, as a proof of his approbation and favour [o].

and of France.

WHILE Philip the Fourth had loſt ſo much of his reputation by the diſgrace thrown on his arms in Portugal, Lewis the Fourteenth deſcended from his importance, by falling unexpectedly upon the Duke of Lorraine. Lewis, to whom ambition was the beſt reaſon for violence, alleged the Duke's negligence in adhering to the treaty of Montmartre, as the ground of his invaſion. Marſal was inveſted by the armies of France. The Duke, unable to combat with ſuch odds, ſigned a treaty at Nomeni, on the firſt of September 1663, by which he yielded Marſal to the King, in return for the reſt of his dominions, which were, on that condition, reſtored. The injuſtice of Lewis to his more feeble neighbours had not yet raiſed the jealouſy of thoſe ſtates who alone could put bounds to his ambition. The negotiations of the two preceding years diſcovered to him, that a well-timed ſupply to Charles would prevent all obſtacles to his deſigns from England; and the Dutch, ſplit even then into two great factions at home, ſuffered themſelves to be ſwayed from the apparent intereſts of their nation abroad, by their domeſtic feuds. The German branch of the family of Auſtria ſuffered in their importance from the fall of the power of Spain, as well as from internal cauſes, co-operating with the undeciſive councils of the Emperor Leopold. The idea of a balance of power, which ſubſiſted during the greatneſs of Spain, and which afterwards roſe upon the ambition of Lewis, was ſcarce, at this time, an object of policy; and the ex-

[o] Colbatch's Account of Portugal, p. 147.

perience

CHAP. II. 1664.

perience of almoſt an age ought to convince Europe, that ſhe honoured France too much, in being afraid of her arms. Lewis himſelf had hitherto given no great cauſe of jealouſy. In deference to the peaceable policy of Mazarin, he had, till the death of that miniſter, carefully concealed the love of glory, to which he afterwards ſacrificed prudence as well as juſtice.

Scotiſh and

THE Scotiſh nation continued, throughout the year 1663, to run in their former channel of unlimited loyalty. The Earl of Middleton, through the intrigues of Lauderdale, gave place as commiſſioner to the Earl of Rothes. On the eighteenth of June, the parliament met at Edinburgh. They condemned to death Archibald Johnſton, commonly called Laird of Wariſton, who had been very active during the late times, and was the only Scotſman who was a member of the famous committee of ſafety. He was executed at the Croſs of Edinburgh on the twenty-ſecond of July; behaving with more ſpirit than was expected, from the known timidity of his mind. A national ſynod of a peculiar kind was conſtituted for the regulation of eccleſiaſtical affairs. It formed a medium between the Preſbyterian aſſembly of the church and the Engliſh convocation. This ſynod was to aſſemble at ſuch time and place as the King ſhould appoint by proclamation; and to debate of ſuch matters, relating to the government and doctrine of the church, as his Majeſty ſhould deliver to his commiſſioner, without whoſe preſence they were not permitted to meet. This confuſion of the modes of preſbytery with the conſtitution of prelacy, roſe from the mixed character of Lauderdale, who joined an attachment to the covenant to principles favourable to an unlimited monarchy. He had attended Rothes, whom he could not truſt, to Scotland; and held him in a dependence more ſuitable to his own arrogance, than the high character of his friend [q].

[q] Burnet, vol. i. p. 284.

THE

CHAP. II.

1664.

THE Duke of Ormonde, arriving in his government of Ireland on the twenty-ſeventh of July 1662 [q], applied his whole attention to the ſettlement of her affairs. Though ſome part of the confuſion which diſtracted that iſland had been removed, things were far from being yet reſtored to tranquillity and order. The third act of ſettlement, which paſſed in September, was ſo far from being equal to the purpoſe, that it was immediately followed by a bill of explanation. To this diſorder in civil concerns were added the lord-lieutenant's well-grounded fears of the army. He applied himſelf to purge the troops; but the bills lately paſſed had brought no money into the exchequer to pay their arrears. Though the duke raiſed, on his private credit, the ſums neceſſary for a work which admitted of no delay, his precautions prevented not a formidable conſpiracy for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin, in the beginning of the ſummer of 1663 [r]. Ormonde diſcovered the plot, and prevented its execution. A few examples of juſtice ſtruck a terror into the reſt; but though the nation was quiet, the very ſtillneſs ſeemed to threaten a ſtorm. The diſaffection of the ſoldiers continued. To provide againſt the worſt events, the lord-lieutenant ſent officers to England for a draught of five hundred men; but the duke of Albemarle acquainted him, that he had not five hundred in all his ſmall army whom he could truſt [s]. Time only could ſettle theſe bad humours, notwithſtanding the mildneſs and vigilance of the Duke of Ormonde's government.

Iriſh affairs.

THE parliament of England, after a receſs of near eight months, met on the ſixteenth of March. But the King, as few of the members were arrived, did not go to the houſe till the twenty-firſt [t]. He enlarged in his ſpeech on the late conſpiracy in the North, which, he affirmed, was not yet at an end. He derived

Parliament meets

[q] Public Intell. [r] Carte's Ormonde. [s] Ibid. vol. ii. [t] Journals.

CHAP. II. 1664.

the pretenſions of the diſaffected to make diſturbances from their opinion that the long parliament was not diſſolved; and from their fancying to themſelves, by ſome computation on a clauſe in the triennial bill, that the preſent parliament was for ſome months paſt at an end. The affair of the long parliament, he continued, was already ſettled; but he confeſſed, that though there was no colour for the fancy of the determination of the preſent parliament, he was ſurpriſed that they had not taken into conſideration a bill which paſſed in times as careleſs of the ſecurity of the people as they were of the dignity of the crown. He prayed the commons to reviſe the bill. He declared his unalterable affection for parliaments; and he concluded this part of his ſpeech with aſſuring them, if he thought otherwiſe, he would never ſuffer a parliament to meet by the means preſcribed by that bill. He thanked both houſes for their late ſupply; but he complained, that it had fallen much ſhort of what either he expected or they intended. He affirmed, that the moſt unpopular tax, the exciſe, was the leaſt beneficial to the crown; and he ſignified his wiſh, to collect and huſband the chimney-tax by officers of his own appointment [u].

Addreſs againſt the Dutch.

THE commons, in compliance with the King, brought in a bill for the repeal of the triennial act, which, however, contained a proviſion, that parliaments ſhould not be diſcontinued above three years. The bill having paſſed the lords, received the royal aſſent on the fifth of April; and on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, the commons came, without one diſſenting voice, to a reſolution, that the wrongs and indignities done to his Majeſty's ſubjects in India and Africa, by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, were the greateſt obſtructions to the foreign trade of England [x]. They demanded the concurrence of the lords, in moving the King to take ſome effectual courſe to redreſs the ſame.

[u] Journals of both houſes.

[x] Journals of the commons.

In

CHAP. II. 1664.

In profecution of his endeavours upon that ſubject, they reſolved to aſſiſt him againſt all oppoſition, with their lives and fortunes. On the twenty-ſeventh of April, both houſes waited in a body on the King, and he promiſed to examine the complaints, and to demand of the States ſpeedy juſtice and reparation. Having, in their zeal for prelacy, paſſed the act againſt conventicles, the parliament was prorogued on the ſeventeenth of May, to the twentieth of the following Auguſt [y], having carried through the ſeſſion that zeal for the crown and the church for which they were hitherto ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed.

Character

THOUGH the Duke of York, on account of his birth and his high office, had already commanded the attention of the world, he came forward more fully to public view in the diſputes which involved England in a war with Holland. In his perſon he was ſomewhat above the middle ſtature, well ſhaped, very nervous, active, and ſtrong. His face was rather long, his complexion fair, his countenance engaging; but his outward carriage was a little ſtiff and conſtrained; and he was not ſo gracious as he was obliging and courteous. He was affable in his converſation, eaſy of acceſs; and though ſometimes exact in the uſe of the ceremonial, an enemy to formality. Having a heſitation in his ſpeech, his diſcourſe was not graceful. But upon thoſe ſubjects which he ſtudied the moſt, his obſervations were judicious and ſolid [z]. Though hot and choleric by nature, he became ſedate in his temper, from a ſenſe of the indecency of paſſion; and though he was, through the warmth of his conſtitution, given to women, he was never their ſlave [a]. In every part of his character he was the reverſe of his brother, who loſt his dignity in his amuſements, and ſacrificed his judgment to the miniſters of his pleaſures.

[y] Journals.
[z] Continuation of the Life of James II. MS. Scot. Coll. Paris.
[a] Burnet, vol. i.

CHAP. II

1664. of the

HAVING ſerved in ſeveral campaigns under the Viſcount de Turenne, the Duke of York ſecured the friendſhip and obtained the applauſe of that great commander. His perſonal courage was undoubted; and in the department of war, which he ſtudied the moſt, he was far from being deſtitute of conduct. His chief praiſe conſiſted in a ſtrict adherence to truth in all he ſaid. Sincere in his profeſſions, and minutely obſerving his word, he was reſpected by thoſe whom he favoured the leaſt; but his uncomplying diſpoſition prevented him from being ever loved. Though not a warm, he was a firm friend; and though an unforgiving, he was an open enemy. He affected to guide his actions by principle, to be directed in all his opinions by reaſon. This was the great defect of his mind. His circumſcribed abilities often prevented him from judging right; and miſtaking obſtinacy for firmneſs, he ſeldom availed himſelf of the counſels of others. His lofty notions of regal authority rendered him an obſequious, rather than a good ſubject, while it made him unfit for the office of a limited king. A lover of decency and good order, he was unexpenſive in his diſpoſition, but far removed from avarice. He was frequently unjuſt to men in their ſpeculative opinions, never with regard to their property. His virtues, upon the whole, though not ſplendid, were obvious; his vices were few, and they lay concealed. In the earlier part of his brother's reign he was reſpected by individuals and highly eſteemed by the nation; and even after the folly, or rather madneſs, of his religious zeal was known, he was more feared than deſpiſed.

Duke of York.

HIS father having deſtined him for lord-high-admiral of England, he was placed in that important office when his brother was reſtored to the throne; and he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the duties of his ſtation. The fleet, which had carried the glory of England to a high pitch under Cromwell, was neglected in the changes and revolutions which ſucceeded the death

death of that able deſpot [b]. At the Reſtoration, the naval ſtores were exhauſted, and the magazines almoſt empty [c]. The ſums granted by the convention-parliament were inadequate to the old debts of the navy, much leſs to repair its preſent wants. Of the twelve hundred thouſand pounds voted by the commons in the end of the year 1661, eight hundred thouſand were applied by the King to the uſe of the fleet. Charles, as well as his brother, loved and underſtood maritime affairs. They were both fond of commerce, and they reſolved to ſupport it againſt the encroachments of foreign powers. The Eaſt-India, Turkey, Hamburgh, Canary, and other companies were encouraged and protected. A new African company was formed under the auſpices of the duke of York, to ſupply the Weſt-India iſlands with ſlaves [d]. With an eagerneſs ſuitable to his temper, he purſued every meaſure to eſtabliſh this branch of commerce on a durable and advantageous foundation. He procured the ſecret of dying cloth in Holland; he deceived the natives of Guinea, by giving the ſame ſmell to the goods in packing as the Dutch uſed to do at Leyden [e]. He divided his time between the city, the admiralty, and the parliament. He preſided at every meeting of the company. In four years he had ſcarce been abſent as many days from the houſe of lords. His induſtry ſupplied the place of great abilities; and he gained men of buſineſs by deſcending with ſuch zeal into what engaged their own minds.

CHAP. II. 1664.

THE Dutch, during the troubles which ſucceeded the death of Cromwell, had encroached on the foreign trade of the Engliſh every where [f]. They had diſpoſſeſſed them of Cormantin on the Gold-coaſt, they had been inſolent to the merchants, and committed depredations in other parts of the world. The Duke of York, as governor of the new African company, had obtained

Riſe

[b] James II. 1663. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

two

CHAP. II. 1664.

two ſhips from the King, which, together with armed veſſels belonging to the company, he ſubmitted to the command of Sir Robert Holmes. That officer, having received inſtructions to protect the commerce of the Engliſh, and to check the inſolence and encroaching diſpoſition of the Dutch, directed his courſe to Cape Verde. He ſeized that fort, he retook Cormantin, he placed garriſons in both, and eſtabliſhed factories along the coaſt. Soon after, the Duke, having obtained a grant of a tract of land lying between New-England and Maryland, which the Dutch, during the late troubles, had ſeized, obtained again two ſhips from the King. Theſe, under the command of Sir Richard Nicholas, ſailed, with three hundred men on board, to take poſſeſſion of the country. The Dutch yielded the place without bloodſhed, and moſt of the ſettlers remained under the Engliſh government. Nicholas, in honour of his patron the Duke, called this acquiſition New York; giving, at the ſame time, the name of Albany to the fort, which the Dutch had built to protect their beaver trade [g].

of the

NOTWITHSTANDING ſome repriſals, which fell not ſhort of declared hoſtilities, the States-General had concluded, on the twenty-fourth of September 1662, a treaty with England, upon the ſame inglorious conditions which had been extorted from them by Cromwell. No freſh article was inſerted in a treaty, which ſeemed only to be renewed to acquire validity from legal authority. In the commercial conteſts between the ſubjects of both ſtates, two Engliſh ſhips, the Bonaventure and Goodhope, had been either ſunk or deſtroyed by the Dutch [h]. This affair was debated with ſome warmth at the treaty of 1662; but it was afterwards ſubmitted to the deciſion of a court of juſtice, by the mutual conſent of both parties. Downing, who reſided at the Hague, envoy for the King of England, bought, for a trifle, the

[g] James II. 1664.

[h] Baſnage. D'Eſtrades.

property

CHAP. II. 1664.

property of the merchants in the diſputed ſhips [i]; and being a man of a violent and avaricious diſpoſition, added by his remonſtrances freſh fuel to the flame. The jealouſy againſt the Dutch commerce, which prevailed among the merchants of London, carried daily complaints to the ears of the Duke of York, who had added a deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a war [k], to his natural averſion to every republican government. The nation itſelf, from the repetition of inſults, took fire; and the commons entered into all the vehemence of their conſtituents. The King and his miniſter oppoſed the torrent in vain. The impetuoſity of the people prevailed; and Charles found himſelf obliged to ſuſpend his pleaſures, to apply himſelf to preparations for war.

Dutch war.

THE King having, in conſequence of his promiſe to the parliament, demanded through Downing a redreſs for depredations and inſults, the States diſpatched Van Gough as their ambaſſador to the court of London. He arrived on the twenty-fifth of June; but the time for negociation was paſt. Little hopes of peace remained on either ſide; and, therefore, both had taken previous ſteps toward an open rupture. The Engliſh made the firſt motion toward hoſtilities. The Duke of York had, in May, diſpatched Holmes with a powerful ſquadron to the coaſt of Africa. The States, on this emergency, placed a kind of dictatorial power in the hands of the penſionary De Wit [l]. Upon intelligence of the expedition of Holmes, he ordered De Ruyter to follow with thirteen ſhips of war. De Ruyter, in conjunction with the Engliſh admiral, Sir Thomas Lawſon, was then employed in the Streights againſt the ſtates of Barbary. He took in proviſions at Cadiz; Lawſon ſuſpected his deſign; but it was reſolved, in a council of war, not to commit hoſtilities without orders [m]. De Ruyter ſailed for Africa. He met with no oppoſition on the coaſt of Guinea. The acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe, fell all into

[i] L'Eſtrades, June 5, 1664. [k] Clarendon. [l] James II. 1664. [m] Ibid.

CHAP. II. 1664.

his hands. He bent his courſe to America. He inſulted Barbadoes. He attacked Long Iſland, and ſeized all the Engliſh merchantmen that came in his way.

Preparations of Charles.

BEFORE intelligence of De Ruyter's expedition arrived in England, Charles, though unwilling to plunge into hoſtilities, made all the neceſſary preparations againſt a rupture. Uncertain of the event of his requiſition to the States, he had demanded no ſupplies from parliament. He applied for the loan of one hundred thouſand pounds to the city; which, in their eagerneſs for war, was granted without heſitation. He made a progreſs in perſon to the different ports, to haſten the fitting out of his fleet. The ſpirit of the nation joined the efforts of the King[n]. The artificers worked with the utmoſt expedition and alacrity. Sailors poured in from every ſide. In the middle of October, Prince Rupert put to ſea with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, and ſix of the African company's ſhips, each carrying forty guns. He received orders to intercept De Ruyter; but intelligence arriving that the States prepared a greater force under Opdam, the Duke of York joined the Prince with a reinforcement of ſhips in November. Opdam laid up his fleet for the winter; and the Duke, after a cruize of a few days, in which he took the Dutch fleet from Bourdeaux, returned to Spithead. Orders of repriſal having been iſſued, one hundred and thirty-five veſſels fell into the hands of the Engliſh, prior to the declaration of war.

Act againſt conventicles enforced.

WHILST the attention of the court was taken up with preparations for war, the civil magiſtrate, in every corner of the kingdom, was employed in enforcing the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament againſt conventicles. This act, though ſupported by ſome ſpecious arguments, may juſtly be deemed ſevere. Though perſuaſion ſcarce ever reclaims mankind from religious errors,

[n] James II. 1664.

penalties

CHAP. II. 1665.

penalties in matters of conſcience have ſeldom any effect, unleſs they are carried into an exceſs inconſiſtent with humanity. There is no middle way to be taken in ſuch caſes. Slight perſecutions increaſe the evil. They provoke, but they do not terrify; and could men reflect with coolneſs on their own ſyſtem of religion, it furniſhes no argument of its juſtneſs to call the force of the ſtate to its aid. The greateſt part of the Diſſenters were Preſbyterians, and it looked like adding tyranny to perſecution to diveſt of the liberty of preaching men already deprived of their livings by law. But the day of retribution was come. The mercy which the Preſbyterians had denied to the church was now refuſed to themſelves.

Parliament meets.

THE parliament, after two prorogations, met on the twenty-fourth of November, and granted two millions five hundred thouſand pounds for proſecuting the war with the Dutch. This ſupply, the greateſt ever granted to a King of England, was voted to be levied upon the ſubject by quarterly payments, in three years. A ſigned narrative of the proceedings with regard to the States was laid before the houſes. They concurred in an addreſs of thanks to the King, for preſerving the honour of the nation. They thanked the city for ſupporting the preparations of the crown with a loan[p]. On the twentieth of December, they adjourned to the twelfth of January, when they brought back to both houſes the ſame vehemence againſt the States, the ſame determination to ſtrengthen the hands of the King. Having given his aſſent to the money-bill in the beginning of February, Charles declared war againſt the Dutch in form; and, on the ſecond of March, the parliament, having tranſacted no material buſineſs, except the royal aid, were prorogued to the twenty-firſt of June[q].

[p] Journals, Nov. 25.

[q] Journals, March 2.

CHAP. II.

1665. Duke of York commands the fleet.

THE King, encouraged by an ample ſupply, reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour. The Duke of York, on the fifteenth of March, repaired to Gunfleet, the general rendezvous of the ſhips, to haſten the equipment of the fleet; but it was not in five weeks ready to put to ſea. The Duke, to whom ſuch buſineſs was amuſement, employed the time in ſettling the order of battle and rank of the commanders. Though the Engliſh had been ſo ſucceſsful at ſea under Cromwell, they fought without order, and owed their victories more to their valour than to their ſkill. The Duke was the firſt who drew up the fleet in a line. In the firſt week of May, he ſailed in the Royal Charles, at the head of ninety-eight ſhips of war, the greateſt fleet ever ſent by England to ſea. He determined to viſit the Dutch on their coaſt, and anchored at the mouth of the Texel. The enemy, afraid of a landing, erected beacons along the coaſt; but the Duke was forced, by ſtreſs of weather, to return to Gunfleet to refit. On the thirtieth of May, as the wind, being eaſterly, might bring the Dutch on the Engliſh coaſt, he ſailed, making all the uſe he could of the tide; yet it was the firſt of June before he could anchor in Southwold Bay. About one o'clock, the Dutch fleet, under Opdam, appeared to windward, conſiſting of one hundred and thirteen men of war, eleven fire-ſhips, and ſeven yachts. The wind, which continued eaſterly, fell toward evening; ſo that, though both fleets uſed all their ſails, little way could be made[r].

A battle.

ON the ſecond of June, the Dutch were not ſeen till ten in the morning, when the Duke of York, with thirty of his beſt ſailers, ſtood toward them with a freſh gale. He kept about two leagues from the enemy, till he was joined by his whole fleet; and the weather becoming calm in the cloſe of the evening, he lay all night about eight leagues to the eaſt of Leoſtoff. About two in the morning, the Dutch were ſeen lighting their matches, and

[r] James II. 1665.

preparing

preparing for action; all in a line, and in the ſame order with the Engliſh. At day-break a freſh gale aroſe, and the Engliſh got the wind. The Dutch van came up at three, and the fight began, when an untoward accident deprived the Duke of the advantage of his ſituation. He ordered the ſignal to be given for the whole fleet to tack; but the ſailor ſent up the maſt was ſo long in unfurling the flag, that, before he could let it fly, Opdam with his van had bore up round, ſhip after ſhip, and brought his ſtarboard tacks on board. The Duke ſtopt the ſignal, leſt it ſhould put the whole fleet in diſorder; and inſtead of bearing up round, tacked only when it came to his turn. Six hours were loſt by this little accident; for had the ſignal been given, both fleets would have their larboard tacks on board, and have ſtood toward the coaſt of England; ſo that the Dutch, upon giving way, would, as the Duke intended, have a greater run to make to their own coaſt [s].

CHAP. I. 1665.

At ten o'clock the battle, interrupted by this accident, was renewed with redoubled ardour. The ſea was ſmooth, and not a cloud to be ſeen in the ſky. The Duke of York bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The Earl of Falmouth, the Lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, as they ſtood on the quarter-deck, were all ſlain by one ſhot; and the Duke, who ſtood by their ſide, was covered with their blood. The fight continued till two with great obſtinacy, when Opdam blew up, at the third ſhot of the Duke's lower tier, which he had ordered to be fired, gun after gun. The Dutch, ſeeing the fate of their admiral, fell into the utmoſt confuſion. Their fire abated, and at half paſt two they fled. Sebaſtian Seaton, a Scotſman, remained alone in his ſhip, called the Orange. He attempted to board the Duke; but being raked by Sir John Smith, who killed ſixty of his men, he was obliged to ſtrike. The Dutch, in this

The Dutch defeated.

[s] James II. 1665.

CHAP. II. 1665.

deciſive action, loſt thirty ſhips; twenty-two taken, and eight either ſunk or burnt. Eight thouſand men were taken priſoners; three admirals, beſides Opdam, were ſlain. The Engliſh loſt but one ſhip, the Charity. Eight hundred men were either wounded or killed. Two hundred, beſides the Earl of Falmouth, the Lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, were ſlain on board the Duke's own ſhip [u]. The Earls of Marlborough and Portland fell in the action. Sir John Lawſon died afterwards of his wounds [x].

An accident prevents the victory

THE Duke purſued the Dutch till night; and moſt of their ſhips, had it not been for an accident, might have been taken next morning, before they could gain the Texel. When it began to grow dark, the Duke ordered the Norwich, a fifth-rate, to keep juſt a-head of him all night; to hang out lights, and to keep cloſe to the Dutch. He ordered Captain Wetwang, who commanded her, to fire guns, to make falſe fires, to put out more lights, ſhould the enemy clear their courſe; and by no means to loſe them in the night. Having given ſtrict charge to his own ſhip to keep cloſe to the enemy, that he might engage them by break of day, he retired to his cabin about eleven o'clock, and lay down on a quilt, in his clothes, to take ſome reſt, after the fatigues of the day. He ſcarce had fallen aſleep, when one Brounker, whoſe behaviour during the battle exhibited every ſymptom of cowardice, came upon deck, and endeavoured to perſuade Captain Cox, the maſter of the Royal Charles, to ſhorten ſail. Cox refuſing his requeſt, he applied to Captain Harman, a brave and experienced officer, who acted as firſt lieutenant, but in vain, unleſs he obtained an order from Sir William Pen, the captain. Brounker, upon this, went under deck; and, without entering the Duke's cabin, returned with a pretended order to ſhorten ſail [y].

[u] Clarendon's life, p. 266. [x] James II. 1665. [y] Ibid.

HARMAN,

HARMAN, not thinking it poſſible for a gentleman to tell a lie [z], not only ſhortened ſail, but, after ſome time, brought to; yet, to prevent any diſorder in the fleet, he put again before the wind; and, as day began to break, ſet a-trip his topſails, juſt as the Duke, who knew nothing of what had paſſed, came on the quarter-deck. He found himſelf, when it grew light, half a league a-ſtern of the Dutch, and about the ſame diſtance a-head of his own fleet. He believed the Dutch had outſailed him, by going right before the wind, and drawing leſs water. He thought that the Royal Charles had, by being a good ſailer, advanced a-head of the other ſhips. This accident ſaved the Dutch. They endeavoured to enter the Texel, but the tide had failed. They anchored, however, ſo near the ſands, and in ſuch ſhallow water, that the Engliſh durſt not advance with their large ſhips; and the enemy was too numerous and ſtrong for the ſmall. To complete the diſappointment, all the fire-ſhips had been expended. Four or five would have been ſufficient to deſtroy the whole of the Dutch fleet. The Duke knew nothing of Brounker's affair, till the parliament met at Oxford, in the month of October. Enraged beyond meaſure, he determined to try him by a court-martial [a]; but he was prevented by the houſe of commons taking cogniſance of the affair. Brounker retired to France, and he was expelled the houſe; a puniſhment too ſlight for his crime [b].

CHAP. II. 1665. from being purſued.

THE Duke of York, deſpairing to deſtroy the Dutch, returned to the Buoy at the Nore. He was ordered by the King to repair to London, and to leave Prince Rupert, with the Earl of Sandwich, in the command of the fleet [c]. The people received him with that admiration which perſons of high rank derive from victory and perſonal courage. The States were filled with conſternation. Tumults aroſe among the people, which De Wit found himſelf obliged to appeaſe with ſome ſacrifice. Several of-

Conſternation of the Dutch.

[z] James II. 1664. [a] Ibid. [b] Journals. James II. [c] James II. 1665.

ficers

CHAP. II. 1665.

ficers were tried, as the authors of the public misfortunes. Some were puniſhed with death, ſome with ignominy. Terror, faction, and confuſion, ſtill prevailed. De Wit, who joined valour to his qualities as a ſtateſman, reſolved to go on board the next fleet in perſon [d], and to execute with vigour what he had planned with wiſdom. Sandwich, in the mean time, ſtood for the coaſt of Holland. De Ruyter was on his return from his expedition, and the Engliſh reſolved to intercept him. Upon this intelligence, he went round the north of Scotland, and endeavoured to ſteal home by the coaſt of Norway and Denmark. A rich fleet from the Mediterranean and the Eaſt Indies took the ſame courſe with De Ruyter. Having arrived in the German ocean, they heard of the defeat of their fleet; and they reſolved to take ſhelter, under the protection of the King of Denmark, in the port of Bergen in Norway.

Affair of Bergen.

FREDERICK the Third, who then ſat with ſome reputation on the throne of Denmark, acted, upon this occaſion, a part unworthy of a King. Upon receiving intelligence of the arrival of the Dutch Eaſt India fleet in the port of Bergen, he made ſecret propoſals to Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy at his court, to aſſiſt in delivering them, for a ſhare of the booty, into the hands of their enemies. Talbot communicated the offer to Charles, who embraced it with joy. Sandwich received orders to repair with the fleet to the coaſt of Norway. Upon his arrival, he detached a ſquadron of men of war, under Sir Thomas Tiddiman, to attack the Dutch; who, apprized of the danger, had landed their effects, and erected batteries aſhore. The treachery of the governor of Bergen, the obſtinacy of the enemy, the various difficulties to ſurmount, obliged the Engliſh to retire without ſucceſs. The King of Denmark, as if aſhamed of his conduct, entered into a ſtrict alliance with Charles, through his ambaſſador at Co-

[d] Le Clerc.

penhagen;

penhagen; while the Daniſh reſident in Holland concluded, by command, an offenſive treaty with the Dutch. His preſent conduct was as extraordinary as his former treachery. He, however, adhered to the latter treaty, and threw all his weight into the ſcale of the States [e].

CHAP. II. 1665.

When Charles was making preparations for a war with the States of Holland, he endeavoured to fortify himſelf with foreign alliances. Though the Spaniards deduced their diſgrace at Amexial from the valour of the Engliſh auxiliaries, he diſpatched Sir Richard Fanſhaw, as ambaſſador, to gain the friendſhip of Philip the Fourth. Age and diſeaſe had now added their infirmities to the natural weakneſs of Philip. In his eagerneſs to reduce Portugal, he neglected to remove from her the ſupport of her beſt ally. The loſs of Jamaica and Dunkirk lay ſo heavy on the minds of the Spaniards, that the dangers which threatened the monarchy, the ambition of France, the dying condition of their King, the uncomfortable proſpect of the reign of a ſickly infant, the laſt male of his family in Spain, were not all ſufficient to induce then to accept the offer of an alliance with England. Neither was Charles more ſucceſsful in his negociations in France. The mind of Lewis was already engaged in the viſionary ſcheme of empire, which was long the terror, and afterwards the deriſion of Europe. Governing the councils of Holland through the abilities of De Wit, he had concluded a treaty with the States for a partition of the Spaniſh Netherlands. The Lord Hollis, then ambaſſador at Paris, failed in all his endeavours to gain the court of France. The offer of Charles, to abandon Flanders to conqueſt equalled not, in the mind of Lewis, the power which England would acquire by the total reduction of the Dutch. Reſolving to eſtabliſh a force at ſea, he thought it beſt for his ſcheme to preſerve a kind of balance between the two great maritime powers.

Negociations with Spain and France.

[e] Clarendon, Rapin, &c.

CHAP. II. 1665.

He, however, either through art or want of deciſion, heſitated for ſome time; and, when he engaged on the ſide of the States, his aid was ſpiritleſs, eluſive, and cold.

Biſhop of Munſter joins the Engliſh.

WHILST France and Spain were in vain ſolicited, a new ally offered ſpontaneouſly his aid in the war. Van Ghalen, Biſhop of Munſter, whoſe territories lay contiguous to thoſe of the States, ſent a propoſal to the King, to attack his enemies on the German ſide. That prelate, by nature reſtleſs and reſolute, added the memory of injuries from the Dutch to his own ambition to ſhare in their ſpoils. Though furniſhed with men, he was deſtitute of money; and Charles promiſed a ſubſidy, to enable him to take the field. With a tumultuary army of ſixteen thouſand men, he entered the province of Overyſſel, and found little reſiſtance in his progreſs. De Wit, ſafe in the aſſurances of France, was in dread of no other power; and, neglecting the land-forces, had thrown the whole ſtrength of his country into the navy. This ſtorm, which roſe ſuddenly, was not deſtined to laſt. The ſubſidy from England was not punctually paid. The French ſent a ſmall army to the aid of the Dutch. Undiſciplined troops are calculated for incurſion, but not for war. The Biſhop, through the rigours of winter, carried on his campaign; at length he thought proper to finiſh the career of his ambition. A peace was concluded; and he retired, without doing any benefit to England, except ſtriking a temporary panic among her enemies [f].

A plague.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, the nation was viſited by a dreadful calamity at home. A peſtilence, which began in May, carried off, in the courſe of the year, near eighty thouſand perſons in the city of London alone. The court, the judges, and all who poſſeſſed the means of eſcape, left the town. London became, in ſome meaſure, a deſert; the very graſs was ſaid to grow

[f] Temple's letters.

in

CHAP. II. 1666.

in the middle of Cheapſide[g]. The plague ſpread to the country with thoſe who fled. Terror and death were every where ſeen. The King retired to Saliſbury; the Duke, after his return from the fleet, reſided at York. London was left under the direction and care of the Duke of Albemarle, who remained in Whitehall, and repreſſed, by his authority, the diſtractions which ſprung from the calamities of the people. To avoid the peſtilence, the parliament, after two prorogations, aſſembled on the eighth of October at Oxford. The commons granted to the King the demanded ſupply of twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; they preſented the Duke of York with one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, as a reward for his valour and conduct. The good agreement which ſubſiſted between Charles and his parliament continued; but the public calamities put no ſtop to perſecution againſt non-conformiſts. In this ſeſſion the famous five-mile-act was formed, which prohibited diſſenting teachers from coming within five miles of any place where they had preached, after the act of oblivion. This bill met with oppoſition; but it paſſed and received the royal aſſent on the thirty-firſt of October, when the parliament was prorogued to the twentieth of the enſuing February[h].

Rupture with France and Denmark.

THE year 1666 uſhered in an unfavourable proſpect of Engliſh affairs. Denmark, gained by a ſubſidy, ſided with Holland; France, at the earneſt inſtances of De Wit[i], openly eſpouſed her cauſe. On the nineteenth of January Lewis iſſued a declaration of war; but allowed three months to the Engliſh merchants to remove themſelves and their effects from his dominions. Frederick ſhewed firſt his intentions, by the ſeizure of all their ſhips in the Daniſh ports. The regency of Sweden, offended at the treaty between the Danes and the States, adhered to Charles in

[g] Baker, p. 637. [h] Journals. [i] D'Eſtrades, Baſnage.

CHAP. II. 1666.

their profeſſions of friendſhip [k]; but they avoided to engage in the war. The preſſure of danger from abroad created unanimity at home. When the King iſſued his declaration againſt France, the people, though recent from a dreadful calamity, teſtified their reſolution to ſupport him with ſhouts of joy. The maritime counties put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and offered the continual attendance of their militia in arms. Charles received their propoſals with thankful expreſſions; but he would not permit them to incur the expence. The motives of France were not perhaps unknown to the King. He juſtly thought that Lewis would not puſh with vigour a war into which he had entered only to ſupport the credit of De Wit againſt the faction of the family of Orange.

Albemarle and Rupert command the fleet.

THE Queen-mother, who had left England in the preceding ſummer, had prevailed with Charles, not to permit the Duke of York to hazard his perſon any more in the war. The fleet was therefore ſubmitted to the joint command of the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert. The Earl of Sandwich, who had cloſed with reputation the ſervice of the preceding year, having behaved himſelf irregularly concerning the prizes, was removed; but without diſhonour. He was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary, in the room of Sir Richard Fanſhaw, to the Queen-regent of Spain. The perilous ſituation of England, the new councils which might be adoped upon the death of Philip the Fourth, induced Charles to renew his negociations at Madrid in the perſon of Sandwich [l]. The joint admirals received not their commiſſions till their predeceſſor departed on his embaſſy. They went on board in the middle of April; but though they were both men of indefatigable induſtry, the fleet was not ready to ſail till the end of May [m]. Their force conſiſted of ſeventy-eight

[k] Philips, p. 549. [l] Clarendon's life. [m] Ibid.

ſhips

ſhips of the line, with ſeveral frigates and ſome fire-ſhips. They ſtood immediately for the coaſt of Holland, and took many prizes; but concluding precipitately, from the intelligence which they received, that the Dutch were not ready to leave their ports, they returned to the Downs [n].

CHAP. II. 1666.

Battle of four days.

LEWIS, to co-operate with his allies, had given orders to his admiral, the Duke of Beaufort, to ſail from Toulon with forty ſhips. This force, by the bad intelligence of the miniſtry, was ſaid to have already entered the channel. Orders were ſent to Prince Rupert, to ſeparate himſelf with twenty ſhips from his colleague, and to make the beſt of his way to intercept and fight the French. The Prince with all the natural ardour of his temper, immediately obeyed; whilſt Albemarle, with the reſt of the fleet, remained in the Downs. The next day after Rupert's departure, the Duke received certain intelligence, that the Dutch, commanded by De Ruyter, with De Wit himſelf on board, had come out of their harbours. On the firſt of June, at three in the morning, he gave orders to weigh; and at ſeven he ſaw the Dutch to leeward, to the number of ninety ſail, lying at anchor. Albemarle, though cool and ſedate in his temper, was ever impatient at the ſight of an enemy. Though he called his flag-officers together, it was not to aſk their advice, but to give his commands. He bore up with a full wind upon the enemy; who, having cut their cables, ſtood out to receive him with ardour [o].

First day.

AT two o'clock the engagement began. The Engliſh at firſt had the wind, which was ſo high, that they could not carry out their lower tiers, whilſt the Dutch ſhips, being bent toward the ſide which lay from the Engliſh, could fire their full broadſides. Van Tromp, ruſhing furiouſly through the ſquadrons of the

[n] Contin. of Baker, p. 637.

[o] Clarendon's life, p. 343.

CHAP. II. 1666.

enemy, exhibited prodigies of valour. Albemarle, engaged with De Ruyter, ſhewed himſelf worthy of his former renown. The Dutch had the advantage in the action of the firſt day. Sir William Berkley, as vice-admiral, leading the van, was by numbers overpowered, his ſhip taken, and he himſelf ſlain. Sir John Harman having diſengaged himſelf from two fire-ſhips, ſunk a third; and having ſlain Admiral Evertſon, who bore down upon him, retired with his ſhattered veſſel to Harwich. One Dutch ſhip was burnt; two admirals ſlain. Three Engliſh ſhips, after the loſs of almoſt all their men, were taken by the enemy.

Second day.

THOUGH night interrupted the fight, the ardour of neither ſide was abated. The Dutch were animated with the hopes of conqueſt; the Engliſh were fired with indignation at their not being victorious. De Ruyter ſaw his own ſuperiority in point of numbers: Albemarle was aſhamed of retiring from an enemy whom he had often ſubdued. The whole night was ſpent in repairing the maſts and rigging, which the Dutch, by uſing then for the firſt time chain-ſhot, had greatly damaged [p]. At ſix of the clock the battle began with redoubled fierceneſs; but when the Dutch were upon the point of flying, they were reinforced with ſixteen capital ſhips. They renewed with fury the combat. Many were ſlain on the ſide of the Engliſh; many of their ſhips were diſabled; Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the night. Though the Dutch loſt a vice-admiral, though many of their ſhips were diſabled, and Van Tromp himſelf obliged repeatedly to change his flag, the enemy had greatly the diſadvantage in the action of the ſecond day. The Engliſh had loſt no ſhip, but many were ſhattered and in no condition to face the enemy with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Darkneſs had ſcarce given them a reſpite from battle [q].

[p] Clarendon's life, p. 844.

[q] Ibid. Contin. of Baker, Baſnage.

ALBEMARLE

CHAP. II.

1666. Third day.

ALBEMARLE found his fleet ſo much weakened in this action, that he reſolved to take the benefit of the night and retire. The vigilance of the enemy, and the ſhattered condition of his ſhips, prevented him from executing this deſign. Before day-light appeared, he ordered the diſabled ſhips to make all the ſail they could, whilſt he himſelf, with a line of battle of ſixteen veſſels, brought up the rear. De Ruyter purſued the flight of the enemy, yet he could not bring up his fleet within ſhot of the Duke till four in the afternoon. Albemarle prepared to renew the action, and reſolved to periſh rather than yield. He communicated to the Earl of Oſſory, who was then on board, his intention to blow up the ſhip rather than to tarniſh his former renown by falling into the enemies' hands [r]. At this inſtant a new fleet appeared to the ſouth, crowding toward the Engliſh with all their ſails; the mariners, concluding it to be Prince Rupert's ſquadron, rent the ſky with their ſhouts. They edged up with ſo much eagerneſs towards their friends, that ſeveral of the flag-ſhips ran aground on the Galloper ſand. They all, but with great difficulty, got off, except the ſhip of Sir George Ayſcough, admiral of the White, who, with the remains of his crew, was made priſoner by the enemy. Though the miniſtry, apprized of their former fatal miſtake, had diſpatched an expreſs to Rupert, it was the noiſe of the cannon, which filled all the neighbouring ſeas, that brought him back ſo opportunely to his friends. The Prince having joined Albemarle, the fleet bore northward; but in endeavouring to clear the ſands, they gave the wind to the enemy. Night prevented a renewal of the fight [s].

IN the morning of the fourth of June, the Engliſh admirals, who had reſolved to renew the combat, deſcried the enemy three leagues to windward. They crowded toward them with all their Fourth day.

[r] Hume. [s] Clarendon.

ſails.

CHAP. II. 1666.

ſails. The Dutch lay with their ſails to the maſt. The fight began about eight of the clock, with the utmoſt fury on both ſides. The Dutch were eager to retain their advantage, the Engliſh to retrieve their fame. The victory remained doubtful throughout the day. De Ruyter exerted all his ſkill, but the two admirals were invincible. They kept their firſt advantage of the wind. They burnt ſix ſhips, they ſunk others, and loſt only three. The fate of the battle was not, however, decided at ſix at night; when both, as if weary of carnage, gradually ſeparated, and haſtened to their reſpective coaſts. Both ſides claimed the victory; both deſerved it, had it depended on valour. Albemarle, by his invincible courage, made amends for his eagerneſs; and Rupert, by the timely relief which he brought to his diſtreſſed friends, added their love to his former renown. The behaviour of the Dutch admirals upon this occaſion was manly, and full of heroiſm. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, though mortal enemies aſhore, contended at ſea only for fame. The firſt, by ſaving his rival from imminent danger, gained over him a victory more to be envied, than if he had ruined the deſigns of his whole faction at home [t].

Dutch defeated, July 25th.

THE diſabled ſhips were ſent to different ports to refit; the admirals remained on board of their own [u]. Both, men of the moſt undaunted intrepidity in action, ſeemed aſhamed to return, without victory, to their friends. Their induſtry in preparing the fleet was equal to their courage in battle. In four weeks they were ready for ſea; but the winds were ſo contrary, or the weather ſo calm, that it was the twenty-fourth of July before they came in ſight of the enemy. De Ruyter, reinforced by ſome ſhips that were ready to ſail for the Baltic, was before them at the mouth of the Thames. When the Engliſh appeared, he retreated toward the coaſt of Holland; but he was cloſely purſued. Night

[t] Clarendon, Heath, &c.

[u] Clarendon.

prevented

CHAP. II. 1666.

prevented an action. About ſix the next morning, the Engliſh found themſelves within two leagues of the enemy. The Dutch formed themſelves into a half-moon, to avoid the fire-ſhips, the Engliſh having the wind. They hoped, in that way, that either their van or rear, by tacking, might weather a part of the Engliſh fleet. At ten the white ſquadron fell along-ſide of the Dutch, and the fire began. The enemy, at eleven, gave way a little, but they renewed the action; yet, at one, their whole van gave way, and bore up before the wind. De Ruyter's ſhip ſtill maintained the fight againſt the Engliſh admirals. The Royal Charles, on board of which were the Prince and Duke, was forced to quit the line at three to refit, and the Sovereign fell in her place, along-ſide of De Ruyter. His fire-ſhip being at length ſunk, and his main-top-maſt ſhot down, he bore, at four, into his fleet, right before the wind. He diſabled his adverſary in ſuch a manner as prevented purſuit. Van Tromp having, at the beginning of the action, broke in between the red and the blue, maintained, with his wonted obſtinacy, the battle with the latter ſquadron. He alſo was at length forced to give way. Though the loſs of the Dutch was not conſiderable, an indiſputed victory remained to the Engliſh. They rode in triumph along the coaſt. They attacked the iſle of Ulie. They burnt two men of war, and one hundred and ſixty merchant-men, that lay in the harbour [x].

THOUGH theſe misfortunes raiſed diſtractions in Holland, De Ruyter was again ordered to ſail. To effect a junction with the French fleet was their principal object, as the only means to gain a ſuperiority over the Engliſh. De Ruyter, taking the advantage of the retreat of the enemy to Southwold Bay, put to ſea. He was purſued by the Engliſh admirals; but he declined the combat, by retiring into a bay near Bulloigne. Lewis the Fourteenth, at the earneſt inſtances of De Wit, haſtened forward the

The Dutch at ſea to no purpoſe.

[x] Mr. Pepys's MSS. fol. 58. Oxon.

Duke

CHAP. II. 1666.

Duke of Beaufort. He was apprehenſive for the ſafety of his allies, or rather afraid that De Wit would ſink, from repeated misfortunes, before the Orange faction. A ſtorm, which forced Prince Rupert to St. Helens, ſaved at once both the Dutch and the French. Beaufort paſſed the enemy unperceived; but the Dutch had recalled their fleet to their ports. The French admiral had again the good fortune to return unſeen. Only two ſhips, who fell in with Sir Thomas Allen, were taken. This ſmall loſs gave a pretence to Lewis to lay up his fleet for the year. De Wit had ſupported his influence, and the King of France left the ſafety of the States to their own arms.

Fire of

THE ſtorm that protected the Dutch and French from the Engliſh, promoted a dreadful calamity, which fell on the city of London. On the ſecond of September a fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's ſhop in Pudding-lane, near New Fiſh-ſtreet, with ſuch violence, that the family eſcaped with the greateſt difficulty. The wind was high, the lane narrow, the houſes were old and of wood. The flakes, carried forward by the tempeſt, kindled new fires beyond the courſe of the firſt flame, and ſpread the devaſtation far and wide. The terror of the people was at leaſt equal to their danger, though great. Uproar, confuſion, and flight, prevailed. Few thought of ſaving any thing, except their lives; none to ſtop the progreſs of the conflagration. The morning came, and the fire increaſed. The alarm had ſpread to the fartheſt corners of the city; aſſiſtance came from all parts. The pipes under the ſtreets were broken up; but, to add to the miſchief, the water ſuddenly failed. That part of the city where the flames raged was ſupplied with water by the engine at the north end of the bridge; but the engine itſelf was burnt down. They had recourſe to the pipes of the New River, but they found them dry. The cocks, by ſome accident, were not, though ſuch was the practice on Sundays, turned into the city. Diſtruſt, jealouſy,

louſy, and ſuſpicion, as is uſual, were joined to conſternation and terror in the minds of the people, who are ever ready to aſcribe public misfortune to private deſign [y].

London.

THREE days and three nights the flames raged with redoubled fury. Of the twenty-ſix wards fifteen were burnt down. Four hundred ſtreets and lanes, thirteen thouſand houſes, eighty-nine pariſh-churches, were deſtroyed [z]. The King, the Duke, the officers of ſtate, the members of the privy-council, took different poſts in the city, to keep order, by their authority, among the terrified populace; and to contribute, by their directions, to furniſh them with relief. Charles was affected beyond meaſure at this dreadful misfortune [a]. Rouſed from his lethargy of pleaſure and indolence, he was preſent every where, directing, encouraging, aſſiſting thoſe who laboured to extinguiſh the fire. The Duke of York, who was afterwards accuſed as the author of the calamity, was active in ſtopping its progreſs. The wind falling in the night of Tueſday, the flames began to decline. The fire, by the blowing up of houſes, ceaſed in many parts; in others it became extinguiſhed, without any apparent cauſe. On the evening of Wedneſday it broke out afreſh in the Inner-Temple; but, by the care of the Duke of York, who held the watch there for that night, it was extinguiſhed before day. It is remarkable, that, during a calamity ſo terrible, not one life was loſt; and though the fields were covered with people, whoſe houſes had been burnt, in four days there was ſcarce a perſon to be ſeen. They all found ſhelter in the parts of the city which remained, in the ſuburbs or neighbouring villages [b].

Reflections.

THOUGH the loſs of individuals was great, the fire of London might be ſaid to have been a benefit to the nation. The wretched

[y] Clarendon, Heath, Burnet, Contin. of Baker, &c. [z] James II. 1666.
[a] Clarendon, p. 359. [b] Ibid. p. 351.

CHAP. II. 1666.

cabins, which nurſed ſickneſs and diſeaſe, being deſtroyed, the new city became airy and healthy. The plague, which formerly viſited, at ſtated periods, the capital, has not been heard of for more than a century; and other epidemical diſorders have, ever ſince, become more bounded in their ravages. The King aſſumed a diſcretionary power, which the parliament afterwards confirmed, to regulate the rebuilding of the city, and to prevent the houſes from being framed of lath and timber. Had he extended his care from the materials to the diſpoſition of the houſes, London might have taken a more magnificent and convenient form. But neither Charles, nor the age in which he lived, had formed any perfect idea of that convenience, at which an advanced ſtate of luxury can only arrive. The opinion that the Papiſts burnt the city of London ſuited the jealouſy of the times. Plots, conſpiracies, and treaſons, were the terror and diſgrace of that ſuſpicious reign. The minds of men were not yet ſettled, from the late diverſity of political opinions. The negligence of a diſſolute court, the careleſs and even profligate character of the King, were more apt to kindle ancient jealouſies, than to lull the people into preſent ſecurity. The novelty of the reſtoration of monarchy, the ſpecious qualities of the Prince, had loſt a great deal of their influence in the progreſs of time; and mankind, as if awakened from a dream, began to wonder how they had been pleaſed.

Diſcontents

BUT neither the public calamities, nor the undeciſive ſtate of an expenſive war, had yet raiſed open clamours in the nation againſt the meaſures of the crown. The firſt ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared in the parliament, which, after ſeveral prorogations, met on the twenty-firſt of September[c]. The King, as uſual, ſuited his ſpeech to the times. He lamented the late calamity; he magnified the ſucceſs of his arms; he, in an artful manner, demanded a ſupply[d]. The houſe of commons, during

[c] Journals. [d] Ibid.

the

the firſt days of their ſitting, was thin, the diſtant members having not yet arrived. The ſervants of the crown formed a great majority of thoſe preſent; and a ſupply was faintly voted [e], without mentioning the funds upon which it was to be charged. When the members increaſed, they made profeſſions of loyalty to the King; but they arraigned the meaſures of the crown. Without thinking any more of the ſupply, they paſſed to other buſineſs. They inquired into the cauſe of the late fire; they ordered in a bill for appointing commiſſioners to inſpect the public accounts. When any member mentioned the urgent neceſſities of the crown, another anſwered by repreſenting the exhauſted ſtate of the nation. This buſineſs became the ſubject of altercation, rather than debate; the ſervants of the crown, who wiſhed to ingratiate themſelves with the popular party, avoiding to bring the matter to a queſtion.

CHAP. II. 1666.

THE ill-humour in parliament proceeded leſs from a regard for the public good, than from the private views of ſome leading members. The neceſſities, which threw Charles ſo frequently on his commons, rendered the poſſeſſion of their houſe an object of ambition. Men ſaw that the road to preferment lay through that place; and they began to oppoſe the crown, to render themſelves neceſſary to its ſervice. This ſcience, brought ſince to great perfection, was far from being unknown under Charles. The beſt ſpeakers among the commons thought themſelves the moſt able to govern the nation. They formed into a party, and, to carry forward their operations with more force, they choſe a head. This was the Duke of Buckingham, who joined lively parts to unequalled profligacy. The pleaſantneſs of his humour and converſation, the extravagance and poignancy of his wit, rendered perſons of all opinions fond of his company. A quarrel with the favourite miſtreſs, which drove him from the King's preſence, made him a

in parliament.

[e] Clarendon.

CHAP. II. 1666.

fit leader for a party who oppoſed the court. He knew the vulnerable ſide of Charles, from being acquainted with his ſecret acts of profuſion; and from him, probably, roſe the popular topic of an examination into the public accounts.

A ſupply granted.

NOTWITHSTANDING this combination among the ſpeaking members, the majority of the commons had not changed their former affections for the King[f]. The oppoſition were as unwilling to bring the buſineſs of the ſupply to a deciſion, as the ſervants of the crown. To defer it was to gain a point. The attention of the houſe was called to a matter which engaged their paſſions. A bill was brought in to prevent the importation of Iriſh cattle[g]; and the debates upon it, through ſome of thoſe ſtrange humours to which popular aſſemblies are frequently liable, grew to a warmth which precluded all other ſubjects. A difference with the lords was added to the turbulence among the commons[h]. The bill at length paſſed both houſes; and, when the King came to give his aſſent, on the eighteenth of January, he ſpoke to the commons concerning their promiſed ſupply with that firmneſs which he could, upon occaſions, aſſume. They retired to their houſe, and paſſed the bill of ſupply, which was preſented for the royal aſſent on the eighth of February; and then the parliament was prorogued to the tenth of October[i]. The bill for inſpecting the public accounts was dropt in the houſe of lords[k].

The fleet laid up.

THE ſupply granted by the commons, with ſo much reluctance, was inadequate for carrying on the war with vigour. The King himſelf, and almoſt all his ſervants, were inclined to a peace; but how to obtain it with honour, was difficult to be conceived. Southampton was the firſt who propoſed to lay up the firſt and ſecond rates; and to act, to avoid expence, upon the defenſive. Albemarle joined the lord treaſurer's opinion, and adviſed to weary

[f] Clarendon. [g] Journals. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid. [k] Clarendon.

CHAP. II. 1667.

the Dutch out of patience, by incommoding their trade. The Duke of York oppoſed this ſcheme. He thought that the meaſure would have a contrary effect. "The ſucceſs of the laſt year," ſaid he, "was more ſpecious than ſolid; the Engliſh having loſt ten and the Dutch only two men of war. The chief advantage," he continued, "which had been derived from the battles with the enemy, was the panic which the Engliſh valour had ſtruck into the Dutch ſeamen; who, being convinced of their own inability to reſiſt them with equal numbers, would ſcarce be induced to go on board the fleet. The laying up of the great ſhips," he affirmed, "would remove the terror of the enemy, make them maſters of the ſea, and place them in a capacity to inſult the coaſt[l]." He preſented a plan to the council, by which it appeared, that, with good huſbandry, the whole fleet might be fitted out for ſervice; and he aſſured them, that their preſent project, though it might ſave a little money to the King, would become burdenſome to the people, by obliging them to keep the militia in arms and pay during the ſummer. The Duke's arguments were over-ruled in council. His father-in-law, the chancellor, deſerted him upon this occaſion[m]. They laid up the capital ſhips, and the nation was left open to inſult.

Steps toward a peace.

THOUGH the chief ſucceſs of the war had been on the ſide of England, the King, from his natural indolence and want of ambition, wiſhed for peace, before the parſimony of parliament had rendered it neceſſary[n]. Having, in the month of September, ſent to Holland for the body of Sir William Berkley, he inſinuated, but in a diſtant manner, his inclination to put an end to differences upon reaſonable terms. The Dutch, though their credit remained entire, were afraid of a failure in their reſources, by the almoſt total obſtruction of their trade by the Engliſh navy. In their anſwer to the letter of Charles, they offered one of two

[l] 1 James II. 1667. [m] Ibid. [n] Baſnage, Le Clerc.

conditions;

CHAP. II. 1667.

conditions; that every place taken ſhould be reſtored on both ſides, or each party retain what they now poſſeſſed. Charles, in expectation of a large ſupply from parliament, hoped to compel his enemies to more advantageous terms. When that failed, he began to liſten to a renewal of the ſame propoſals. The Dutch, on the ſeventeenth of January, wrote a letter to the King[o]. They wiſhed for a conference, and they named London for holding it; provided the two crowned heads, who were their allies in the war, ſhould agree to a circumſtance that might appear humiliating. The King, to obviate objections, named the Hague. At length, after ſome negociations with the court of France, Breda was fixed upon by all parties. The conference was to have been opened on the tenth of May. The Engliſh commiſſioners, the Lord Hollis and Henry Coventry, arrived not till the twentieth. Sweden, as mediator, was repreſented by two ambaſſadors, Fleming and Coet. France, Denmark, and the States, ſent their commiſſioners; and the conference was opened with every reaſonable proſpect of a ſpeedy and happy concluſion.

Diſgrace

DISPUTES concerning the ceſſion of the iſland of Polerone having protracted the negociations[p], the Dutch, who had refuſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, endeavoured to retrieve the honour they had loſt at ſea, by inſulting the Engliſh in their own ports. The laying up of the capital ſhips, to ſave money, was no ſecret to the States. They fitted out their fleet. De Ruyter appeared at the mouth of the Thames. He took Sheerneſs, ill fortified, and worſe defended. A ſquadron, under Van Ghent, advanced with a leading wind up the Medway, on the tenth of June. He broke the chain, deſtroyed ſeven ſhips of war at Chatham, and carried away the Charles, a firſt-rate[q]. The conſternation was great, but ſcarce equal to the general indignation. The reputed lords of the ocean ſaw themſelves inſulted, and their navy deſtroyed in

[o] D'Eſtrades. [p] Clarendon. [q] James II. 1667.

their

their very harbours. Men exclaimed againſt the ſhameful negligence of government. They complained with juſtice of the mean avarice of the King; who, to ſecrete a pitiful ſum, left his kingdom defenceleſs againſt danger, and expoſed to inſult and diſgrace. The enemy hovered near Chatham for ſeveral days; and every tide furniſhed them with a freſh opportunity of triumph. The Duke of Albemarle exerted in vain his conduct and ſkill. The negligence of the Crown had extended to all its meaneſt ſervants. Diſobedience, cowardice, and rapacity prevailed in every department; and that more miſchief was not done, proceeded leſs from any vigilance in the Engliſh, than from a want of vigour in the Dutch [r].

CHAP. II. 1667.

THE city of London, during the Dutch operations at Chatham, was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. The enemy were expected at London-bridge. The timid left the town. Confuſion prevailed among thoſe who remained. The militia was raiſed. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall. Batteries were raiſed on the banks of the river. The train-bands themſelves took the field. Theſe precautions were, however, unneceſſary. The difficult navigation of the Thames, prevented De Ruyter from endeavouring to advance, more than any force prepared by the Engliſh. He ſailed weſtward along the coaſt. He attempted Portſmouth, Torbay, and Plymouth in vain. He returned again to the Thames. The ſame conſternation was renewed. An encounter happened between Sir Edward Spragge and the enemy, in the mouth of the river. Little damage was done on either ſide. Spragge retired to Graveſend, De Ruyter ſailed again to the weſt. The Dutch, during the whole month of June and the greateſt part of July, rode triumphant in the channel. The treaty of peace being at length ſigned, on the twenty-firſt of the latter month, De Ruyter put an end to hoſtilities and returned to Hol-

at Chatham.

[r] James II. 1667.

land.

CHAP. II. 1667.

land. Charles was extremely mortified at the disgrace, which either his own avarice, or the unskilfulness of his councils brought upon the nation. A melancholy and concern, for some time, suspended his pleasures; and he added self-reproach to the just murmurs of his people.

Treaty concluded.

DURING the alarm, which the Dutch fleet made along the coast, Charles levied suddenly a body of twelve thousand men; and to provide against the worst, ordered the parliament to assemble, on the twenty-fifth of July*. The peace, with the three hostile powers, being concluded before they met, he dismissed them, with a short speech; having perceived, that the ill humour which had become apparent in the late session, was increased by the disgrace at Chatham. The only vote passed by the commons, was an address for disbanding the army; with which the King, in his speech at the prorogation, promised to comply. Thus ended the first war of Charles, begun through jealousy more than injury; and which, though carried on with some glory, terminated in disgrace. Though the Dutch were nominally joined by two crowned heads, they derived little assistance from either. They were supported merely by their own resources, and the enterprizing genius of their minister, De Wit. A subsidy procured for them the friendship of Denmark; they owed the name of France, in the war, to the influence of the pensionary with Lewis the Fourteenth. Neither of the two kings had any quarrel with England; and they had no differences to settle by treaty. To forget the past was to be reconciled with Denmark; and France, by putting a part of the island of St. Christophers again in possession of the English, removed every pretence of future contest. The ambition of Lewis being turned to another quarter, he found it convenient to secure the acquiescence, if not the friendship, of

* Journals.

Charles.

Charles. This was the cauſe of his languor in the war, as well as of the facility with which he was induced to conclude the peace. CHAP. II. 1667.

THE national happineſs, which began with the Reſtoration, ſeems to have terminated with the Dutch war. The careleſſneſs of the King, the diſtreſs brought upon the crown by extravagance, the diſgrace thrown upon the kingdom by the want of a proper protection from government, raiſed the jealouſy of the people, and, in ſome degree, provoked their reſentment. To theſe, Charles had only to oppoſe ſome amiable qualities; and that irreſiſtible popularity in his manner, which ſupported him with the vulgar, in his worſt meaſures. Men of ſenſe and virtue, who knew his abilities, were offended at his not exerting them with vigour. The lovers of monarchy were chagrined at a negligence, which undermined his authority; and his beſt friends, the populace, transferred the blame of the late misfortunes from their Prince to his ſervants. Theſe diſcontents, however, exhibited no ſymptoms of violence. The calamities of fire, peſtilence, and, in the end, an inglorious war, were not capable to alienate the affections of the people from a prince, whoſe very vices were popular. His gallantry was conſtrued into ſpirit, his want of oeconomy into generoſity. The vulgar, ever fond of royalty, forgot a thouſand errors, in the flattering familiarity of their Sovereign. Diſcontents among the people.

THE popularity which Charles poſſeſſed in his private capacity, was not now ſufficient to reconcile even the vulgar to his public conduct. He perceived, that to regain the confidence of the nation, he muſt aſſume an appearance of changing his meaſures. He knew that a ſacrifice muſt be made, and that a miniſter is the moſt grateful offering to an offended people. The Earl of Clarendon, though he had loſt a part of the confidence of the Sovereign, was conſidered by the nation as the leader in all his councils; and he was now become as diſagreeable to Charles, as he was hated by Character of the

CHAP. II. 1667.

his ſubjects. This noble perſon, though poſſeſſed of merit, was ſubject to weakneſſes, which by their magnitude bordered upon vices. To the ſeverity of his manners he added a paſſionate diſpoſition, which frequently converted his beſt friends into his worſt enemies. In buſineſs he was ſometimes trifling, always dilatory [t]; and he often forgot to act, in the pleaſure which he derived from diſquiſition and argument. His love of virtue was tarniſhed with a ſcrupulous adherence to forms, which bore the appearance of moral prudery. His good ſenſe yielded too often to the vehemence of his temper; and, as he was ſeldom wrong in his judgment, he could not bear contradiction with any degree of patience. Though he cannot be accuſed of injuſtice, his violent expreſſions againſt his enemies might be conſtrued into a diſpoſition toward revenge; whilſt his extravagant praiſe of his friends, brought frequently in queſtion his judgment of character. In the moſt favourable view, he was rather a good than an amiable man; more moderate in his temper than humble in his deportment.

Earl of Clarendon.

In his public capacity he exhibited abilities, though it is extremely doubtful whether he deſerves the character of a great miniſter. Confined in his general view of affairs, he ſeems to have carried too much of the narrowneſs of his profeſſion into the great line of public buſineſs; and to form his conduct upon his own early prejudices, more than upon an immediate view of the ſtate of the nation. Though faithful to his maſter, he perceived not his diſtant intereſts; and he ſacrificed, for preſent convenience, his future political happineſs. The moſt unpopular meaſures of the early part of this reign were either originally propoſed, or afterwards proſecuted with ardour by Clarendon; yet even theſe proceeded from an error in judgment, more than from deſign. He adviſed the King to retain a numerous guard for his perſon [u]. The ſale of Dunkirk, propoſed firſt by his intimate

[t] North's Examen. p. 455.

[u] James II. 1661.

friend,

friend, Southampton, was managed by him and afterwards defended[x]. Though perhaps he was not the firſt who ſuggeſted the match with the daughter of Portugal, he ſupported, againſt all oppoſition, that unfortunate meaſure; and brought, as his ſon-in-law affirms, a Queen of his own chooſing to England[y]. His zeal for the Church of England, combining with his memory of the political delinquency of the ſectaries, formed thoſe intolerant laws which diſturbed the repoſe of the kingdom. The unfortunate reſolution of laying up the fleet, may be carried by implication to the account of Clarendon. It was propoſed by Southampton[z], who, though a man of parts himſelf, was known, from his indolence, to be guided in his opinions by the chancellor. He was, upon the whole, a reſpectable miniſter and a man of integrity. To an unwearied application, he joined a conſtancy which approached to firmneſs; and though a zealous aſſertor of the prerogatives of the crown, he made few encroachments upon the liberties of the ſubject, as they were then defined.

CHAP. II. 1667.

THOUGH Clarendon's ungracious manner was ſo contrary to the diſpoſition of the King, the latter long ſacrificed his feelings to his convenience. He permitted his miniſter to rail at his vices, for furniſhing him with leiſure to follow his pleaſures. The whole weight of the ſtate lay chiefly on his ſhoulders; and an old ſervant derived a kind of right to be familiar, from his fidelity. The intemperate rage of a miſtreſs, the artful machinations of her deſigning creatures, would have little weight with Charles, had his miniſter retained the power of ſerving him with effect. But Clarendon had loſt the confidence of the people; and he probably never poſſeſſed the ſincere love of his Prince. The power of being uſeful being ended with the chancellor, the King ceaſed to be grateful. In falling down with the ſtream of public opinion, he found that he could indulge his own private reſentment. The

Cauſe of his fall.

[x] Clarendon's life. [y] James II. 1662. [z] Ibid. 1667.

CHAP. II. 1667.

enemies of Clarendon, and envy as well as his manner had raiſed many againſt him, urged the King to remove him, with all their addreſs. The Duke of Buckingham, who had, ſome months before, fallen under the diſpleaſure of Charles, was now permitted to appear at court; and he aſcribed his late misfortunes to the chancellor. With all the force of his poignant wit, he had long endeavoured to render the miniſter ridiculous in the eyes of his Sovereign; and what contributed ſtill more to the ſucceſs of his purpoſe, he promiſed for the future good humour of the commons, ſhould his enemy be diveſted of his employment. Buckingham's influence on the meaſures of the houſe in the laſt ſeſſion, ſtampt more credit on his promiſe, than any opinion of his veracity.

He is diſmiſſed.

CHARLES having come to the reſolution of removing the chancellor, obſerved a degree of delicacy with regard to his fall. He ſent him a meſſage by the Duke of York, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, that the neceſſity of his affairs, and not any diſſatisfaction, obliged him to require his reſignation [a]. The heſitation of the chancellor irritated the King; and he ſent ſecretary Morrice, on the thirtieth, with poſitive orders to receive the ſeal [b]. The parliament having met, on the tenth of October, the King ſpoke but little, in perſon [c]. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper, enlarged upon the late prorogation, the peace, and the ſtate of the public accounts. He recommended an examination of the latter to the commons; he promiſed to both houſes, in the name of the King, that all juſt grievances ſhould be redreſſed. The commons, on the fourteenth, voted an addreſs of thanks to the King, "for diſbanding the late raiſed forces, for turning the Papiſts out of his guards, and more eſpecially, for diſmiſſing the Earl of Clarendon from the exerciſe of public truſt and employment [d]."

[a] James II. 1667. [b] Clarendon's life. [c] Journals of the Lords. [d] Journals.

THE

CHAP. II.

1667.

THE King, with too much readineſs, made anſwer, "that he would never employ the late chancellor in any public affairs." He even indecently interfered in the debates of the houſe, to throw diſgrace on the fallen miniſter. He ordered his ſervants to let it be known, that he expected to be thanked for diſmiſſing Clarendon; whilſt the latter charged his friends not to oppoſe the motion, being reſolved that none of his private concerns ſhould diſturb the King's affairs [e]. The ſame conduct was uſed by both in the upper houſe, when the Lords were moved to join in the addreſs of the commons. The vote would not have paſſed, had not the Duke of York and ſeveral peers withdrawn, that no obſtruction might be given to the declared wiſh of the King [f]. On the twenty-ſixth of October, Clarendon was accuſed to the commons, by Mr. Seymour; and a committee appointed to conſider of proceedings and precedents. Seventeen articles of accuſation were preſented to the houſe, on the ſixth of November. He was charged with deſigning to govern the kingdom by a ſtanding army; of correſponding with Cromwell, ſelling of Dunkirk, for arbitrary and illegal impriſonments, extorting ſums of money illegally, procuring exorbitant grants for himſelf and his relations; and of betraying the King's councils to his enemies [g].

Attacked by the Commons.

THOUGH ſome of the articles had a kind of foundation in fact, others were either frivolous or unjuſt. Clarendon adviſed the raiſing a proper guard for the King's perſon. But Charles himſelf declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the Duke of York, that he had never given his advice to govern by a ſtanding army [h]. His concern in the ſale of Dunkirk is not to be denied. But there is no reaſon to believe, that he derived any advantage to himſelf from the meaſure; and it is even doubtful, whether the ſale of the place was any real detriment to the nation. Sir Richard Greenville and Sir Robert Long, during the King's exile, had

The charge examined.

[e] James II. 1667. [f] Ibid. [g] Journals. [h] James II. 1667.

accuſed

CHAP. II. 1667.

accuſed Sir Edward Hyde of paying a ſecret viſit to Cromwell, and receiving a penſion for intelligence. The accuſation was founded upon the faith of a chambermaid, who alleged that ſhe led Hyde one morning to the Protector's bed-room [h]. This vague report was rejected without examination by Charles; and though his accuſers endeavoured to corroborate their aſſertions by the affluence in which Hyde and his family lived abroad, the tale is too improbable to be believed [i]. Of arbitrary impriſonments he may with ſome juſtice be accuſed. His enemies acquired popularity by releaſing, after his fall, ſome old officers whom he had kept in priſon for ſeveral years, more to prevent their future plots, than from any proof of their prior guilt [k].

He is impeached and baniſhed.

UPON the foundation of theſe articles the commons, on the twelfth of November, ſent up to the lords a general charge of treaſon againſt Clarendon, by the hands of Mr. Seymour. They deſired their lordſhips to ſequeſter him from parliament and to commit him to ſafe cuſtody till they ſhould exhibit the articles of their charge [l]. The lords refuſed the demands of the commons; looking upon a general accuſation as a mere clamour. The commons flew into the utmoſt fury. A breach was made between the houſes. The King interfered in vain. He was obliged to apply to Clarendon, to remove himſelf from the kingdom, to appeaſe their rage. He obeyed; and wrote an apology from Calais, at which the lords took offence: they ſent down a bill for his baniſhment to the commons; and though it was diſliked for different reaſons, both by his friends and his enemies, it paſſed at length, and received the royal aſſent. The conduct of Charles, during the whole proſecution, did little honour to his gratitude. But jealouſies of a new kind are ſaid to have joined their force to his former prejudices. Buckingham and others inſinuated, that

[h] Letter of Sir Rich. Greenville, MS.
[i] Ibid.
[k] James II. 1667.
[l] Journals of the commons.

he

CHAP. II. 1667.

he was in danger, by permitting the Duke of York to have his own guards to wait upon himſelf at Whitehall. They affirmed, that the Duke might be prevailed upon, by Clarendon and his daughter, to attempt ſome violent meaſure. Alarmed at this tale, or apprehenſive of the riſing heats in the houſe of commons, the King ordered Clarendon to withdraw. The latter communicated his reſolution of obeying to the Duke, who was juſt recovering from the ſmall-pox. The Duke had laboured under that diſorder during the perſecution of his father-in-law; ſo that he could neither counteract the malice of his enemies, nor give any eſſential aſſiſtance to his friends [m].

New miniſtry.

THE commons, prior to the impeachment of Clarendon, made ſome progreſs in examining the cauſes of the misfortunes in the late war. The ſacrifice of a miniſter to the public jealouſy cooled their reſentment, though it put not an end to their inquiry. On the nineteenth of December they adjourned themſelves, by the King's command, to the ſixth of February [n]. Charles, before their receſs, had filled the different departments. Sir Henry Bennet, now Lord Arlington, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper, were his oſtenſible miniſters [o]; Buckingham and Briſtol adviſed him behind the curtain. The treaſury, ſince the death of Southampton, in the month of May, was in commiſſion under men of abilities, though, except the Duke of Albemarle, of no high reputation. Lord Aſhley was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir William Coventry, Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Thomas Clifford, were inferior commiſſioners. Coventry, a man of parts, in an avowed oppoſition to Clarendon, had reſigned his office of ſecretary to the Duke of York. Duncomb was a country gentleman of ſome note; Clifford, a man of violent abilities, poſſeſſing weight in parliament, but a known papiſt. No ſooner was

[m] James II. 1667. [n] Journals. [o] James II. 1667.

CHAP. II. 1667.

Clarendon removed, than theſe began to quarrel for the poſſeſſion of the chief power. Coventry, as the moſt able, was the beſt qualified for the office of miniſter, but not of ſufficient name for ſo high a character. Buckingham and Arlington joined againſt him, then quarrelled among themſelves. The firſt carried all the profligacy of his private life into his politics; the latter, cunning by nature, was timid, though full of pride [p].

1668. Foreign affairs.

To gain the favour of the nation by acts of popularity employed the firſt attention of the King and his miniſters. They releaſed Wildman, Salmon, Creed, Brown, and others, whom Clarendon had kept cloſe priſoners, on account of their republican principles and their great credit and influence with the diſbanded officers and ſoldiers [q]. They extended their attention to foreign affairs, and formed the triple league, the moſt approved meaſure of this reign. The ambition which Lewis the Fourteenth exhibited through the reſt of his life, had broken out into an act of unjuſtifiable violence in the preceding ſummer. Induced by the condition of Spain, feeble in her reſources, and weakened ſtill more by the government of a minor, he fell with an army into Flanders, and took the moſt of the principal towns, then deſtitute of garriſons, and totally unprovided with the means of defence. By claiming a part of Flanders in right of his wife, he added inſult to injuſtice. Though he had ſolemnly renounced, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, all pretenſions to every part of the Spaniſh monarchy, though Charles the Second, the indiſputed heir of the whole, ſat upon the throne, he alleged, that by the ancient cuſtom of ſome parts of Brabant, his wife, as being of the firſt marriage, poſſeſſed a right to a conſiderable portion of the Spaniſh Netherlands, to the excluſion of her brother. He followed this falſe reaſoning with

[p] James II. 1667. [q] Ibid.

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the deciſive argument of the ſword. His conqueſts kept pace with the rapidity of his march, in the territories of a prince, who could oppoſe nothing but remonſtrances to his arms.

Character of Lewis the Fourteenth.

LEWIS, to a degree of vanity which the world as well as himſelf miſtook for the love of glory, added qualities fit to dazzle a nation leſs fond than the French of their monarchs. To a gracefulneſs of perſon that gave luſtre to his high ſtation, he joined an affability which enchanted his ſubjects. Though remarkable, neither for the generoſity of his conduct, nor an extenſive liberality of ſentiment, he could act the part of a complete gentleman, a ſcience too often little ſtudied by perſons born to wear a crown. Specious in his conduct, and poſſeſſed of abilities ſufficient to conceal his want of great parts, he was reſpected where he was not admired. His politeneſs of carriage paſſed for humanity of diſpoſition; his reſerve in buſineſs was conſtrued into prudence; his love of pomp aſcribed to dignity of mind. He was however more fit to repreſent a magnificent king in theory, than to act the part of a great monarch in practice. To conceal the defects of his real character, to hold forth a favourable image of himſelf to the world, employed his ſtudy and comprehended all his views. He followed pleaſure from faſhion more than from appetite. He applied to buſineſs to acquire importance rather than from motives of utility. Vanity was his ruling paſſion; and what is deemed a vice in the reſt of mankind, became in him a virtue. Illiterate himſelf, he was an encourager of letters; and with no great talents for the field, he formed generals and improved the art of war. Superſtition, the inſeparable companion of the weak and timid, diſgraced his ſpecious qualities, and rendered even his perſonal courage ſuſpected. It was that feebleneſs of mind which induced him to ſanctify with matrimony the frigid arms of a woman of fifty; and to kiſs the image of the Virgin at the whiſtling of a cannon-ball. But theſe were the weakneſſes of a more advanced period of his life. Lewis, upon

CHAP. II.

1668.

the whole, was as ſingular in his fate as he was in his character. In his youth he was the admiration, in his riper years the terror, in his old age the contempt, of Europe. His ambition ruined his country, even when he extended its limits; and France, ſwelled by his councils into a bloated magnitude, has languiſhed ever ſince under an incurable diſeaſe.

His haughty conduct toward other powers.

THOUGH the character of Lewis was not calculated to eſtabliſh on a permanent foundation the power of France, it was well ſuited to her temporary glory. With that convenient inattention to juſtice, which ambition has introduced into the policy of princes, he poſſeſſed reſources much ſuperior to thoſe of the other powers of Europe. His extenſive dominions, favoured with a fruitful ſoil and a good climate, had riſen in a few years to a high degree of proſperity, through the induſtry of the inhabitants, under the peaceable councils of Cardinal Mazarin. An ample revenue, a diſciplined army, and even a kind of naval force belonged to Lewis; while the neighbouring ſtates had either fallen from their former conſequence, or had not yet arrived at the ſtrength which they have ſince acquired. The Dutch, who had derived their independence from the protection of France and England, had thrown the whole force of their ſtate into their navy. England, jealous of her native ſovereigns, had not yet furniſhed herſelf with a ſtanding army, to ſtop the ambitious projects of foreign princes. The latter, however, retained her ancient animoſity againſt France; and the former choſe to forget former favours in their preſent ſafety. Lewis had added a haughtineſs of conduct toward his neighbours to his opinion of the ſuperiority of his own force; and he contrived to kindle indignation beyond the limits to which he had extended injuries. He extorted from Spain a precedency in dignity before he invaded her territories; he diſputed the honours of the flag with the King of England; he reduced the Pope into an abject dependence, under colour of ſatisfaction for a trivial affront.

THE

CHAP. II.

1668.

Triple alliance.

THE treaty of Breda was haſtened to a concluſion, by the jealouſy raiſed in the Dutch and Engliſh, through the ſudden irruption of Lewis into the heart of Flanders. Charles, occupied by the fears of tumults at home, in conſequence of the diſgrace which cloſed the war, had neither leiſure nor inclination to look beyond the limits of his own dominions. The removal of Clarendon, the eſtabliſhment of new councils, and the heats in parliament, ſucceeded to the apprehenſions which the apparent diſguſt of the nation had raiſed in the mind of the King. The States had ſcarce extricated themſelves from a war with England; they were in alliance with France; and divided into factions at home. The times were opportune for the ambition of Lewis. He dreaded nothing from the careleſs councils of Charles; he hoped every thing from the attachment of De Wit. But the firſt was offended at the coldneſs with which Lewis received his propoſals for a cloſe connexion with France; and the latter loſt his averſion to the Orange faction in his love for his country. To the aſtoniſhment of Europe, as well as to the amazement of his ſubjects, the King of England made the firſt motion for a treaty of confederacy to preſcribe bounds to the conqueſts of France. On the firſt of January it was reſolved in council, to enter into a ſtrict alliance with the States of Holland [r]. Sir William Temple, the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, was ordered to proceed to the Hague; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of De Wit, in a meaſure which ſo much concerned his country, that the treaty was ſigned on the twenty-third of January. Room was left for the acceſſion of Sweden as a principal, which was ſoon obtained.

Secret motive to that treaty.

DE WIT is ſaid to have been the dupe of Charles in a meaſure, which loſes much of its reputation when the motives are known. The penſionary, with all his good qualities, was vain of his own

[r] Sir W. Temple.

CHAP. II. 1668.

abilities, and proud of the ſucceſs of his policy. He ſpoke frequently of the advantages which he had obtained over England, and of the neceſſity to which he had reduced Sweden and Denmark to conclude and preſerve peace. To mortify Lewis the Fourteenth was only wanting to his ambition. He had derived much of his importance with his own countrymen from his connexion with the French nation. But he now ſeriouſly dreaded the power of that kingdom, and the ambition of its ſovereign. Charles had, upon various grounds, entertained an animoſity againſt the penſionary; and he was determined to ruin him, by detaching him from France. He reſolved, therefore, to attack him through the channel of his vanity. He beſeeched him, through his ambaſſador, to give his advice upon every occaſion, without even the ceremony of being aſked, concerning the conduct which England ought to obſerve in the affairs of Europe. De Wit was flattered by theſe condeſcenſions. He believed that Charles was ſincere. He ſuffered himſelf to be detached from France by the triple league; and having loſt, ſoon after, his conſequence with his countrymen, became an eaſy victim to the faction of the Prince of Orange. The advice, by which the King of England ſeems to have profited, came originally from Gourville; who ſays, in his Memoirs, that he communicated it to the Lord Hollis, when that nobleman was employed in concluding the peace of Breda[s].

Treaty of Aix-la Chapelle.

THE King of France, at the cloſe of the eaſy campaign which placed the ſtrong holds of Flanders in his hands, had, at the inſtances of the States of Holland, agreed to a truce with Spain to the end of March[t]. He left to the Queen-regent her choice of two alternatives, to ſerve as a foundation for a treaty of peace: Either to yield to him the places taken by his arms, or the dutchy of Luxembourg. The court of Spain was in no haſte to cloſe with

[s] Mem. de Gourville, tom. ii. p. 11—14. [t] D'Eſtrades, 1668.

either

either of the alternatives. They forgot their own want of power, in their ſenſe of the injuſtice of Lewis. To force Spain into a peace, was as much the object of the triple alliance, as to put bounds to the conqueſts of France. The contracting powers agreed to adhere to the alternatives offered by Lewis, and to join their forces againſt either of the crowns that ſhould remain refractory. Lewis, under a pretence of enforcing the peace, entered Franche Comté in the month of February, and ſubdued the whole province in a few days [u]. The Queen-regent at length agreed to the firſt alternative offered by France. A congreſs was held at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at that place; and a treaty was ſigned on the ſecond of May, which annexed to the crown of France all the conqueſts made by its arms in the preceding campaign.

CHAP. I. 1668.

Peace between Spain and Portugal.

WHILST Charles put an end to the war in Flanders by the triple league, he procured a peace for Portugal, by his negociations at the court of Madrid [x]. The efforts of Spain againſt the Portugueſe had languiſhed ever ſince the death of Philip the Fourth, whoſe reſentment for his frequent diſappointments had induced him to perſevere in an unſucceſsful war. The councils of Portugal had acquired vigour by an extraordinary revolution, which threw the feeble Alphonſo from his throne into a priſon. That unfortunate prince, more profligate than wicked, had offended the nation by low buffoonry, and by ſuffering himſelf to be governed by the mean companions of his pleaſures [y]. His wife, a daughter of the Duke of Nemours, ſtruck with the perſon of his brother, Don Pedro, forſook his bed, and accuſed him of debility of body as well as of mind. She fled to a monaſtery. She threw herſelf under the protection of the church. She ſued for a divorce. A faction ſeized the unfortunate Alphonſo, his brother

[u] Baſnage, Le Clerc.
[x] Hiſt. of Portugal.
[y] Colbatch's Account of Portugal.

was

CHAP. II.

1668.

was declared regent in an aſſembly of the ſtates, whilſt he himſelf was confined in the iſland of Tercera. Don Pedro, a prince of abilities, was preparing to aſſert the independence of his country by the ſword, when it was eſtabliſhed on a ſudden by treaty. Spain, oppreſſed by accumulated misfortunes, deſcended from her ſtatelineſs; and owned the independence of Portugal, after a ruinous war of near thirty years [a].

Affairs of Scotland,

THE civil affairs of Scotland were managed with preciſion, while diſorder and oppreſſion prevailed in her religious concerns. The fanaticiſm of the vulgar, many of whom ſtill adhered to the covenant, inflamed by the folly of Archbiſhop Sharpe, broke out in tumults and confuſions, which were ſuppreſſed by means at once impolitic and inhuman. The violence which appeared in the Engliſh parliament againſt conventicles was adopted by that of Scotland; and was productive of more miſchief, as the northern ſectaries were more obſtinate. A high commiſſion was inſtituted, for executing the rigorous laws againſt the Preſbyterians, and for the management of religious affairs [b]. The civil power enforced by its authority the decrees of this court of inquiſition. A military force was let looſe on an unarmed multitude, whoſe only crime was enthuſiaſm. Thoſe unfortunate perſons, who from ſcruples of conſcience avoided to be preſent at the worſhip eſtabliſhed by law, were fined at diſcretion by the commander of the troops; and theſe mulcts were levied with all the rigours of military execution. Religious perſecution, when not carried to an extreme, which ſubdues all the paſſions of the ſoul under the dominion of fear, defeats its own purpoſe. The people, inflamed by oppreſſion, roſe in the weſtern counties. They aſſembled at Lanerk. They renewed the covenant. They publiſhed a declaration, which, however, contained nothing againſt the King's authority. Ill-armed, and worſe conducted, the inſur-

[a] Hiſt. de Port.

[b] Burnet.

gents

gents advanced toward Edinburgh; and in a tumultuary ſkirmiſh, rather than a battle, were defeated at the Pentland-hills, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1666. The ſeverities which follow unſucceſsful inſurrections were extended to an unuſual degree by the violence of Sharpe. The lenity of the King, at length, put a ſtop to the rigours of the church. He expreſsly ordered to ſet at liberty thoſe who ſhould only promiſe to obey the laws; and that the moſt incorrigible ſhould be tranſported beyond ſeas [b].

CHAP. II. 1668.

THE affairs of Ireland had ſcarce aſſumed the appearance of ſettlement, under the prudent management of the Duke of Ormonde, when the intereſt of that kingdom received a fatal blow, from an act of the parliament of England. The Engliſh nation, though prudent in their regulations at home, ſeem never to have underſtood the art of governing their foreign conqueſts. Fond of domeſtic freedom, they carried frequently tyranny and oppreſſion abroad, and endangered the loſing by injuſtice what they had obtained by valour. The ſeverity of their government contributed more to deprive them of the continental dominions of the family of Plantagenet, than the arms of France; and the peculiar ſituation of Ireland ſecured its dependence, and not the mildneſs of the conquerors. In the year 1666, a bill was paſſed for reſtraining the importation of Iriſh cattle; an act peculiarly hard, as Ireland had ſcarce any other article for foreign commerce. The violence of the country-gentlemen, who aſcribed the ſudden fall of their rents to the importation of proviſions from abroad, overcame the King's ſolicitations, and ſuperſeded all arguments. The intrigues of Buckingham and Lord Aſhley, who wiſhed to diſturb Ormonde in his government, increaſed the flame. The King, who had diſcovered an inclination to refuſe his aſſent to the bill, was ſwayed from his purpoſe, by his fears that the commons would give no ſupply; a circumſtance which weighed more

and Ireland.

[b] Burnet, Woodrow.

CHAP. II. 1668.

with Charles, than the intereſt of his Iriſh ſubjects. Ormonde employed the year 1667 in alleviating the diſtreſs brought upon Ireland by this impolitic law; which, in the iſſue, became favourable to the inhabitants, by forcing them to apply with greater induſtry to articles more ſuitable than cattle for commerce [c].

Proceedings in parliament.

THE parliament of England, according to their adjournment, met on the ſixth of February, 1668; and, on the tenth, the King made a ſpeech to both houſes. He informed them of the triple alliance. He demanded a ſupply of money [d]. The commons heard the firſt with ſatisfaction; to the latter they made no reply. The bad humour excited by the misfortunes of the laſt year had been increaſed by the King's indulgence to the non-conformiſts; a meaſure which he had adopted to gain popularity. Inſtead of thanking him, as uſual, for his ſpeech, the commons addreſſed him to iſſue a proclamation, to enforce obedience to the act of uniformity. They reſumed their inquiries into the late miſcarriages. Charles urged in vain, in repeated meſſages, the preſſure of his debts; in vain, the neceſſity of fitting out a fleet in conſequence of his engagements to his allies. The commons were deaf to his requeſts. Buckingham, who had promiſed to manage their leaders, was found deſtitute of influence. He could inflame them againſt the crown; but he had not the talents to ſooth them into a compliance with the deſires of the King. Brounker, on the evidence of Sir John Harman, was expelled the houſe, and ordered to be impeached, for bringing to that officer pretended commands from the Duke of York to lower the ſails, after the battle near Southwold-Bay. Commiſſioner Pett was impeached [e]. The inquiry, however, though carried on with ſeeming ſpirit, produced no ſignal puniſhments. The houſe was more eager in giving its full force to the act of uniformity, than in animadverting with ſeverity upon the authors of the late miſcar-

[c] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 331. [d] Journals. [e] Ibid. May 9.

riages. The King, at length, iſſued a proclamation againſt ſectaries; and the commons, in return, gave a ſupply of three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wines and other liquors. On the ninth of May, both houſes adjourned to the eleventh of Auguſt. CHAP. II. 1670.

A general tranquillity.

AN unuſual tranquillity ſucceeded the calamities which had fallen, in the courſe of the laſt three years, upon the kingdom. London had riſen with luſtre from its aſhes. A favourable ſeaſon had diffuſed plenty through the nation. Even plots and conſpiracies had ceaſed to be named. The ſectaries ſuccumbed under the rigour of the act of uniformity. The republicans loſt their hopes in the careleſs diſſoluteneſs of the times. Diſſipation and intemperate pleaſures reigned at Court. Amuſements, which degenerated into profligacy, prevailed among the people. Charles divided his time between women of beauty, and men of wit and humour. The Counteſs of Caſtlemain, diveſting herſelf of the jealouſy of her ſex, retained, with the charms of others, the influence which her own had loſt[f]. A Buckingham and a Rocheſter, qualifying, by the vivacity of their genius, the ſeverity and even coarſeneſs of their wit, became the King's inſeparable companions. Debauchery and lewdneſs were ſeen in every form; and, as if examples of ſenſuality and riot were not ſufficient to corrupt the manners of the people, the preſs teemed with licentious publications, and the ſtage exhibited nothing but vice. The King leaving London, made a progreſs through a great part of the kingdom. In the inland towns he reſigned himſelf to pleaſure; but in the ſea-ports his amuſement was to examine naval affairs; a ſubject which he well underſtood. Notwithſtanding the diſſoluteneſs of his manners, Charles promoted trade, loved the ſciences, and encouraged the arts. His appetite for pleaſure rendered him prodigal, and his political meanneſs ſprung from profuſion.

[f] Rovign to Lewis XIV. May 21, 1668.

CHAP. II.

1668. Intrigues

DURING theſe ſcenes of riot and pleaſure at court, faction and intrigue prevailed in the cabinet. Buckingham and Arlington, having removed Clarendon, began to undermine Sir William Coventry, whoſe talents they feared. Though he had oppoſed the chancellor, he was ſtill in the intereſt of the Duke of York, who had declared his opinion of his being the only man fit for the office of miniſter [g]. Buckingham turned the whole force of his wit againſt Coventry. The latter afterwards ſent him a challenge [h]; and the Duke, more ready to give an affront than to defend his honour, complained to the King. Coventry was diſmiſſed from all his employments.[i] The jealouſy of the miniſtry concerning the Duke of York's influence continued, though his power had declined. He had offended his brother, by ſpeaking in favour of his father-in-law. He had irritated his principal ſervants, by openly affirming in the houſe of lords, that the whole charge againſt Clarendon was falſe, malicious, and groundleſs. But no inſinuations of danger from his brother could have much weight with the King. He knew that the Duke's high ideas of the indefeaſible rights of monarchy were a ſufficient ſecurity for his loyalty. They tried, by mortifications in the department of the admiralty, to force him to reſign. Oſborne and Lyttelton, two of their adherents, were, without the ceremony of ſpeaking to the Duke, made treaſurers of the navy, though they had chiefly managed the charge againſt Clarendon in the houſe of commons. They placed their own friends and dependents in other lucrative employments, in oppoſition to officers of merit recommended by the Duke. They intended to diſband his troop of horſe-guards; they endeavoured to diveſt him of the command of his regiment of foot. They even began to form plans for excluding him from the throne, by procuring a divorce for the King. In the latter ſcheme, their chief engine was the Earl of Briſtol, who, on account of Clarendon, was the Duke's mortal foe [i].

[g] James II. 1668. [h] Ibid. 1669. [i] Ibid. 1668.

CHAP. II.

1668.

To prevent for ever the return of Clarendon, Buckingham and Arlington endeavoured to annihilate his party, by diſplacing his relations and friends. Some were deprived of their offices, others ſuſpended from performing the functions of their ſeveral employments. Thoſe who contributed to ruin the late chancellor were rewarded with the ſpoils of his adherents. Buckingham having purchaſed, in the month of May, the office of maſter of the horſe of the Duke of Albemarle, added the weight of an oſtenſible office to his ſecret influence in the cabinet. In the month of July, he fell upon the Duke of Ormonde, Clarendon's moſt intimate friend. He procured a commiſſion to be iſſued to inquire into the mal-adminiſtration of the Iriſh revenue [k]; and, in frequent conferences with the Earl of Orrery, a man of more abilities than integrity, concerted meaſures to diſmiſs Ormonde from the government of Ireland. Morrice, who had been ſecretary of ſtate ever ſince the Reſtoration, was turned out of office, by the intrigues of Buckingham, to make room for Sir John Trevor, who had formerly ſerved Cromwell. Trevor owed his place to Lady Harvey, a woman of wit and intrigue, who poſſeſſed the favour of Buckingham and Arlington. Every meaſure was undertaken by the miniſtry that might diſtreſs their enemies, and ſtrengthen their own intereſt, by providing for their friends [l]. againſt the

Duke of York.

Lord Aſhley, who now began to diſplay his talents for intrigue, adhered to the ſecret meaſures of Buckingham. Arlington, artful in the midſt of his natural timidity, counteracted Buckingham's influence, though he adopted his ſchemes. Both were intent upon each other's ruin. Arlington ſeemed at laſt to prevail. Though they joined in their plans of mortifying the Duke of York, they were afraid of his obſtinacy. Buckingham, in the month of December, ſecretly ſignified his wiſh of being well with the Duke. But that Prince rejected his offers, for for-

[k] Carte's Ormonde.

[l] James II. 1668.

CHAP. II. 1668.

mer breaches of faith. This repulſe added reſentment to the fears of Buckingham. He endeavoured to inſinuate to Charles the facility of divorcing his Queen. Briſtol, ever precipitate and violent in the proſecution of favourite ſchemes, propoſed a journey into Italy, to find a new wife for the King among the daughters of the duke of Parma [m]. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper, was conſulted concerning the legality of a divorce. Dr. Burnet was afterwards employed to write in its favour [n]. The Earl of Carliſle and Lord Aſhley were propoſing to the King to own the legitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth. Their averſion to the Duke of York, or their fear of his reſentment for the fall of Clarendon, turned againſt him the whole intrigues of the party [o]. His connexion with Sir William Coventry, whoſe talents, as has been obſerved, they feared, added to their eagerneſs to break the influence, which his induſtry in buſineſs, more than an opinion of his abilities, had eſtabliſhed in the mind of the King.

Duke of Ormonde diſmiſſed.

BUCKINGHAM and Aſhley [p], who never loved either of the royal brothers, extended their deſigns beyond the poſſeſſion of preſent power. The contempt which Charles expreſſed, upon many occaſions, for the former, had kindled a reſentment in his breaſt equal to the impatience of all authority, which the latter derived from a ſpirit naturally reſtleſs. The phlegmatic diſpoſition of the Duke was as diſagreeable to Buckingham, as his avowed diſlike to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt his family was terrible to Aſhley. To open a field for their ambition, they thought it expedient to remove the old cavaliers from offices of the firſt truſt. None remained in a capacity more ſuitable to thwart their deſigns, than the Duke of Ormonde, who had added the advantage of a high character to an inviolable attachment to the royal family. Attacks had been already made on his management of the revenue of Ireland; he was now to

[m] James II. 1669. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid. [p] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 337.

be

CHAP. II. 1669.

be deprived of his government. The Duke of York interpoſed his declining influence in vain [q]. Even the perſonal regard which Charles entertained for Ormonde, yielded to the vehemence of Buckingham. Arlington, from ties of friendſhip, adhered for ſome time to the lord-lieutenant; but the eaſineſs of his temper, and, at length, his inherent timidity prevailed. He began to liſten to the ſolicitations of Lady Harvey and Sir John Trevor [r]. He ſuccumbed to the threats of Buckingham. Ormonde was diſmiſſed with a compliment, by the King. Lord Robertes, who had fought againſt his father, ſucceeded a noble perſon, who had ſerved his family with the utmoſt fidelity for thirty years [s].

Violence of Buckingham.

BUCKINGHAM, having removed Ormonde, turned his whole influence and policy againſt the Duke of York. Without aſking permiſſion from the King, he endeavoured to find a ſucceſſor for his brother, as lord high-admiral. On the eighteenth of April, he went to Newhall in Eſſex, where Albemarle, then declining in his health, reſided; and propoſed to him to reſign the command of the army and to accept the admiralty. Albemarle refuſing to conſent to either, was aſſailed through the influence of his wife. The Dutcheſs of Buckingham and Lady Harvey met to perſuade her to promote their views; but in vain. The nation were equally aſtoniſhed at Buckingham's confidence and influence. It will hereafter appear, that he was the dupe of a maſter whom he affected to command. Charles was no ſtranger to his character. The brilliancy of his wit rendered him fond of Buckingham's company; yet he deſpiſed his underſtanding, hated his temper, and laughed at his follies [t]. But he had entered into councils, where want of principle became more uſeful in ſervants, than either ability or integrity. His ſecret meaſures, however, had not yet arrived at any degree of maturity. A profligacy, which had obtained the name of pleaſure, and intrigues about places of profit and truſt,

[q] James II. 1669. [r] Ibid. [s] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. [t] James II. 1668.

ſeemed

CHAP. II. 1669.

ſeemed to employ the whole attention of the King and miniſtry. Parliament had been ſo backward in giving money, that their attendance was not deſired. Domeſtic buſineſs went round, in the common circle of office. Tranquillity prevailed in foreign affairs. The careleſſneſs of the King ſeemed to increaſe, when he was forming chains for his people; and conſpiring with France againſt the independence of Europe.

Act againſt conventicles.

THE bad ſucceſs of the conference at the Savoy, diſcouraged not Charles from forming new projects of a comprehenſion. The favour ſhewn by the court to the Preſbyterians, had enabled them to hold, with a degree of openneſs, their aſſemblies; notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the act of uniformity[u]. Sir Orlando Bridgeman and Sir Matthew Hale were directed to frame ſuch a bill, as might give, by law, that liberty of conſcience, which was now derived from a precarious indulgence. Secret meetings were held with the heads of the Preſbyterians; but the hierarchy began to be alarmed. The averſion of parliament to all condeſcenſion on the ſubject of religion was known; and the affair was dropt. The King ſtood in need of money; and it was not prudent to irritate the commons. The two houſes, after a receſs of ſeventeen months, met at Weſtminſter, on the nineteenth of October[x]. Charles demanded a ſupply. He recommended an union with Scotland. The lord-keeper enlarged on both points; but the commons made no reply. They brought back to their houſe the bad humour in which they had adjourned. They entered upon the examination of public accounts. They reſumed their intolerance againſt non-conformiſts. The bill to ſuppreſs conventicles was paſſed, with a clauſe, that the judges ſhould interpret any doubts in the ſenſe againſt the non-conformiſts. In their zeal for the church, they made a breach on the eſtabliſhed maxim, that, in all criminal proſecution, the law ſhould incline to mercy[y].

[u] Rapin, vol. ii. p. 653.
[x] Journals, Oct. 19th, 1669.
[y] Stiernhook de Jure vet. lib. i.

THE

CHAP. II.

1669.

THE public buſineſs was retarded, by a renewal of a former quarrel between the two houſes[z]. Skinner, a conſiderable merchant in London, had, in the preceding ſeſſion, carried a complaint againſt the Eaſt-India company, by petition, before the lords, and he was relieved in coſts and damages to the amount of five thouſand pounds. The taking cogniſance of a ſubject of property, without an appeal from an inferior court, was deemed by the commons unprecedented and dangerous. They voted Skinner, upon a breach of privilege, into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; they paſſed a reſolution, that whoever ſhould put in execution the decree of the lords, ſhould be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England. In the midſt of this ferment the parliament roſe. They brought back the ſame animoſity into their preſent ſeſſion. The King, however, by the advice of Lord Aſhley[a], put an end to the diſpute, by prevailing with both houſes to eraze their whole proceedings on Skinner's affair. The parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of December[b]. They met again, in better humour, on the fourteenth of February. Four hundred thouſand pounds were granted to the King. Commiſſioners were appointed to treat, concerning an union between England and Scotland. But things were not yet ripe for ſuch a meaſure; and the deſign vaniſhed into air.

Proceedings in parliament.

1670.

ON the third of January 1670, after a lingering illneſs, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, died, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age[c]. This extraordinary perſon has been variouſly repreſented by writers; a circumſtance not ſurpriſing, in a country where character is too often meaſured by the ſtandard of political prejudice. His claim to perſonal courage, to military ſkill, to prudence in his meaſures and moderation in his views, is by no party denied; although it ſhall always be queſtioned, whether he owed ſo much to his abi-

Death, and character.

[z] Journals. [a] James II. 1669. [b] Journals.
[c] Skinner's Monk.

lities

CHAP. II. 1670.

lities as to fortune. To direct the meaſures of a people, when they act under the awe of an army, requires neither conſummate addreſs nor extenſive talents. The machine of government, in ſuch a caſe, becomes ſo ſimple, that it may be conducted by any hand. The ſituation of Monk was, however, more delicate than that of many others, whoſe fortune it was to command nations by the terrors of the ſword. When he marched from Scotland with ſix thouſand men, more than forty thouſand veterans were in the hands of his enemies in England. But his coolneſs and deliberation, were more than a match for the undeciſive enthuſiaſm of Fleetwood; and he derived from his juſtice and influence with the ſoldiers, what the more ſplendid abilities of Lambert could never command.

of the Duke of Albemarle.

THE high ſituation which enabled Monk to re-eſtabliſh monarchy, was a diſadvantage to his character, after the Reſtoration. Calculated more for the field than the court, he carried an awkwardneſs in his manner, which leſſened his dignity. The ſlight companions of a gay and diſſolute Monarch were apt to put the worſt conſtructions upon a deportment ſo different from their own. His taciturnity was no longer aſcribed to prudence, his frugality was diſtinguiſhed by the name of avarice, his diſregard to ceremony was denominated clowniſhneſs. The King, it muſt be confeſſed, never deviated from thoſe marks of reſpect, which he owed to him for the poſſeſſion of his throne. The Duke was admitted always to his moſt ſecret councils. Recourſe was had to his prudence in domeſtic tumults, to his valour in foreign war. Though the part which he had acted raiſed the reſentment of many individuals, he always retained the affections of the people; and the whiſpers of a few were loſt in the ſound of public applauſe. He was, upon the whole, a good rather than a great man; more free from vice, than poſſeſſing ſplendid virtues. Eaſily led by the counſels of others, he was under the abſolute dominion of a wife,

wife, neither remarkable for her beauty, nor amiable in her diſpoſition; and to her ought, perhaps, to be aſcribed, that bias to intereſt, which has, with a degree of juſtice, ſtigmatized the memory of her huſband with ſome acts of meanneſs and avarice. CHAP. II. 1670.

King changes his meaſures.

THE death of the Duke of Albemarle, joined to the fall of Clarendon and the removal of Ormonde, had left a fair field for the new ſchemes which Charles ſeems to have ſecretly adopted before this period. The diſtreſs brought upon his finances by his own profuſion, the mean ſhifts by which he was frequently obliged to obtain money from a parſimonious houſe of commons, had induced him to ſearch for relief to his pecuniary neceſſities from another quarter. He ſaw that ſupplies, already unwillingly granted, were likely to become ſtill more uncertain, from the ill-humours which had crept, through the careleſſneſs of his own government, into parliament. Though naturally unambitious, he loved the poſſeſſion of power to relieve his wants; and to put an end to a dependence that hurt his pride. Theſe reaſons, together with a ſecret affection for the Romiſh religion, which he entertained, amidſt all his profligacy, became the ſource of his connexion with France: a ſcheme which, in more ſteady hands, might have endangered the liberties of his ſubjects; and as it was then thought, the independence of Europe. But Charles wanted perſeverance, and Lewis abilities. Though both were men of ſplendid talents, and provided with a convenient abſence of principle, both were as ignorant of their own reſources, as they were of the ſtate of the neighbouring powers. Neither, perhaps, was ſincere: neither, at leaſt, meant the half of what they reſpectively propoſed. Charles hoped to derive an immediate ſupply, from the eagerneſs of Lewis's ambition; and Lewis expected, from the avarice of Charles, his acquieſcence in his own views upon Flanders. Schemes begun in folly, were deſtined to end in misfortune. Lewis, in his purſuit of glory, was covered

CHAP. II. 1670.

with diſgrace. Charles, in his eagerneſs to relieve his wants, added freſh diſtreſs to his former neceſſities.

Secret cauſe of the triple league.

THE triple league, deemed the beſt meaſure of Charles, was in part the fruit of one of his worſt ſchemes. Inſtead of ſtopping the conqueſts of France, it was calculated to extend them, by forcing Lewis into an alliance with England. The aſcendant obtained by Buckingham ſo unexpectedly in the ſummer of 1667, proceeded perhaps from the opinion which Charles entertained of his being an uſeful inſtrument in his new-adopted deſigns. Purſued by meſſengers and warrants in the month of March, in the Tower in June, in July leading the cabinet. All this could not have happened through mere caprice. Some ſecret motive muſt have induced the King to truſt his councils in the hands of a man whoſe talents, in any ſerious buſineſs, he always deſpiſed[c]. Charles, it is now known, made attempts toward a cloſe connection with France before he finiſhed the Dutch war. To gain the confidence of Lewis, he had agreed to the French invaſion of Spaniſh Flanders. His ſiſter, the Dutcheſs of Orleans, was partly truſted with the projects of Charles. She was intimate with Buckingham, and he probably became acquainted with all that ſhe knew of the connexion between Charles and Lewis. The influence which he gained was at once the reward of his preſent ſecrecy, and an inducement to future ſervices. The ſudden change in the King toward Clarendon, proceeded perhaps from the ſame cauſe. He could not truſt that miniſter in an affair which, in its conſequences, muſt infallibly either ruin the authority of the crown or the liberties of the people. The influence of a miſtreſs, the clamours of the chancellor's enemies would perhaps have failed, could the King truſt him in his new meaſures. When he fell, Charles advanced without interruption in his favourite

[c] James II.

ſcheme.

ſcheme. But Lewis was cold in his anſwers, and the triple league was formed [f].

THE triple alliance was ſcarce ſigned, when the King and Buckingham began to renew their applications to France with an eagerneſs, which, for ſome time, defeated their views. The whole of the year 1668 paſſed in fruitleſs negociations. The King of France either diſtruſted the ſincerity of Charles, or he had not yet opened his eyes to the advantages of an alliance which involved him in an immediate expence. The enthuſiaſm of the Duke of York, who now was a convert to the Romiſh faith, though not formally reconciled to that communion, ſuggeſted to his brother the means of gaining Lewis to his own views. In a private meeting, held in the Duke's cloſet on the twenty-fifth of January, 1669, where the King, the Duke, the Earl of Arlington, the Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Sir Thomas Clifford, were preſent, Charles declared his zeal for the Catholic religion [g]. The reſult of the conſultation was, that to promote the faith in his kingdoms, a ſtrict uion ſhould be made with France. This change in the object of the negociation rendered it neceſſary to drop Buckingham [h], who, in his diſbelief of all religion forgot not his averſion to the church of Rome. The ſame reaſon which obliged the King to remove Buckingham from the management of the treaty, induced him to truſt it to men of very different principles. The Lord Arundel, a rigid Roman Catholic, was ſent to the court of France. Arlington, a concealed papiſt, and Clifford, who avowed his attachment to the Romiſh religion, managed at firſt the negociation in the cabinet, and were afterwards, with Sir Richard Bealling, an enthuſiaſt in the ſame faith, appointed commiſſioners to carry the treaty to a concluſion. Col-

Secret negociations with France.

[f] Charles II. to Dutcheſs of Orleans, Jan. 23, 1668.

[g] James II. 1669.

[h] Charles II. to Dutcheſs of Orleans, March 22, 1669.

CHAP. II. 1670.

bert de Croiſſy, who ſoon after the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle came to England, managed it on the part of France [h].

Converſion of the Duke of York.

THE Duke of York, who had been long wavering on the point of religion, was now completely reconciled to the church of Rome. That unfortunate prince, who, from a conceited obſtinacy, affected to be guided by reaſon in his opinions, ſuffered himſelf to be argued out of his ſmall remains of Proteſtantiſm by the ſmooth ſophiſtry of Father Symons, a bigotted jeſuit [i]. Serious and melancholy in his diſpoſition, his mind was adapted by nature for ſuperſtition. During his exile he zealouſly adhered to the Proteſtant faith. Ardent and almoſt an enthuſiaſt in all his ſpeculative opinions, he, in conſequence of a letter from his brother, inſiſted with vehemence that the Duke of Glouceſter ſhould be removed from his mother, on account of a report that ſhe endeavoured to entice him to the religion of Rome [k]. His averſion to the principles of ſectaries, whom he deemed the irreconcilable enemies of monarchy, inclined him firſt to a ſyſtem of faith, favourable to the quiet deſpotiſm which he ſo paſſionately loved. The converſion of Turenne is ſaid to have had its weight with his wavering mind; that great commander being one of the few characters whom he eſteemed and admired. A change ſo fatal to his family, but, in the reſult, beneficial to his country, happened in the year 1669. Had the Duke of York continued a proteſtant, the monarchy would have become abſolute through his perſeverance and obſtinacy, qualities which ſupplied in him the place of great abilities and firmneſs of mind.

Treaty ſlow in its progreſs.

THE ſecret negociation employed the attention of the popiſh junto throughout the year 1669. The eagerneſs of Charles to receive two hundred thouſand pounds, as the price of his con-

[h] James II. 1669. [i] Ibid. [k] Charles II. to the Duke of York, MS.

verſion,

CHAP. II.

1670.

verſion, was counteracted by that of Lewis to begin with the Dutch war. Notwithſtanding the enthuſiaſm of the latter, he ſubmitted it, upon the preſent occaſion, to his policy. He believed Charles to be ſincere, at the time that he himſelf was the dupe of his avarice. He thought that a precipitate declaration of his religion would fill his hands with too much buſineſs at home, to be in a condition to aid his ally abroad. But Charles was obſtinate. The money for his converſion was to be received before his declaration for Popery, and he endeavoured to conceal the impatience of his neceſſities under a zeal for the Romiſh faith. To put an end to the procraſtinations of Lewis, Charles played off another engine on his weakneſs. He inſtructed his reſident at the Hague to haſten the acceſſion of the Emperor and Spain to the triple alliance. De Pomponne, the ambaſſador of France to the States, informed his maſter of the concluſion of this formidable alliance. Lewis was alarmed. From being cold in the negociation, he became a ſuitor; and the treaty was concluded in the beginning of the preſent year. In the mean time, Charles, to keep ſecret his agreement with France, ſuffered Buckingham, and his own ſiſter the Dutcheſs of Orleans, who were abſolute ſtrangers to the agreement already ſigned, to carry on a mock treaty; while, at the ſame time, he kept this mock treaty a ſecret from the Duke of York and the Earl of Arlington[1].

Dutcheſs of Orleans comes to England.

THOUGH Lewis had, in conſequence of the firſt agreement, paid a part of the two hundred thouſand pounds a-year, ſtipulated to be given to Charles, he reſolved to make one other experiment upon that prince, to induce him to begin with the Dutch war. To accompliſh this purpoſe, he ſent the Dutcheſs of Orleans to England. That princeſs undertook the journey with eagerneſs, having entertained ſome hopes that her brother would retain her in England, where ſhe would be ſure of governing every thing,

[1] James II. 1669.

through

CHAP. II. 1670.

through his eaſineſs and her own addreſs [l]. The Duke of York, either jealous of his ſiſter's influence, or averſe to a Dutch war, which he foreſaw would involve the crown in difficulties, and throw the King upon the mercy of parliament, obſtructed with all his art the projected journey of the Dutcheſs. He, however, failed in his views. The French King, having made a progreſs to view his conqueſts in Flanders, in the month of May, the princeſs paſſed the channel to Dover, where ſhe was met, on the ſixteenth, by the King her brother [m].

Conference at Dover.

The Duke of York was detained in London, by the public buſineſs, two days after the King joined his ſiſter at Dover. Before the Duke arrived in that place, ſhe had perſuaded Charles to begin with the Dutch war [n]. The Duke argued againſt this ſcheme. He urged the unprepared ſtate of the navy. He repreſented that a war would leave the crown in the mercy of parliament, who, he might be aſſured, would not ſupport a meaſure which they had not adviſed. Beſides, that an avowed concert with France would break all the views of the King at home, before they were ripe for execution [o]. Charles inſiſted, that the cuſtoms, which yielded annually ſix hundred thouſand pounds, would be ſufficient, without any application to parliament, to maintain a fleet of fifty ſail; which, with thirty to be furniſhed by France, would be able to oppoſe the whole power of the Dutch at ſea. The Duke argued againſt the ſufficiency of that force in vain. Charles was obſtinate [p]. It is even affirmed, that he communicated to his ſiſter the inſincerity of his promiſe with regard to his declaration for Popery. "I entertain," ſaid he, "a good opinion of the Catholic religion and its profeſſors. The latter are the beſt ſubjects for monarchy; but I am not ſo well ſatisfied, either with the former, or with my own condition, as

[l] James II. 1670.
[m] MS. conference.
[n] James II. 1670.
[o] Ibid.
[p] Ibid.

CHAP. II. 1670.

to make it my faith [r]." This declaration, if then made, was probably ſincere. During his health and vigour, without any outrage on truth, Charles might have made the ſame declaration againſt any religion.

Treaty concluded.

ON the firſt of June, the mock treaty, the ſame in ſubſtance with that already concluded, except in the article of the King's religion, was ſigned at Dover. It had been ſtipulated in the firſt treaty, that Charles, to ſupport himſelf in his declaration for Popery, ſhould receive two hundred thouſand pounds from the King of France: one half to be paid three months from the ratification of the treaty, and the other three months after the expiration of that time. In the preſent treaty, the triple alliance, in ſo far as it concerned the inforcement of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was to remain inviolable. But, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, his dominions were to be divided between the contracting powers. Minorca, Oſtend, and all Spaniſh America, were to fall to the lot of Charles. All the territories of Spain in Europe were to be aſſigned to Lewis. To facilitate the completion of this grand object of the treaty, war was to be declared againſt the Dutch; and their dominions, after a proviſion made for the Prince of Orange, were to be ceded to France; except the iſlands of Walkeron, L'Ecluſe, and Caſſante, together with all the ports to Maeſland-Sluys, reſerved for the King of England [s]. To enable Charles to exert his force with vigour, a ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand pounds was to be annually paid by France, during this eventual war. In the caſe of the deceaſe of the King of Spain, both the contracting powers were to join, at their own proper expence, to ſubject his American dominions to England; but Charles was to receive three pounds twelve ſhillings a-month for each man to be employed by ſea

[r] Conference at Dover, MS.

[s] James II. 1670.

in

CHAP. II.

1670.

in reducing the Spaniſh territories in Europe under the dominion of the French King[t].

Reflections.

SUCH was the treaty with France. The conditions, though known to many individuals, remained long a ſecret from the public. Though Charles ought to derive no reputation from the part which he acted, it was evident that Lewis was the dupe of his deſigns. Had the government of England been as deſpotic in its conſtitution as that of France, it would be difficult to accuſe the King of having neglected the intereſts of his ſubjects. By annihilating the trade of Holland with its independence, England, from its peculiar advantages, might be ſuppoſed to command the commerce of Europe; whilſt the wealth of America would provide it with reſources, which might for ever defeat the deſigns of France againſt its power. But commerce is neither to be acquired by violence, nor kept by force; and the danger of American treaſures had been even then aſcertained, by their effect on Spain. In the moſt flattering light, the object of this treaty would prove, in the end, of no real advantage to the Engliſh nation; and it would, in the mean time, moſt certainly deprive them of their political freedom. The independence on parliament, which the poſſeſſion of treaſure might have given to the King, muſt have rendered the monarchy abſolute; an abject ſyſtem of government under any ſovereign, but inſupportable under a careleſs and diſſolute prince. The King, however, extended not his principal views ſo far. Too indolent in his character, and unperſevering in his diſpoſition, preſent relief from his diſtreſſes was with him a greater object than future advantage. Though the King of Spain was ſickly, he might live many years; and Charles, by recent experience, had been convinced, that to reduce the Dutch would at leaſt be a taſk of difficulty.

Death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans.

THE Dutcheſs of Orleans did not long ſurvive the ſigning of a treaty finiſhed by her addreſs. She died at St. Cloud, on the

[t] Vid. Treaty.

thirtieth

thirtieth of June [u], after an illneſs of a few hours. The ſuddenneſs of her death created a ſuſpicion of poiſon; but it was found, upon opening her body, in the preſence of the Engliſh ambaſſador, and an Engliſh phyſician and ſurgeon, that there was no foundation for the report [x]. To an uncommon degree of beauty and gracefulneſs of perſon, ſhe joined the moſt alluring qualities of the mind. Her good ſenſe could be only equalled by her addreſs, and the clearneſs of her underſtanding was ſurpaſſed by nothing but her greatneſs of ſoul. She was a ſtranger to vanity, but full of that excuſable pride which guards her ſex from meanneſs. There was a ſweetneſs in her language, and a lively delicacy in her converſation, that gained her the hearts of all that heard her; and when ſhe expired, ſhe left ſcarce a dry eye in a court who are always thought to feel leſs than they expreſs [y]. The openneſs of her manner rendered her ſuſpected of an inclination to gallantry; and Lewis the Fourteenth was ſaid to have carried his attention to her beyond the bounds of the affection due to a brother's wife. Charles, who loved her to exceſs, lamented her ſincerely; but he was too fond of his connexion with France to ſhew any ſymptoms of indignation, even when he ſuſpected that unfair means had been uſed to accompliſh her death. In her journey to Dover, the Dutcheſs of Orleans was attended by a young lady of the name of Querouaille, afterwards better known by the title of Dutcheſs of Portſmouth. Lewis is ſaid to have ſent her, to ſecure the fluctuating friendſhip of Charles through the channel of his pleaſures. She made the expected impreſſion on the King. His propoſals were accepted. To preſerve an appearance of decency, ſhe went back with the Dutcheſs; but, ſoon after the death of that princeſs, ſhe returned to England, and uſed all the influence of her beauty in that country to ſerve the intereſt of her own.

CHAP. II. 1670.

[u] Hiſt. de France, 1670. [x] James II. 1670. [y] MS. de Coſn.

CHAP. III.

Reflections.——Character of the cabal.——Buckingham in France.——Invaſion of Lorrain.——A parliament.——Prince of Orange in England.——Attempt upon Ormonde.——Blood's attempt.——Coventry-act.——Scheme for a comprehenſion.——Death of the Dutcheſs of York.——Tranſactions at court.——Quarrel with the Dutch.——Imperious conduct of Charles.——Embaſſies.——Exchequer ſhut.——Preparations for war.——Smyrna fleet attacked.——Promotions.——War declared.——Declaration of indulgence.——Battle of Southwold Bay.——Death and Character of Sandwich.——Invaſion of Holland.——Conſternation of the Dutch.——Character of the Prince of Orange.——He is declared Stadtholder.——Tumults in Holland.——Murder of the De Wits.——Misfortunes of the Dutch.——Promotions.——Affairs of Scotland——of Ireland.——Reflections.——State of the nation.——A parliament.——Proceedings of the commons.——Indulgence recalled.——The teſt.——Deſigns to exclude the Duke of York.——Character of Monmouth.——Defection of Shafteſbury.——Battles at ſea.——State of the war.——Congreſs at Cologne.——Duke of York and Clifford reſign.——Oſborne made treaſurer.——His character.——A parliament.——Addreſs againſt the Duke's marriage.——Proceedings.——Chancellor diſmiſſed.——Duke of York's marriage.——A parliament.——Their proceedings.——Peace with Holland.

CHAP. III.

1670.

Reflections.

IN England, the meaſures of the crown are ſo uniformly aſcribed to its ſervants, that the monarch frequently remains, without either cenſure or applauſe, at the head of the ſtate. The miniſter is thought to adviſe what he executes, and he only is the

CHAP. III.

1670.

object of puniſhment, or the ſubject of praiſe. Charles, though he can derive little reputation from that circumſtance, was now the author of his own meaſures; and he choſe his ſervants, from their boldneſs to act, more than from their wiſdom to plan. In the courſe of a ſecret negociation of three years, he diſcovered abilities worthy of a more noble object; yet he, at the ſame time, betrayed a want of principle, which would diſgrace the moſt ſplendid deſigns. To deceive his allies, to dupe foreign powers, to ſhew a contempt for the faith of treaties, may derive ſome defence from great examples; but to adopt ſchemes too pernicious to be wholly laid open to ſuch bold and profligate ſervants as he had choſen, was peculiar to this King. This prince ſeems to have carried the vein of humour, which diſtinguiſhed his private converſation, into his public tranſactions. In a contempt for the abilities of others, he delighted to uſe mankind as tools; and to derive amuſement, as well as advantage, from follies occaſioned by his own want of ſincerity. His deſire of money was not, perhaps, more gratified with the ſums which he received from Lewis the Fourteenth, than his taſte for humour was ſatisfied at ſeeing that monarch becoming a kind of pander to his pleaſures.

Character of the cabal.

To carry into execution the ſecret treaty with France, Charles ſaw the neceſſity of employing more tools than thoſe by whom it had been ſigned. Clifford and Arlington, though men of conſiderable parts, were not of themſelves ſufficient to carry forward ſuch unpopular meaſures. Three others, of more boldneſs and ſuperior profligacy, were admitted with them into the management of the great line of affairs. Theſe were Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale. This committee of five were, by a puerile conceit, denominated the cabal, from the initials of their names; an appellation rendered odious to poſterity by their meaſures. Honeſt in an uncommon way, they ſcarce, except Arlington, made any pretenſions to principle; and this ſingularity in him

CHAP. III.

1670.

proceeded leſs from virtue, than an inherent timidity of mind. The moſt of them had loſt their regard to reputation, in their inſatiable deſires and an high opinion of their own abilities; being perſuaded, that parts alone are ſufficient to ſupport the character of a miniſtry with the world.

Clifford.

CLIFFORD, whom his name has placed at the head of the cabal, deſerved that pre-eminence from another cauſe. To a boldneſs, which ſhrunk from no political danger, he added an openneſs which approached to honeſty. He was a violent enemy, yet a ſincere friend [a]; and though his prejudices led him into errors, he atoned for them, in ſome meaſure, by avowing his conduct to the world. His eloquence in the houſe of commons brought him firſt into notice; his intimacy with Arlington raiſed him into office [b]. Ardent and impetuous in his councils, he deſerved to be truſted, from his ſpirit. His perſeverance in any plan acquired to him a firmneſs in all. The only ſymptom of weakneſs which he exhibited, was his avowed adherence to a ſyſtem of faith which the laws of his country did not recogniſe. But few men had then arrived at a degree of philoſophy ſufficient to remove religion from the channel of their temporal concerns.

Arlington.

ARLINGTON ſupplied the place of extenſive talents by an artful management of ſuch as he poſſeſſed. Accommodating in his principles, and eaſy in his addreſs, he pleaſed when he was known to deceive; and his manner acquired to him a kind of influence, where he commanded no reſpect. He was little calculated for bold meaſures, on account of his natural timidity; and that defect created an opinion of his moderation, that was aſcribed to virtue. His facility to adopt new meaſures was forgotten in his readineſs to acknowledge the errors of the old. The deficiency in his integrity was forgiven in the decency of his diſ-

[a] James II. 1667. [b] Ibid. 1668.

honeſty.

honeſty. Too weak not to be ſuperſtitious, yet poſſeſſing too much ſenſe to own his adherence to the church of Rome, he lived a Proteſtant, in his outward profeſſion; but he died a Catholic. Timidity was the chief characteriſtic of his mind; and that being known, he was even commanded by cowards [c]. He was the man of the leaſt genius of the whole party; but he had moſt experience in that flow and conſtant current of buſineſs, which, perhaps, ſuits affairs of ſtate better than the violent exertions of men of great parts. CHAP. III. 1670.

THOUGH few could owe more to fortune than Buckingham, none ever made a worſe uſe of her favours. Poſſeſſed of an ample eſtate, yet always in diſtreſs. A ſpendthrift without magnificence, extravagant without the leaſt ſymptom of generoſity. A man of uncommon talents, yet ſubject to unaccountable weakneſſes. Superſtitious in his diſpoſition, yet believing in no religion. Lively in his wit without elegance, open and free without ſincerity; deſtitute of principle, and a ſtranger to prudence. He was vain, but not proud; eager for reputation, but careleſs of honour; fond of debauchery, more than a lover of pleaſure. He was verſatile and various, ſubject to caprice and the ſlave of whim. In any other age or reign he might offend with the irregularity of his private life; but he never could have an opportunity of giving diſguſt by his influence in public affairs. The King, with whom he had been brought up, had a kind of natural affection for him, till he abuſed it by frequent repetitions of acts of inſolence and folly. At the Reſtoration, he was the only perſon who had enjoyed that honour abroad, excluded from the council [d]; and he owed afterwards the countenance of Charles to the irreſiſtible vivacity of his converſation, and not to any opinion he entertained of his merit [e]. The influence which he acquired, immediately after his diſgrace in 1667, was ſoon loſt. In the beginning of Buckingham.

[c] James II. 1668. [d] Ibid. 1669. [e] Ibid.

1669,

CHAP. III. 1670.

1669, his unaccountable fears of being aſſaſſinated by the Duke of York, eſtranged from him the mind of the King. He concluded him abſolutely mad [f], and ceaſed to communicate with him in any public affair. The Dutcheſs of Orleans, with whom he always retained his influence, reconciled her brother to him during the conference at Dover [g]; and though Charles deſpiſed his abilities in buſineſs, he thought him afterwards a proper tool for his worſt deſigns.

Aſhley.

THE Lord Aſhley, whoſe name ſtands the fourth in the committee was firſt in abilities and extraordinary talents. Bound by no principle, and reſtrained by no ties, his uncommon parts having room to play, appeared in their utmoſt force to the world. Bold and intrepid in his councils, yet full of addreſs in his manner, he could execute with confidence, whatever he had planned with art. Naturally reſtleſs in his temper, he loved trouble, from its amuſement, and though ambitious, he was fond of confuſion, more as a field for action, than as the means of acquiring power. His knowledge of human nature was extenſive. He was acquainted with the tempers of men, and commanded them through the channel of their ruling paſſions. Without the reputation of conſtancy, he gained the confidence of parties, through their opinion of his talents; and though he deſerted meaſures frequently, he never betrayed his friends. He was an eloquent ſpeaker [h]; but more ſubtle in his argument, than ſolid in his judgment; indefatigable in buſineſs, but verſatile and changeable in his ſchemes. Meaſuring the rules of policy, by his own variable paſſions, he was attached to no political principle, to no particular ſyſtem of government. Now a republican, now all for monarchy; to-day a ſupporter of liberty, to-morrow the ſlave of abſolute power: and thus, though regularly under the dominion of his inſatiable deſires, he ſeemed always inconſiſtent with himſelf. During the

[f] James II. 1669. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid. 1681.

firſt

CHAP. III. 1670.

first years of Charles, the attachment of the nation to their Sovereign deprived him of a field for exerting his abilities; which were only calculated to shine in times of tumult and confusion. He continued in office, more through the influence of the Earl of Southampton, whose niece he had married, than from any opinion of his political consequence. When Buckingham acquired influence, he attached himself to his councils [i]; and this near approach to Charles, was the means of discovering to him talents, which he deemed suitable for executing his schemes.

Lauderdale.

LAUDERDALE, though not equal in abilities to Ashley, was, at least, as careless about any principle in politics. His awkward and ungraceful figure [k], was the counterpart of a rude and boisterous mind; which, however, was improved, though not polished, by acquired talents. Obstinate, ambitious, and fierce, in his public conduct; an implacable enemy, and an inconstant friend in private life. Haughty, beyond measure. A tyrant to his inferiors; but to his superiors, an abject and submissive slave [l]. With an appearance of bluntness, he was full of art; though his violent passions broke often through the veil with which he wished to cover his designs. His talents were considerable, his experience great; he was bold and fearless in the execution of all his schemes. Though he was, from prejudice rather than principle, averse to despotism, and a friend to presbytery, he extended, in Scotland, the prerogative to a kind of tyranny; and abetted the rigours of the church against his own favourite sect [m]. Fond of power, and necessitous from expence, he adopted every measure that gratified his ambition or relieved his wants [n]. His readiness to humour his master in all his views, his spirit in supporting his worst and most dangerous measures, secured to him an ascendant over Charles; which, notwithstanding the opposition in their

[i] James II. 1668. [k] Burnet, vol. i. p. 139. [l] Ibid.
[m] Burnet, vol. i. p. 140. [n] Ibid.

characters,

CHAP. III. 1670.

characters, he retained during the greateſt part of this reign. The reſt of the cabal, afterwards, either deſerted or oppoſed the King: Lauderdale's adherence to his ſovereign, terminated only in the decay of his own ſtrength and underſtanding.

Buckingham ſent to France.

SUCH were the committee of his council, to whom Charles truſted his affairs. Without either an opinion of their fidelity, or attachment to their perſons, they became his ſole adviſers in domeſtic meaſures, and his tools in foreign affairs. To ſecure the exertion of their abilities in the latter, he found it neceſſary to involve them in the ſecret treaty with France. But the ſudden and ſuſpicious demiſe of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, threatened to break his favoured ſcheme. Buckingham, who profeſſed a wonderful attachment to that princeſs, became outrageous upon the news of her death [o]. He talked of nothing but a breach with France. He flew to all the foreign ambaſſadors, and, without authority, endeavoured to engage them in the expected war [p]. In the mean time, the Marquis of Bellesfonds arrived, with compliments of condolence from the French King. Charles, who knew the character of Buckingham, propoſed to ſend him in return to France; inſinuating, at the ſame time, to Lewis, the propriety of gaining him to their ſecret ſchemes. The acceſs to Buckingham was eaſy, through the channels of his vanity and avarice. The King of France aſſailed him through both. The Dutcheſs of Orleans was ſoon forgot. He ran with eagerneſs into the views of the Kings; and Aſhley, who ſtill adhered to his councils, adopted, with little difficulty, the meaſure. A ridiculous farce was now begun. The treaty concluded at Dover, except in the article concerning the Popiſh religion, was brought again into negociation, as originating from Buckingham. Charles employed the ſecret councils of the reſt of the year, in impoſing upon a ſervant ſcarce worthy of being deceived.

[o] James II. 1670. [p] Ib'd.

WHILE

CHAP. III.

1670. French invaſion of Lorrain.

WHILE this pretended treaty was in agitation, Lewis formed his meaſures upon the faith of that already concluded. The invaſion of Holland was the chief object of the alliance; and he took the firſt ſtep toward the execution of the projected ſcheme. To the United Provinces from France, there were two ways for conducting an army. The one lay through the Spaniſh Netherlands, the other through the territories of the German Princes upon the Rhine. A voluntary paſſage through the firſt was not to be expected; and to force it would be both dangerous and tedious. The latter appeared to be attended with the leaſt difficulty and moſt advantage. The petty princes of Germany might be inſulted with ſafety, or corrupted with eaſe. The Duke of Lorrain, as being the neareſt, was the firſt attacked. To gain his concurrence was impoſſible, on account of the memory of former injuries. Lewis reſolved to ſeize the dominions of a Prince, whom he could not hope to allure to his views. Beſides, the dutchy of Lorrain was in itſelf a valuable acquiſition, as well as convenient for his other deſigns. In breach of the faith of treaties, in the height of ſecurity and peace, the Mareſchal de Crequi entered Lorrain. He took Epinal, on the twenty-fourth of September[r]. Chatté fell into his hands, on the ſixth of October. The whole country yielded, with little reſiſtance, to the force of a powerful and diſciplined army. The Duke, deprived of all his territories, took refuge in the city of Cologne.

The parliament meets.

EUROPE was alarmed at an enterpriſe, which ſeemed to be the prelude of greater miſchiefs. Lewis endeavoured, in vain, to juſtify his conduct, by an allegation of dangerous intrigues in the court of Lorrain[s]. His own ambition was known, and therefore the reaſon of the meaſure was obvious. Men thought that the ſtorm was to fall upon Flanders. The few who ſuſpected the King of England of being privy to the invaſion, dreamed of no deſign againſt Hol-

[r] Henault, Hiſt. Abregé, 1670.

[s] Ibid.

CHAP. III.

1670.

land. The moderate declarations of France, though they received not full credit, created ſuſpenſe; and the States, though ſuſpicious, took no vigorous meaſures for their own defence. In the mean time, the parliament met[t]; and Charles, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgman, took advantage of the preſent ſituation of affairs, to demand a ſupply. He informed them, that both France and the States were buſy in arming by ſea and land; and that prudence dictated to the King to make ſuitable preparations. He urged that, from the ſituation of the kingdom, as an iſland, the defence of its liberties, and the ſecurity of its commerce, lay in its ſtrength at ſea; and that therefore his Majeſty, to preſerve both, had given orders for the fitting out fifty of his largeſt ſhips, againſt the ſpring. He told them, that, beſides, the King was obliged, by the leagues which he had made for the peace of Europe, to keep up a certain force, to preſerve the public tranquillity, and to aid ſome of his neighbours, in caſe of invaſion. Having enumerated many alliances finiſhed ſince their receſs, by his Majeſty; he concluded with aſſuring them, that all the Princes in Europe ſought the friendſhip of the King, and thought themſelves inſecure without his protection[u].

A ſupply granted.

THIS houſe of commons, when not led by men who converted them into an engine of ambition, were attached to Monarchy, and fond of the King. In matters of toleration only, they remained uncomplying to the views of the Crown. The ſpeaking members had been either bought off with offices, or ſwayed from oppoſition by promiſes. On the twenty-ſeventh of October, the King's ſpeech was taken under conſideration; and, without one diſſenting voice, a ſupply was voted proportionable to his preſent occaſions[x]. The houſe ordered a liſt of the particular debts of his Majeſty, at intereſt, to be laid before them, by the commiſſioners

[t] Journals, Oct. 24, 1670. [u] Journals of the lords, Oct. 24, 1670.

[x] Journals of the com. Oct. 27, 1670.

CHAP. III.

1670.

of the treaſury; while the treaſurers of the navy were, at the ſame time, directed to bring in an eſtimate of the charge of the fleet. Though the real deſigns of the crown were known to ſeveral, they were kept in profound ſecrecy from parliament and the nation. Even the unretentive Buckingham himſelf was too deeply engaged in the treaty with France to diſcloſe it to the world. The parliament, judging from the outward appearance of things, were deceived into a concurrence with the dangerous meaſures of the King. The debates concerning the funds for the ſupply, retarded the progreſs of the bills for raiſing it; but no objection was made to its being ample, and even equal to the utmoſt wiſh of the King.

Prince of Orange in England.

A FEW days after the meeting of parliament, the Prince of Orange arrived in England. Men, who annexed importance to all the motions of princes, formed various conjectures concerning the object of his viſit. He was treated by Charles with all the marks of affection which that prince invariably beſtowed upon his relations. He firſt intended to communicate to his nephew his treaty with France, which contained an article favourable to his ambition. In the propoſed partition of the territories of the Dutch republic, care was taken to reſerve a portion to form a ſovereignty for the family of Orange. Charles found that the Prince was not to be truſted with his favourite ſchemes. He thought him too ſtrict a proteſtant, and a Dutchman too ſincere, to adopt, even for his own advantage, a meaſure calculated to ruin the religion and government of Holland. In viſiting the univerſities, in making progreſſes through the kingdom, he ſpent three months in England. Though forbidding in his manner, and ungraceful in his perſon, his grave deportment procured him reſpect; and he was received by all with attention, though perhaps neither with affection nor with awe.

CHAP. III.

1670. Attempt on the Duke of Ormonde.

AN incident rendered memorable an entertainment given on the ſixth of December, by the city of London, to the Prince of Orange[y]. The Duke of Ormonde having attended him thither, was attacked as he was returning home, through a dark night, by ſix ruffians on horſeback, and well armed. Six footmen, who uſually attended his carriage, had been either ſtopt by the contrivance of the aſſaſſins, or were by accident out of the way. He was forced out of his coach, and mounted behind one of the villains, who inſtantly rode away. The attack happening in St. James's Street, the coachman drove to Clarendon-houſe, which ſtood at the upper end, and where the Duke of Ormonde then reſided. The family was alarmed; and the ſervants arriving, ran to the reſcue of their lord. The rider to whom the Duke was bound, embarraſſed by his ſtruggling, advanced but ſlow; and he was at length unhorſed, and both fell together in the mud, beyond Devonſhire-houſe, juſt as Ormonde's ſervants arrived. Diſengaging himſelf, the aſſaſſin diſcharged his piſtol at the Duke, but he miſſed, and then, with one of his companions, rode off, and ſaved himſelf under the cover of night[z].

Blood's crimes.

THOUGH the King iſſued a proclamation for the diſcovery and apprehenſion of the aſſaſſins, they remained unknown till they were detected by another crime. They formed, the ſucceeding May, the extraordinary project of ſtealing the crown from the Tower of London: but ſome of them were taken in the attempt. The chief actor in both theſe deſperate undertakings was one Thomas Blood, of Sarney, in the county of Meath. Notwithſtanding his having received the gift of an eſtate from Charles the Firſt, he ſerved Cromwell, and had lands allotted to him for his arrears. Bold and daring by nature, he loved iniquity from its danger; and was fond of deriving reputation from his deſperate-

[y] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 421.

[z] Ibid. p. 422.

neſs

neſs in crimes. In the year 1663, he was concerned in the conſpiracy for ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin and for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland. Expelled from his country, and deprived of his eſtate, he came to England, herded with the fanatics, and was ever ready in plots for the republican cauſe. His reſtleſs temper carried him alſo into Scotland, where he was preſent in the fight at the Pentland Hills. Eſcaping to Ireland, he was purſued there by the officers of juſtice: then returning to England, he ſignalized himſelf in Yorkſhire, by reſcuing ſome criminals from the ſheriff's men, as they were leading them either to trial or execution [a]. CHAP. III. 1670.

THOUGH Blood aſcribed to his own reſentment his attempt upon Ormonde, others ſurmiſed that he was inſtigated by Buckingham, that noble perſon's mortal foe. His refinement in vengeance looked like one of Buckingham's whims; for it was to hang the Duke at Tyburn, with a paper on his breaſt, that he had deferred to put an end to his life when he ſeized his perſon. The King, ſtruck with the boldneſs of his latter attempt, expreſſed an inclination to hear him examined. Blood was carried to court; and he had the addreſs to improve an opportunity, which ſeemed to promiſe a certain pardon [b]. He raiſed the admiration of Charles with a bold avowal of all his crimes. He wrought upon his fears, by declaring that he was one of many who had conſpired againſt his life. He told him, that he had been engaged to kill him with a carabine above Batterſea, where His Majeſty was accuſtomed to ſwim; but that when he took his ſtand in the reeds to execute his purpoſe, his heart miſgave him through awe. He magnified his own influence among the fanatics. He dwelt on the certainty of a ſevere vengeance, from his aſſociates, ſhould he ſuffer for his crime. Charles forgave him, through a mixture and pardons

[a] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 422. [b] Ibid.

of

CHAP. III. 1670.

of admiration and terror. He obtained the Duke of Ormonde's conſent to his pardon. He conferred upon him an eſtate in Ireland equivalent to that which he had loſt. Blood was admitted, in ſome degree, to the privacy of the King and intimacy of the court. The lenity of Charles degenerated, in this inſtance, into a meanneſs which was aſcribed to fear.

Aſſault on Sir J. Coventry.

In the evening of the twentieth of December[c], the day the parliament had adjourned for the Chriſtmas-holidays, an incident happened, which was followed by ſome ſtriking conſequences. Though the commons had voted a ſupply, the charging it upon adequate funds was the ſubject of long debates. A motion made for taxing the theatres was oppoſed by the court-party, who ſaid that the players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry ſtood up and aſked, "Whether His "Majeſty's pleaſure lay among the men or the women players?" This piece of raillery was carried with aggravated circumſtances to Charles. He received it worſe than could have been expected, from his known good humour. He was hurt at a reflection that bore ſo much upon his pride; for it was well known, that beſides his miſtreſſes of higher name, he entertained at the time two actreſſes, Mrs. Gwin and Mrs. Davis. Urged by the commands of the Duke of Monmouth, or in hopes of gaining the favour of the King, Sir Thomas Sandys, Obrien, and other officers of the guards, waylaid Coventry upon his return at night to his lodgings. He defended himſelf for ſome time with courage. He was at length overpowered, and his noſe ſlit to the bone. The officers, after their exploit, returned to the Duke's houſe, where Obrien's arm, which had been wounded in the ſcuffle, was dreſſed.

Proceedings of the cabinet.

Though the commons were not then ſitting, this dangerous breach on their privileges made a great deal of noiſe. The King

[c] Journals of the commons, Jan. 9th, 1671.

either repented or diſapproved of the forward zeal of his ſervants. A council was called to meet at Lord Arlington's houſe on the twenty-ſixth of December[f]. The Duke of Buckingham propoſed to the King, to ſend on Thurſday the twenty-fifth for the commons to the houſe of lords, and to endeavour by a ſpeech to leſſen their reſentment. The Duke of York ſeconded this motion. The whole council were unanimous. The heads of the ſpeech were prepared, and read and approved the next day. Charles was to own that he had heard of Coventry's words, and of the conſequent aſſault upon his perſon; and that he highly diſapproved of both. He was to have acquainted them, that he was troubled at their permitting ſuch diſreſpectful expreſſions to paſs without puniſhment; that he expected an amendment in their conduct upon that head; that he was as tender as they themſelves of their liberty of ſpeech; and that it concerned him, as well as them, not to ſuffer his or their enemies to create a miſunderſtanding, which might occaſion a diſſolution of the preſent parliament. He was to conclude with a compliment. But on the twenty-eighth this reſolution was laid aſide. It was agreed the King ſhould make no ſpeech, and that the law ſhould have its courſe without any obſtruction from the crown[g]. CHAP. III. 1670.

THE commons, who after a ſhort adjournment met on the twenty-ninth of December[h], had ordered a call of their houſe on the ninth of January[i]. When the name of Sir John Coventry was mentioned, Sir Thomas Clerges gave information of the aſſault upon his perſon[k]. The houſe flew into a violent flame. They entered into an immediate cognizance of the affair. They ſuſpended all other buſineſs. They voted unanimouſly that they reſented this fact, not only as a high breach of privilege, but an attempt of dangerous conſequence to the King, the laws, and 1671. Coventry-act.

[f] James II. 1670. [g] Ibid. [h] Journals. [i] Ibid. Jan. 9, 1671. [k] Ibid.

government,

CHAP. III. 1671.

government, and deſtructive to the very eſſence and conſtitution of parliament. They ordered a bill to be brought in, upon the debates of the houſe, for ſetting a day, under the penalty of baniſhment, to Sir Thomas Sandys, Obrien, and the other actors in aſſaulting and wounding Coventry, to render themſelves to public juſtice. This bill, which was paſſed with the utmoſt expedition, contained a clauſe which precluded the crown from pardoning the offenders. To maim or disfigure any perſon was rendered, for the firſt time, capital. The commons, having thus vindicated their privileges, applied themſelves to the money-bills ſtill depending in their houſe [l].

Parliament prorogued.

NOTWITHSTANDING the application of the Commons to the ſupply, their progreſs was ſlow. Charles becoming impatient, ſent a meſſage on the fourteenth of February [m], to haſten the money-bills; but the houſe, in return, preſented to him an addreſs againſt the growth of popery. The King, as uſual, promiſed to comply with their deſires, and they were ſatisfied. To three money-bills already paſſed, they added a fourth, for impoſitions on foreign commodities. When the bills were ſent to the lords, they thought proper to check the liberality of the commons, by making amendments. A diſpute aroſe between the houſes. The commons, deeming that the right of granting money was inherent in themſelves, rejected all alterations; and the lords yielded to their reaſons, with regard to the three firſt bills. The merchants of London petitioned the upper houſe againſt the fourth, as grievous and inconvenient to trade. The lords inſiſted upon making alterations; but the commons would yield to none. Frequent conferences were held. Reſolutions were framed on both ſides. The bill was ſtopt by this diſſenſion. The King, eager to receive the money granted by the firſt three

[l] Journals, Jan. 9th, 1671.

[m] Journals.

bills,

bills, came to the houſe on the twenty-ſecond of April, and having paſſed them, prorogued the parliament, to put an end to the diſpute. The money granted this ſeſſion has been variouſly computed. The moſt moderate extend it to a ſum conſiderably beyond two millions [n].

Scheme for a comprehenſion.

COMPREHENSION being a favourite object in this reign, ſome ſteps were taken toward it, in the beginning of March, by the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Sarum, and Cheſter [o]. To make it palatable for the houſe of commons, it was to have been introduced under another name and pretence. The plan was ſo artful, and the language ſo accommodating, that it was likely to paſs without animadverſion. Many violent churchmen ran with warmth into the ſcheme, from an opinion that the whole bench of biſhops were its friends. The project was defeated, by the joint efforts of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Duke of York [p]. The firſt oppoſed it, from his zeal for the church of England; the latter, from his bigotted adherence to the tenets of the Romiſh faith. To bring the Preſbyterians within the pale of the church, was to put an end to that indulgence to ſectaries, which preſerved a degree of toleration for the profeſſors of the Catholic religion. To this ſource ought to be traced the uniform adherence of this miſguided Prince to toleration. He laboured to place the Papiſts on the ſame footing with other ſects, to render them capable of holding offices, and, at length, to make converts through intereſt. The rack, the gibbet, the ſtake, he probably never intended to uſe. He hoped to gain mankind to his opinions, by rewarding them for quitting their own. The plan, in hands more able, might have ſucceeded; but the abilities neceſſary to carry it on, would have prevented the folly of undertaking the ſcheme.

[n] Journals, paſſim. [o] James II. 1671. [p] Ibid.

CHAP. III.

1671. Death of the Dutcheſs of York.

THE firſt fruits of the Duke's zeal for the Romiſh religion appeared in the converſion of his wife. In the winter of the year 1670, the Dutcheſs was firſt ſuſpected to be a Catholic [q]; though ſhe, probably, in private, had adopted the faith of Rome ſome time before. Zealous for the ordinances of the church of England, ſhe had always received, once a month, the ſacrament [r], according to the eſtabliſhed forms. In the illneſs in which ſhe died, ſhe not only diſcontinued the taking of the ſacrament, but even the hearing of prayers. The King firſt obſerved this change; and, in the month of December, charged his brother to keep concealed this change in her faith. After a growing corpulence, that threw her into a long indiſpoſition, ſhe expired on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1671 [s]. She was rather graceful, than beautiful in her perſon; more dignified, than amiable in her temper of mind. She poſſeſſed the pride of her father, without his violent paſſions; his good ſenſe, without his dilatory adherence to argument. Bred under the Princeſs of Orange, ſhe knew well what belonged to a court [t]. She was fond of ſtate, and expenſive in affecting ſhow. She was generous and faithful to her friends, but, from the ſame warmth of diſpoſition, ſevere againſt her enemies. Though her huſband was not faithful to her bed, ſhe retained always her influence over his mind. The Duke, though deficient in his public virtues, was poſſeſſed of thoſe of domeſtic life. He invariably treated her with becoming reſpect [u], and, even after her death, paid the utmoſt attention to her family and friends. She had the good fortune to overcome the envy raiſed by her elevation with her dignified deportment; and had ſhe adhered to her original faith, ſhe would have died regretted by all.

Tranſactions at court.

THE ſummer of the year 1671 is peculiarly barren in events. Charles, in the month of June, made a kind of ſea-progreſs

[q] James II. 1670. [r] Ibid. [s] Public Intel.
[t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 238. [u] Clarendon.

CHAP. III.

1671.

along the coaſt, inſpecting as he went the condition of naval affairs[x]. In the beginning of the year, the pretended treaty with France was concluded; the commiſſioners being the Proteſtant part of the cabinet, and the Duke of York[y]. Buckingham, the dupe and inſtrument of this ſecond alliance, was buſy in forwarding its object, in his own capricious way. He wiſhed for a diſſolution of parliament; but Charles would not liſten to the meaſure. He endeavoured, by fomenting the diſſenſions between the houſes[z], to derive from the neceſſity of the thing what he had failed to obtain from his maſter by influence. The King contented himſelf with a ſudden prorogation; and Buckingham was diſappointed. The Earl of Mancheſter dying on the fifth of May, the Duke, notwithſtanding his character, was choſen, in his place, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge. Several biſhops recommended him to that office by letters, forgetting, in his power, his avowed averſion to all religion and principle[a]. The creatures of Buckingham copied, in their proceedings, the profligacy of their patron. Oſborne and Lyttelton, joint treaſurers of the navy, quarrelled about their fees. A council, called upon their differences, ordered, that no treaſurer of the navy ſhould, for the future, receive any poundage, ſign any agreements, or vote for any contracts[b]; a neceſſary reſtraint, when corruption had ceaſed to be controuled by the fear of ſhame.

Peace with Algier.

WHEN the calm at home ſeemed to be the prelude of a ſtorm, an action worthy of memory happened between the Engliſh and the Algerines. Theſe pirates having long eluded the vigilance of Sir Thomas Allen, fell in with nine of their ſhips of war, with Sir Edward Spragge, his ſucceſſor in the command of the fleet ſtationed in the Mediterranean. Taking ſhelter under the caſtle of Bugia, they put themſelves in a poſture of defence. The Eng-

[x] Heath's Chron. 1671. [y] Dalrymple's Append.
[z] James II. 1671. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid.

CHAP. III. 1671.

liſh, attacking them with their fire-ſhips, burnt ſome and took the reſt. Another ſhip of forty guns was, at the ſame time, taken, and brought in by a cruizer. Spragge, after the victory, made the beſt of his way to block up the port of Algiers. Confuſion, inſurrection, and revolution, prevailed aſhore. Dey was aſſaſſinated after Dey. The divan conſulted in arms, being beſieged by the populace, who demanded peace [b]. A new Dey having, at length, eſcaped the dagger, reſtored domeſtic tranquillity, by entering into a treaty with the Engliſh. The conferences ended in an honourable and advantageous peace; and a period was put to a war, to which ſucceſs itſelf could ſcarce give importance.

Quarrel with the Dutch.

NOTWITHSTANDING the profound ſecrecy obſerved with regard to the alliance with France, the ſteps toward a breach with the United States began now to diſcover the deſigns of the cabinet to the world. Sir William Temple, who had concluded the triple league, had continued as Engliſh reſident in Holland for three years [c]. Neither his character for honeſty, nor his regard to conſcience, rendered him a fit inſtrument for carrying forward the changed meaſures of Charles. He was recalled, in the beginning of the year, upon a ſlight pretence. In July, his Majeſty ſignified formally his revocation, in letters to the States [d]; and, in the month of Auguſt, a yacht ſent for his wife and family furniſhed the firſt pretext for an unjuſtifiable war. The captain of the yacht had received ſtrict orders from the admiralty to fire on any Dutch ſhip that ſhould refuſe to ſtrike her ſails. The Dutch fleet lay floating in the channel, and the yacht paſſing through them on her return, fired ſome ſhot upon their neglecting to ſtrike [e]. The Dutch admiral came on board to make his compliments to Lady Temple; but he refuſed to pay the demanded ho-

[b] Heath, 1671.
[c] Kennet's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 309.
[d] Arlington's Letters, July 6, 1671.
[e] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 310.

nours.

nours. He urged, that he had no orders from his maſters upon that head; and that, had even the point been ſettled, he could not conſider a boat of paſſage in the ſame light as a King's ſhip of war. The yacht purſued her courſe, and brought to the Engliſh court the news of a ſpecious foundation for a complaint.

Imperious conduct of Charles.

THOUGH Charles and Lewis were reſolved to adhere to their engagements, ſome alterations were now made in the conditions of the ſecret alliance. The vanity of commanding ſix thouſand men, as an aid from England to France in the Dutch war, was one of the chief motives to the eagerneſs with which Buckingham entered into that ſcheme. Mountague, the Engliſh ambaſſador, had induced Lewis to depart from that demand. Buckingham aſcribed to private pique againſt himſelf a meaſure which Charles conſidered as a public benefit. Haughty, from an opinion of his being the firſt promoter of the alliance, he could not brook this diſappointment to his ambition. He abſented himſelf from the court. He affected to be offended with the King. Charles, conſcious of the ſiniſtrous tendency of the ſecret treaty, carried his behaviour to thoſe who ſigned it into a kind of inſult. Having ſeduced ſervants whom he never loved, he triumphed over their folly; and expected, from their fear of detection, an exertion of their talents, which he could never hope to derive from their loyalty. He ſent for Buckingham. He reprimanded him for his puerile forwardneſs. He told him, "that, on occaſions, where his private ambition interfered with the intereſts of the crown, he conſidered him no more than his dog[s]." He ſpoke in the ſame imperious terms to Lauderdale and Aſhley; men whoſe pride could bear any thing, when it was not their intereſt to oppoſe.

[s] Colbert to Lewis XIV. Nov. 9, 1671.

To

CHAP. III.

1671. Embaſſies to foreign powers.

To ſupport with foreign alliances his domeſtic force, Charles ſent ambaſſadors to the principal powers of Europe. Henry Coventry, in the month of September, was diſpatched to Stockholm, to ſway the young King of Sweden from obſerving the triple alliance. He executed his inſtructions with ſuch addreſs, that Charles the Eleventh, who promiſed at firſt to remain neuter, took afterwards an actual part with France and England in the war. Sir Robert Southwell, on the thirtieth of October, went envoy-extraordinary to Bruſſels. The Earl of Sunderland, in the end of November, took Paris in his way to the court of Spain. To widen the breach with the States of Holland, Sir George Downing ſet out, in the beginning of December, with the title of ambaſſador, to the Hague. The rude pertinacity of Downing, and the averſion which aroſe, from a perfect knowledge of his character, among the Dutch, rendered him fit for a journey, the object of which was to find a ſpecious pretence for war. His buſineſs was to complain, and not to negociate; to denounce vengeance, more than to demand ſatisfaction. It was remarkable, that during the four years ſince the treaty of Breda, the Dutch had furniſhed no ground of complaint, except the refuſal of their admiral, in the month of Auguſt, to ſtrike to the Engliſh flag. Their fears of France had reduced them into a temper that wiſhed to retain the friendſhip of England by their own moderation.

Neceſſities of the King.

THOUGH the ſum granted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament was ample, it was not equal to the neceſſities of the crown. The great remittances received from France were alſo loſt, in the unaccountable vortex of old demands. The ſtanding revenue, if even managed with œconomy, was inadequate to the common purpoſes of government; and now it was anticipated, by mortgages to money-brokers, bankers, and uſurers. To remove theſe reſtraints,

CHAP. III. 1671.

reſtraints, was the firſt object of every ſupply. But one debt was ſcarce paid, when another was incurred. Diſtreſs was followed by difficulty; and Charles felt all the inconveniencies incident to private extravagance, in his public profuſion. The expence of the navy, as it could never be aſcertained with preciſion, was peculiarly diſtreſsful to a government negligent of checks upon its ſervants. The amount of outlays on a land-force may be previouſly calculated, with ſome degree of certainty. No computation can be made of the accidents of tides and winds. The King was particularly fond of maritime affairs, but want of money forced him to neglect, in ſome meaſure, the navy, after the peace of Breda. Though near a million of the late ſupply was expended on the fleet, fifty capital ſhips were not ready to put to ſea. The inactivity of Charles through the ſummer 1671, proceeded from his want of reſources; and the meaſures which he projected were too unpopular to hope for an aid from a parliament, whoſe very meeting might now be attended with danger.

1672. The Exchequer ſhut.

To ſupply his immediate wants, the King adopted a ſcheme, as ruinous to his future convenience as it was contrary to the public faith. The ſhutting up the Exchequer, attributed to the ſuggeſtions of Aſhley [k], and adopted by Clifford, is juſtly deemed, if not the worſt, the moſt imprudent meaſure of the preſent reign. On the ſecond of January, Charles iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending all payments upon aſſignations in the Exchequer for one whole year. An explanation of the ſubject may throw light on the hardſhips attending a meaſure, which filled London with a general diſtruſt and conſternation. The goldſmiths, who then were the bankers, were accuſtomed to advance their money in the Exchequer upon the ſecurity of the funds upon which parliament had charged their ſupplies. They derived, from the neceſſities of the crown, an ample intereſt for their loans; and they were re-

[k] Arlington's Letters.

paid:

CHAP. III. 1672.

paid gradually, as the money levied upon the public came into the Exchequer. One million four hundred thouſand pounds had been, at eight *per cent.* lodged in the treaſury, upon the faith of the money-bills paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament[1]. This ſum had already been expended upon the preparations for a war. To apply the funds, as they came in, to the ſame purpoſes, was the object of a meaſure that was adopted with ſuch ſecrecy, that the ſuddenneſs of the evil prevented its being preceded by fear.

Reflections.

THE murmurs of the people, the conſternation of the citizens, the ſtagnation which diſtruſt created in commerce, were loſt on the King and his ſervants. Clifford was a man whom political danger could not intimidate. Aſhley, the adviſer of the ſcheme, enjoyed the confuſion. Buckingham, in the abſence of all principle, looked forward to the ſpoils of a country which he laboured to enſlave. The King was ſo much elevated, at his having his wants ſupplied without the aid of parliament, that he thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that he became careleſs of the complaints of his ſubjects. The conqueſt of the Dutch Republic, he ſuppoſed, would ſcarce furniſh employment for one campaign; and he could ſtrike off, from that moment, the fetters which rendered him ſo uneaſy at home. He, however, endeavoured to juſtify his conduct to the world. He ſignified the neceſſity of making preparations ſuitable to thoſe of his neighbours, as the only excuſe for a meaſure, of which he pretended not to approve. He promiſed repayment, with ſix *per cent.* intereſt, at the expiration of the year. He probably intended what he ſaid; for Charles was not, by nature, unjuſt. But he abhorred pecuniary diſtreſs, and ſacrificed principle to procure eaſe. Through the deſpair of a ſpendthrift, he became profligate; and juſtified to his own mind his worſt ſchemes, by the neceſſities impoſed by the parſimony of parliament.

[1] R. Coke, p. 168.

CHARLES,

CHAP. III.

1672. Preparations.

CHARLES, provided with money, by ſhutting the exchequer, now ſeriouſly applied himſelf to preparations for a war. To man the fleet, it was propoſed in the cabinet, to lay an embargo on all veſſels outward bound. The Duke of York oppoſed this meaſure, as a ſtop to trade and a detriment to the revenue [m]. To ſupport his opinion, he undertook to man the fleet without any violence; provided the Newfoundland trade might be ſuſpended for the ſeaſon. Being deſtined to command the fleet in perſon, he required only ſixty Engliſh ſhips of the line, twenty frigates, and thirty French men of war to compoſe the main fleet. He urged that, in that caſe, a ſufficient number of men and ſhips would be left for convoys; ſo that the war would create no interruption to commerce [n]. Though the miniſtry ſeemed to yield in ſome degree to his reaſons, they afterwards iſſued a rigorous proclamation for preſſing men. The duke, by his indefatigable induſtry, performed his promiſe. The fleet was manned, with little reſtraint on ſailors; and without any conſiderable obſtruction to trade. To accommodate the merchants, Charles ſoon after exerted his prerogative. He ſuſpended the act of navigation, by his royal will and pleaſure: a meaſure of apparent uſe to commerce, though, as a precedent, dangerous. The King now acted in every thing as if he were abſolute. He looked upon the ſucceſs of the war as certain; and he hoped to become independent of a parliament, whoſe parſimony was the ſole check on his power.

Attack on the Smyrna fleet.

HIS firſt meaſure in the war met with little ſucceſs; and it deſerved no applauſe. The attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, was called piracy by the Dutch; and few Engliſh writers gave it a ſofter name. To attack an enemy, without a formal declaration of war, was not then juſtified by example; though it has frequently ſince been aſcribed to ſpirit, or conſidered as the reſult of political prudence. Sir Robert Holmes, with ſeven frigates, was

[m] James II. 1672. [n] Ibid.

CHAP. III. 1672.

ordered to intercept the Smyrna fleet, as it paſſed through the channel. On the thirteenth of March, he deſcried them off Portſmouth. They conſiſted of ſixty merchant-men, under the convoy of ſeven ſhips of war [o]. They were prepared for defence. The Dutch, ſuſpecting the deſigns of the court of England, had armed their merchant-men, to prevent a ſurpriſe. Holmes being a ſtranger to their ſtrength, availed not himſelf of the aid of Sir Edward Spragge, who paſſed in ſight [p], toward the Downs, with the fleet which he had commanded in the Streights. He entertained alſo a private pique againſt Spragge, and he envied him a ſhare in the glory which he hoped to acquire. The event was anſwerable to his folly. He engaged with courage, but he failed in conduct. The Dutch, in a running-fight, defended themſelves with ſpirit. Their admiral was at length killed, and his ſhip ſunk. Four merchant ſhips of little value, fell into the hands of Holmes. The reſt eſcaped, in a fog, to their ports [q]; and thus the King loſt his reputation, without gaining any ſolid advantage.

War declared.

FOUR days after this ineffectual attempt on the Smyrna fleet, war was declared in form againſt the States [r]. The French King followed the example of his ally, on the ſeventh of April [s]. Charles advanced ſome frivolous reaſons. Lewis aſcribed his conduct to the demands of his glory. The firſt complained of commercial injuries, of a breach on the honours of his flag, of ſeveral infractions of the treaty of Breda. The latter expreſſed his reſentment againſt the inſolence of the Dutch ambaſſador, and the impertinence of the Dutch news-papers [t]. The declarations of both were as ill conceived, as their complaints were ill-founded. Without the boldneſs to avow, or the art to conceal their real views, they rendered their ſpirit as much ſuſpected as their prudence. Charles, with an inſult upon the common ſenſe

[o] James II. 1672.
[p] Ibid.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 310.
[s] Henault, 1672.
[t] Ibid.

of

of mankind, declared his adherence to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [u], at the very time he broke through all the ties of the triple alliance. This artifice was intended to amuſe the court of Spain; who, he imagined, might be kept in a ſtate of neutrality, from a proſpect of their own ſafety.

Declaration of indulgence.

CHARLES was as unfortunate in the reputation, as he was in the iſſue of all his meaſures. Having once fallen under ſuſpicion, his beſt ſchemes were aſcribed to the worſt deſigns. His tolerant principles were invariably conſtrued into a bias toward Popery; and a freſh exertion of the prerogative, in favour of the Diſſenters, was ſcarce received by themſelves, without jealouſy and fear. On the fifteenth of March, he publiſhed, by advice of his council, a declaration of indulgence. His pretence was to eſtabliſh union at home, upon the eve of a foreign war. By virtue of the inherent power to which he laid claim, in eccleſiaſtical matters, he ſuſpended the penal laws againſt all non-conformiſts and recuſants. He indulged Proteſtant Diſſenters with places of public worſhip. He reſtricted the Catholics to the exerciſe of their religion, in private houſes. To mollify the church of England, he declared his own adherence to its tenets; and that no perſon ſhould be capable of holding any benefice or eccleſiaſtical dignity, who would not exactly conform to its faith [x]. The manner only of this indulgence was blamable. The King did by proclamation, what the parliament ſhould have done by law. Though Aſhley was the adviſer of the meaſure, it was aſcribed to the bigotry of the Duke of York; and the nation entertaining that opinion, had ſome ground for their fears.

Promotions and honours.

To ſupport the credit of his domeſtic meaſures, as well as to ſtrengthen his hands in the war, the King called to his council ſeveral noblemen of popularity and reputation. The Marquis of

[u] Vide declaration.

[x] Vide declaration, March 15th, 1672.

CHAP. III. 1672.

Worceſter, the Lords Halifax and Falconberg took their ſeats at the board, on the ſeventeenth of April, together with the Earl of Eſſex, whom the King had declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The cabal were diſtinguiſhed with more peculiar favours [y]. The Earl of Lauderdale was raiſed to a Dukedom, in the kingdom of Scotland. Lord Arlington was dignified with the title of Earl, Aſhley created Earl of Shafteſbury, and Clifford made a Baron by the ſame name. The garter was given to Lauderdale and Arlington. Buckingham having arrived at the ſummit of honours, was left to be rewarded by the generoſity of France; whoſe meaſures he ſupported to the utmoſt pitch of his fluctuating abilities. In a perfect ſubmiſſion to the King, in a harmony created by fear, among themſelves, the cabal managed the great line of buſineſs. Excluded from the ſecret of affairs, the reſt of the council only gave their authority to what they had not adviſed. The Duke of York was abſent with the fleet; and, even when preſent, his advice was ſeldom required.

The Dutch at ſea.

De Ruyter, with ſeventy Dutch men of war, put to ſea, in the end of April. The Duke of York, who lay at the Nore, with forty ſhips of the line, received, at the ſame time, advice that the French fleet deſtined to join him, had ſailed from Breſt. Judging by the winds, that they were arrived in the channel, he weighed anchor, and was carried down the channel, with a freſh gale at Weſt. In the evening he had ſight of the Dutch, off Long Sand Head. He ſtood to South; and, at night, the gale growing freſher, and bad weather coming on he came to anchor. When morning came, he gave no day-break ſignal for ſailing, on account of the vicinity of the enemy. But the wind coming up at Eaſt, he paſſed in a thick fog by De Ruyter, without being ſeen; and joined, the next morning, the French, under D'Eſtrees, at St. Helens. He remained there two days, to adjuſt matters

[y] Kennet's Hiſt. vol. iii.

for

CHAP. III. 1672.

for action, and then ſailed in queſt of the Dutch. The Duke himſelf, in the Prince of one hundred guns, commanded the red ſquadron. Sir Edward Spragge in the London, a firſt rate; Sir John Harman in the Charles; and the Count D'Eſtrees in the St. Philip, of between eighty and ninety guns, led on the white ſquadron, and the Earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James of one hundred guns, was admiral of the blue [z].

They ſurpriſe

DURING the Duke's ſtay at St. Helens, the Dutch had retired to their own coaſt. They lay behind the Rumble ſands, hoping to draw the Engliſh upon that dangerous bank. The Duke perceiving the ſtrong ſituation of the enemy, ſtood for the coaſt of Flanders. De Ruyter, the beſt ſeaman of his time [a], ſtood in for the banks; and, as his ſhips drew leſs water, deprived the Engliſh of an opportunity of fighting but to great diſadvantage. The weather being very bad, the Duke repaired to Southwold bay, where he anchored to take in water and freſh proviſions; declaring firſt to his admirals, that when the wind turned Eaſt, he was determined to put to ſea [b]. He gave ſtrict orders, in the mean time, that neither trader nor collier ſhould be permitted to go round, for fear of falling into the enemy's hands; who, by that means, might gain intelligence how his fleet lay. A light ſhip, however, ſlipped by in the night. She was taken and carried to De Ruyter, who ordered his fleet to ſail at day-break, to attack the Engliſh, unprepared for the fight. The Duke perceiving the change of the wind, gave orders for the ſignal to ſtand out to ſea, to be in a poſture to receive the Dutch; but Sir John Cox, his captain, perſuaded him that he had received certain intelligence from one of his cruizers, that the Dutch lay, in the ſame unprepared condition, off the iſland of Goree. Thus, on the twenty-eighth of May, was the Duke ſurpriſed, at two in the morning, by the Dutch fleet [c].

[z] James II. 1672. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid.

THE

CHAP. III.

1672. the Duke of York.

THE captain of a French fourth-rate brought to the Duke the firſt intelligence of De Ruyter's approach. Having been out on a cruize the day before, his ſhip, a bad ſailer, could not get in among the fleet the preceding evening. He had been forced to come to anchor a league to the eaſtward of the outermoſt ſhips, for fear of being driven to the leeward of the fleet, the wind being north-eaſt, and a leeward tide. This circumſtance furniſhed him with an opportunity of having the firſt knowledge of the enemy. As he was getting under ſail, two Dutch ſcouts fell in with him; and though each was of equal force, they forbore to fire, brought to, and then ſtood away. He rightly judged that their fleet was not far aſtern. To give notice of the enemy's approach, he fired all the way as he ſtood in toward the Engliſh. At break of day, the Dutch were ſeen to the windward, bearing down on the Duke. Their firſt line and their fire-ſhips were nearer in with the ſhore. Their flag-ſhips were farther to ſea. The Duke of York, on the firſt alarm, got his whole fleet under ſail. He endeavoured to place them in their ſeveral ſtations in order of battle; but by reaſon of the leeward tide and eaſt-wind, few could get in when the engagement began. Not above twenty of the red and blue bore the whole brunt of De Ruyter and Van Ghent's ſquadrons. The French were ſcarce charged at all by the Zealand ſquadron[d].

Battle of Southwold-bay.

AT eight of the clock in the morning the battle began, the Dutch fleet having the wind. De Ruyter's ſquadron bore down on the red, commanded by the Duke of York. Van Ghent oppoſed himſelf to the Earl of Sandwich, who led the few ſhips of the blue that could fall into the line. The Dutch, uſing their chain-ſhot, and directing their fire to the rigging, diſabled the Prince; and his Royal Highneſs was obliged to ſhift his flag on board the St. Michael, commanded by Sir Robert Holmes[e]. Two

[d] James II. 1672.

[e] Public Intell.

CHAP. III.

1672.

ſhips ſent to burn the Prince were ſunk by the Duke. But the Earl of Sandwich, after performing prodigies of valour, was burnt in the Royal James. In a cloſe engagement with Van Ghent, he ſlew that admiral, and beat off his ſhip [c]. He ſunk another ſhip which laid him on board. He ſent to the bottom two fire-ſhips as they advanced. Of one thouſand men on board, one half were ſaid to be dead on the deck, before his ſhip was burnt by a third fire-ſhip. The Earl himſelf was drowned in endeavouring to ſwim to ſome other ſhip. There is no reaſon to ſuſpect that he ſacrificed his life to a reflection on his courage, uttered by the Duke of York. A difference of opinion could not have happened between them about putting to ſea. The Duke was earneſt for that meaſure [f]; though he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the advice of others [g]. Beſides, his Royal Highneſs was too courteous and well-bred to uſe a harſh expreſſion to a perſon of ſuch high diſtinction, and his own ſecond in command. He acknowledged the great merit of the Earl, a little before the battle, in a letter written with his own hand. Beſides, the account which he gives of this unfortunate accident precludes every idea of his having any quarrel with the Earl [h].

Dutch defeated.

THE Duke, a ſecond time diſabled, was forced to go on board the London, commanded by Sir Edward Spragge. The battle declining on both ſides, the two fleets lay by for the night. The Duke thought it right to retire in the morning. The Dutch, by way of bravado, followed him in his retreat; but he turned upon them, and renewed the fight. Sir Joſeph Jordan, in the mean time, gaining the weather-gage of the enemy, De Ruyter fled. The Duke purſued him to his own coaſt. Fifteen of his diſabled ſhips, left in his rear, could only be ſaved by a ſudden fog. The Engliſh hung cloſe on his flight. Foul weather prevented next day a renewal of the fight; and the Dutch retired to their

[c] James II. 1672. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

ports.

CHAP. III. 1672.

ports. The Duke cruized for a fortnight between the Vly and the Texel, remaining maſter of the ſea; but the weather being uncommonly foul, the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet had the good fortune to paſs him unſeen in a ſtorm. In this battle, where twenty ſhips [i] only were engaged on the ſide of the Engliſh, the Dutch had manifeſtly the worſt: moſt of their great ſhips were miſerably ſhattered; one was ſunk by the Earl of Sandwich, and another by Sir Edward Spragge: one veſſel of force was taken, another was burnt in their line; and ſeveral ſhips that were miſſing, were thought to periſh in the ſucceeding ſtorm, through the damage which they had received in the fight [k]. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, the Royal James; but ſeveral were diſabled, and more than ſeven hundred men ſlain. Their victory, however, was followed by no ſtriking conſequence. The fate of ſtates ceaſed to be decided by naval engagements ever ſince the battle of Actium [l].

Character of the Earl of Sandwich.

THOUGH the Engliſh were confeſſedly victorious, the loſs of the Earl of Sandwich might be conſidered as a partial defeat. To the higheſt reputation for courage, he joined a coolneſs ſeldom annexed to the fervour of perſonal valour. His knowledge in naval affairs could be only equalled by his addreſs in the buſineſs of the cabinet, though his unintriguing diſpoſition rendered him unfit for the ſecret councils of Charles. He was affable in his deportment, liberal without vanity, and a lover of magnificence without profuſion [m]. His turn for mechanics induced him firſt to engage in a ſea life. He ſerved his country, during the republic, without ſharing in the councils by which, under the maſk of liberty, it was in a great meaſure enſlaved. The great part which he took in the reſtoration of monarchy, ſecured to him, throughout his life, the attention of the King, which was even continued to his remains. His body, diſcovered by the order on his coat, was

[i] James II. 1664. [k] Contin. of Heath, 1672. [l] Parker, p. 151.
[m] Henault, 1672.

found

found floating in the ſea after the action, and conveyed to Harwich. Being brought to Deptford on the third of July, it was buried, at the expence of the King, with great funeral pomp, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, in the ſame vault with the Duke of Albemarle. He might have eſcaped from the ſhip with the captain and many of his crew, who were ſaved, but he is ſaid to have preferred death to the riſk of being taken and carried to Holland in triumph.

Progreſs of France.

DURING theſe operations at ſea, a ſtorm more dreadful was faſt advancing on Holland by land. The King of France, dividing into three bodies an army conſiſting of 120,000 men, put them all in motion in the beginning of May. The firſt he led in perſon, with the famous Turenne. The Prince of Condé commanded the ſecond; the Count de Chamilli the third. The latter took Maſeic on the fifteenth of May. Orſoi fell into the hands of the King on the third of June. Burich yielded to the arms of Turenne. Rhimberg opened its gates on the ſixth of the month to Lewis. Beauviré ſeized Doëtkum on the eighth. Grool was taken on the ninth, by the troops of the Biſhop of Munſter. The twelfth of June was ſignalized by the paſſage of the Rhine. Turenne became, three days after, maſter of Arnheim. Skenk, which coſt a ſiege of nine months to the Dutch, when they took it from Spain, fell in leſs than half the number of days into the hands of that great commander. Utrecht ſubmitted on the twentieth to Lewis. Doeſbourg, Deventer, and Zuvol ſurrendered to the Biſhop of Munſter. On the ninth of July, Nimeguen was taken by Turenne. Naerden, within nine miles of Amſterdam, fell on the twelfth into the hands of the Marquis of Rochefort. The fate of the States hung on the edge of a moment. Had Rochefort taken poſſeſſion of Muyden, Amſterdam would fall, and with it the republic of Holland [n].

[n] Henault, 1672.

CHAP. III.

1672. Reduction of three provinces.

THE progreſs of Lewis, like the courſe of an inundation, levelled every thing, then covered all. Marching forth to conqueſt rather than to war, he carried the magnificence and gaiety of a court to the field. With all the triumphs of a victor he entered Utrecht; though he owed more to the unprepared ſtate of the enemy than to his own conduct. Surrounded with flatterers and attended by poets, to celebrate his exploits, he gave ſcope to that vanity, which in him was a kind of virtue. To men who meaſure merit by ſucceſs, there certainly appeared a foundation for fame. In the courſe of a few weeks, the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overyſſel had ſubmitted to the arms of France. Frieſeland and Groninghen were invaded by her ally, the Biſhop of Munſter. The maritime provinces, Holland and Zealand, only remained free. Forty fortified cities either opened their gates through terror, or, after a faint reſiſtance, ſurrendered without terms. Europe was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment rather than with admiration. The Dutch, unmanned by their fears, left almoſt a bloodleſs victory to Lewis. The enemy, by their cowardice, deprived the conqueror of glory; and ſeemed, by their ſpiritleſs conduct, to be even unworthy of their independence.

Unprepared ſtate of the Dutch.

THOUGH the Dutch had foreſeen a tempeſt, which now broke on them with ſuch violence, their preparations were dilatory and feeble. Divided into factions, every ſcheme for defence was either oppoſed, or rendered ineffectual, by being retarded. Terror itſelf could not eſtabliſh unanimity among parties embittered againſt each other by a long oppoſition. The Louveſtein faction, who carried in their very appellation the memory of an injury, were the moſt numerous, and headed by the Penſionary De Wit. The adherents of the Prince of Orange, weakened by a long minority, began to acquire ſtrength and conſequence, from their leader's character and years. Theſe two parties, together with a third, who affected a kind of neutrality, comprehended the whole body of

of the States. The moderate faction, impreſſed with a ſenſe of danger, or in hopes to regain the favour of the King of England, joined the friends of the Prince of Orange; and on the twenty-fourth of February he was raiſed to the dignity of Captain-general and Admiral of the United Provinces. The perpetual edict, by which he was excluded from the Stadtholderſhip, however, remained unrepealed. The oppoſition of parties continued; and the intereſt of the public was neglected in their animoſities.

Character of the Prince of Orange.

THE Prince of Orange began now, for the firſt time, to diſplay a character as ſingular in itſelf as the fortune of his life was extraordinary. To a gravity and ſilence which diſtinguiſhed his early youth with the prudence thought peculiar to years, he joined a firmneſs in all his meaſures that bordered on obſtinacy. Without a conſtitution for pleaſure, his chief object was an ambition for power and a great name. Deſtitute of thoſe brilliant parts which dazzle the world, he acquired weight with mankind by the ſolidity of his underſtanding. His perſonal courage was tempered with circumſpection and coolneſs; his ſlowneſs in action corrected by his perſeverance. In his carriage and manner he was rather reſpectable than dignified, more decent than amiable in his private life. Phlegmatic in his diſpoſition, he was ſubject to no paſſion in the extreme; and the ſame cauſe that exempted him from vice, obſcured the luſtre of his virtues. Born with abilities for the cabinet, but with no great talents for the field, his policy, perpetually at war with his fortune, at length prevailed; and though he ſcarce ever won a battle, he frequently reaped all the advantages of victory from defeat. Though he cannot be accuſed of wanton tyranny, he was fond of power; he ſacrificed his virtue to his ambition; and, without any glaring injuſtice, frequently deſcended to meanneſſes to accompliſh his favourite deſigns. He was happy throughout his life in his opponent. The

CHAP. III. 1672.

mad bigotry of James the Second might have furniſhed a field of triumph for abilities more circumſcribed than thoſe of the Prince, as the former had at once to contend with the favourite paſſions of his own people, and the art of his rival. Upon the whole, though great things reſulted from the conduct of the Prince of Orange, he was not poſſeſſed of thoſe brilliant qualities which are generally deemed neceſſary to conſtitute a great man.

Conſternation of the States.

THE States owed their ſafety more to the want of conduct in Lewis, than to the abilities of the Prince of Orange. Unprovided with an army, and adding conſternation to their weakneſs, they were actually what they ſeemed, an eaſy prey. De Wit, who had governed their councils for many years, carried his private prejudices into his public conduct. In oppoſition to the power of the houſe of Orange, he diſcouraged a land force, and threw the whole ſtrength of the maritime provinces into the navy. Truſting to the weakneſs of Spain, and fortified by their ancient alliance with France, the States themſelves, ever ſince the peace of Weſtphalia, had been extremely negligent with regard to their troops. A ſhow of an army was kept up, but it was altogether deſtitute of diſcipline, and ignorant of every military duty. Though the troops were increaſed before the arrival of the French, to ſeventy thouſand men, they were ſo raw and timid, that the Prince, not daring to ſhew them to the enemy, retired to the province of Holland, whilſt Lewis took at his leiſure almoſt all the fortified towns of the upper Provinces.

Prince of Orange declared Stadtholder.

IN proportion as the danger advanced toward the province of Holland, the vulgar became outrageous through their fears. The States themſelves loſt their preſence of mind. De Wit, declining in his credit, could no longer animate his countrymen to their own defence: on the contrary, they now attributed their miſfortunes

CHAP. III. 1672.

fortunes to his neglect of the army. All perſons ran with violence into the party of the Prince of Orange, and ſeemed to think that the very being of the States depended upon his abilities. Amſterdam alone retained ſome appearance of ſpirit. They opened their ſluices, and laid the whole country under water. But the ſafety derived from that barrier againſt the enemy could not infuſe courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles and eleven towns voted to ſend ambaſſadors to implore the pity of the two Kings. They offered to ſurrender all the frontier towns which lay beyond the limits of the ſeven provinces, and to pay a conſiderable ſum toward the charges of the war. Lewis, left by Turenne, who had marched into Germany, was led in his councils by de Louvois and de Pomponne. The violence of the former ſaved the States [p]. His unreaſonable demands threw them into a deſpair, which overcame their fears. The people roſe at Dort, and forced their magiſtrates to ſign the repeal of the perpetual edict. The other cities followed their example, and on the fifth of July the Prince of Orange was raiſed to the Stadtholderſhip of the unconquered provinces.

Propoſals of France and England rejected.

THE deputies of the States to the King of England arrived at London on the twentieth of June [q]. They carried, in their own appearance, the diſtreſs of their country. The people, moved by pity, received them with attention and friendſhip; but the court treated them with indignity, if not with contempt [r]. Under a pretence that they came without either leave or paſſport, they were ordered to retire to Hampton-court, till the King ſhould think fit to allow them an audience [s]. Charles, having determined not to treat without the conſent and concurrence of Lewis, appointed Buckingham, Arlington, and Lord Halifax, to be his ambaſſadors extraordinary, to join the deputies of France in offering

[p] Henault, 1672.
[q] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 315.
[r] Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 374.
[s] Ibid.

CHAP. III. 1672.

fering peace to the Dutch [t]. The commiſſion of the plenipotentiaries was dated on the twenty-firſt of June. The next day the Duke of Monmouth, then at the court of Lewis, was joined with them in a ſeparate commiſſion; and, on the twenty-third, they ſailed from the Buoy at the Nore. Arriving at Maeſland-ſluys, they were received with the utmoſt joy by the Dutch. Men, women, and children, in a manner encumbered their journey, by crowding round their carriages. Having paſſed through the Hague, they waited upon Lewis at Utrecht. The terms required by the commiſſioners of the two Kings amounted to an annihilation of the independence of the States. They were rejected, at the inſtance of the Prince of Orange, who was ſaid to have been tempted in vain to ſacrifice his country to his own ambition [u]. The Engliſh ambaſſadors returned on the twenty-firſt of July. Lewis, impatient for the flattery of his ſubjects, directed his courſe through Flanders to Verſailles.

The De Wits murdered.

THE war languiſhed upon the departure of the French King. The Dutch, though ſafe behind their inundations, were ſtill diſtracted with terror and torn with faction. The populace, aſcribing their misfortunes to De Wit and his brother the bailiff of Putten, placed all their confidence in the Prince of Orange. A barber, in the beginning of Auguſt, accuſed the younger De Wit of having made him large offers for poiſoning the Prince. The magiſtrates, intimidated by the mob, put him to the torture on this improbable charge. He bore it with an undaunted ſpirit: but he was ſtript of his employments, and baniſhed for life. The penſionary, who had reſigned his office, ſupported his brother through the whole proceeding. He reſolved to conduct him out of town in his own coach, and to take a part in his diſgrace. The mob aſſembled. They forced open the priſon doors. They wounded, mangled, and trod to death the brothers. They dragged their

[t] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 315. [u] Temple.

bodies through the ſtreets, then hanged them by the heels on a gibbet. The utmoſt barbarity was added to the moſt ſavage cruelty. Wretches, who could not approach the bodies themſelves, gratified their inhuman revenge, by buying pieces of the fleſh from others. A toe ſold for ten ſtivers, an ear for double that ſum, and a finger for twelve. This brutal commerce continued throughout the day. At midnight the mangled remains, deſerted at length by the mob, were removed and privately buried [x]. CHAP. III. 1672.

SUCH was the miſerable end of De Wit; a man more remarkable for his activity, and a ſincere love for the liberties of his country, than for his extenſive talents. A fixed averſion to the power of the houſe of Orange ſeems to have been the ruling principle of his mind. His father was one of the ſix deputies whom William the Second arreſted and confined in the caſtle of Louveſtein. The hatred of the parent deſcended to the ſon. The connexion of the royal family of England with the Prince of Orange threw De Wit into the arms of France. He was the dupe of her councils for ſeveral years. Though he was rouſed into terrors for his country by the meaſures which gave being to the triple league, he reverted, in ſome degree, to his connexions with Lewis. Ill informed of the motions of foreign courts, or ſwayed by his prejudice againſt a ſtanding army, he left his country expoſed to inſult, and even in danger from conqueſt. His preparations were too late, and they were languid when they began. The firſt circumſtance ought to be aſcribed to himſelf; the latter aroſe from the difficulty of his ſituation. He was, upon the whole, an honeſt, though, perhaps, not a great ſtateſman; and his hard fate proves how little his countrymen deſerved his affection and his virtues. Character of the penſionary.

[x] Gazette, No. 704.

THE

CHAP. III.

1672.

Prince of Orange unſucceeſsful.

THE firſt attempts of the Prince of Orange neither anſwered the hopes of the Dutch, nor gave to himſelf reputation. The Duke of Luxembourg forced him, on the twelfth of October, to raiſe the ſiege of Woerden, with the loſs of fifteen hundred ſoldiers [y]. He met with the ſame untoward fate at Charleroy. He failed in his attack upon Swartſluys, after loſing many men [z]. With troops terrified and unexperienced, he could make no impreſſion upon an enemy elevated with ſucceſs and diſciplined to war. The Dutch, unmanned by their terror, ſeemed to truſt their ſafety to the fears of other ſtates. The motions of the Emperor, though he was jealous of the progreſs of France, were, like his genius, undeciſive and ſlow. The march of the Elector of Brandenburgh brought the firſt relief to the States. Turenne moved to oppoſe him with twelve thouſand men [a]. The Biſhop of Munſter, anxious for his own territories, raiſed the ſiege of Groninghen, and retired home. No action happened during the whole campaign on the ſide of Germany. Turenne, with all the movements of an experienced commander, advanced without bloodſhed. He ſtopt the progreſs of the enemy, and, before the winter, placed his quarters at Hoxter.

Promotions.

The naval operations between the Engliſh and the States ſeemed to have terminated with the battle of Southwold Bay. The Duke of York, unable to force De Ruyter to action, returned to court. Several promotions of conſequence were made in the higheſt departments of the ſtate, in the month of November. Sir Orlando Bridgman, the lord-keeper, reſigned the great ſeal, on account of his infirmities and years [b]. The Earl of Shafteſbury was made lord chancellor of England; being ſucceeded, as chancellor of the exchequer, by Sir John Duncomb. The office of lord-treaſurer remaining void ſince the death of the Earl of Southampton, was

[y] Henault, 1672.
[z] Contin. of Heath, 1672.
[a] Henault.
[b] Public Intell.

conferred upon Lord Clifford. The Earl of Arlington was diſcontented at this latter promotion [c]. He aſked the ſtaff of Charles, but he received an anſwer which hurt his pride. The King told him, that he loved him too well to confer upon him an office for which he had no abilities, and which would occaſion his ruin, by expoſing him to the malice of his enemies [d]. The diſappointment eſtranged Arlington from the meaſures of the cabal. He, however, remained in their councils; and ſuppreſſed, for the time, his reſentment. Sir John Trevor dying in the end of May, was ſucceeded in July, as ſecretary of ſtate, by Sir Henry Coventry, who derived his claim to office from his ſucceſs in detaching the King of Sweden from the triple alliance.

CHAP. III. 1672.

THE affairs of Scotland, during five years, furniſh little of importance, and nothing of amuſement. They conſiſt of the obſtinacy of ſectaries, and the impolitic interference of government in the concerns of the church. After the ſuppreſſion of the Covenanters, in 1666, Charles, willing to humour the people, ſhewed an inclination to compoſe the religious differences which diſtracted their minds. He tried the ſcheme of comprehenſion, which had failed in England. He followed it with a declaration of indulgence. Neither had any effect on zealots, who were as intolerant in their own principles as thoſe of whom they complained. Some expelled preachers refuſed to be ſettled in vacant churches. The reſt rejected an annual bounty offered by the King. Conventicles multiplied daily. The Covenanters met in arms, in their uſual places of worſhip. Preachers preferred their influence over a deluded people to the quiet exerciſe of their religious ſervice. Confuſion, clamour, and fanaticiſm prevailed. Government being ſlighted, became enraged; and by reſuming a part of its former rigours, increaſed the flame.

Affairs

[c] James II. 1672. [d] Ibid.

CHAP. III.

1672. of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE was appointed commiſſioner to the parliament, which met on the nineteenth of October, 1669. His ſpeech conſiſted of two heads. He recommended the preſervation of the church, and an union with England. The parliament, offended at the inſolence of the ſectaries, declared by an act, that the right of governing the church was inherent in the crown. Another act ſettled the number of the militia at twenty-two thouſand men. This force was to be conſtantly armed, and regularly diſciplined. They were to be held in readineſs to march to any part of his Majeſty's dominions, to eſtabliſh his authority, and to ſupport his greatneſs. Theſe two acts rendered the crown abſolute in Scotland, and even furniſhed it with the means of becoming formidable in England. The King, by the firſt, was rendered maſter of the church; by the latter, he commanded in all temporal affairs. A ſevere act againſt conventicles followed theſe arbitrary laws. Ruinous fines were appointed to be levied on thoſe who met to worſhip in houſes. But field-preachers and their hearers were to be puniſhed with death. Laws that are too ſevere defeat their own purpoſe. The fanatics were outrageous; and became, through perſecution, more enamoured of their own tenets.

Affairs of Ireland.

THE Duke of Ormonde, removed from the government of Ireland by the intrigues of Buckingham, was ſucceeded in that department by the Lord Robertes. This nobleman owed his promotion to the new meaſures, which induced Charles to remove from his councils the old cavaliers. Robertes, who had ſerved againſt the late King, retained his former political principles, though he had yielded to the change of the times. Moroſe and ſullen in his diſpoſition, and diſagreeable in his manner, he was not likely to reconcile to himſelf the minds of the Iriſh, after the polite and dignified carriage of the Duke of Ormonde. Having endeavoured in vain to acquire popularity, he reſigned the go-

vernment of Ireland to the Lord Berkley, in the May of 1670. Robertes, deprived of his office of privy ſeal, retired to his eſtate in Cornwall, and led a private life. Berkley ſupported the meaſures of Ormonde, and gained the confidence of the people. A kind of tranquillity, which ſprung more from a fear of confuſion than the abſence of diſcontents, ſubſiſted in Ireland. The Roman-Catholic biſhops, depending upon their influence at court, became arrogant. But the houſe of commons in England, diſcovering an inclination to animadvert upon Talbot, the titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, they reſumed their former moderation.

CHAP. III. 1672.

To live in times and to read of their tranſactions, ſuggeſt different and ſometimes oppoſite ideas to the human mind. Meaſures paſs without reprehenſion in common life, that would offend in narration; and thoſe who are deemed bad members of ſociety in hiſtory, are often treated, by their own cotemporaries, with a degree of applauſe. The cauſe of this is as obvious as the fact itſelf is true. Public tranſactions are ſlow in their ſucceſſion, and the motives which produced them are unknown. The impreſſion made by one evil is obliterated before another arrives. Mankind are deceived by the ſpecioufneſs which is generally given to the worſt meaſures. They ſee but a part of the great machine of government, as it moves before them; and that partiality, which people naturally entertain for their country, juſtifies to them its moſt exceptionable conduct toward foreign powers.' Time, by unveiling the ſecret ſprings of action, opens a field either for cenſure or applauſe. But both are frequently ill applied. To judge of the meaſures of the laſt age by the feelings of the preſent, may be as unjuſt, as it would be unreaſonable to expect the ſame ſtrict adherence to virtue in ſtates, which we commend in individuals.

Reflections

THOUGH the conduct of Charles, in the ſecond Dutch war, pleaſed not the thinking few, it raiſed no violent reſentment among

on the ſtate of the nation,

CHAP. III. 1672.

among the body of the people. The arbitrary meaſure of ſhutting the exchequer created private murmurs, but produced no public remonſtrances. The jealouſy of trade rendered the city of London cold with regard to the fate of the Dutch. The prior conduct of that people claimed no love from the Engliſh in general. Haughty in their proſperity, and unprincipled, as a ſtate, through the love of gain, they had formerly extended their injuries through every channel of commerce. Their moderation of late years was aſcribed to fear, and not to juſtice; and the memory of the inſult with which they cloſed the laſt, recommended the preſent war, from a motive of revenge. The inequality in force viſible between the contending parties, the manifeſt injuſtice on the ſide of their enemies, entitled the Dutch to pity; but even that paſſion, notwithſtanding the ancient animoſity againſt France, excited no ſymptom of dangerous diſcontent.

and the Dutch war.

IT is remarkable, that the Dutch war, though it ſeemed to promiſe much, was deſtined to produce neither important event nor great character. The vanity of Lewis ſaved the States from the efforts of his ambition. His idle parade in entering Utrecht employed as much time as might have reduced Amſterdam. Charles, with all the power of England, made little impreſſion on a people already ſubdued by their own unmanly terrors. A ſeaſon uncommonly ſtormy broke the deſigns of the Engliſh navy, and fruſtrated an intended invaſion [d]. The elements conſpired againſt the ambition of the two monarchs; and a kind of miracle ſaved a nation, whoſe timidity ſeemed to have abandoned them to ſupernatural protection. Even the Prince of Orange, with all the advantages of his ſituation, made no ſtriking figure. The firmneſs with which he rejected the offers of the confederate Kings proceeded from his prudence, as much as from his patriotiſm. The ſeaſon for reducing Holland was paſt, the moment

[d] Earl of Shafteſbury's ſpeech, Feb. 5, 1673.

it

CHAP. III.

1673.

it was delayed. The empire, though ſlow in its aid, was already in motion. Winter, it was certain, would continue the inactivity which the inundation had begun. The power which he already enjoyed by the ſuffrages of his country, was, in every view, leſs precarious and more honourable than that which ſhould depend on princes, who had already ſacrificed faith to their ambition.

Parliament meets.

CHARLES, when he hoped to put an end to his difficulties by the Dutch war, found himſelf involved in accumulated neceſſities by that meaſure. The ſums retained in the Exchequer, and the large ſubſidies remitted from France, were unequal to the vaſt charge of the navy, and the demands of his own extravagance. He reſolved to call together his parliament. They met at Weſtminſter, on the fourth of February 1673, after a receſs of near two years. Sir Edward Turner having been made chief baron of the Exchequer, the commons proceeded to the election of a new ſpeaker. Their choice fell on Sir Job Charlton, whom they preſented the next day to the King for his approbation. His Majeſty's ſpeech partook of the firmneſs which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed the councils of the miniſtry. He mentioned the neceſſity, the importance and expence of the war; he made no doubt of the effectual aid of his commons to proſecute it with vigour. He informed them, that their laſt ſupply had not been found adequate to the diſcharge of his debts. He therefore recommended them again to their ſpecial care. He mentioned the indulgence to Diſſenters, and his fixed reſolution to adhere to his declaration. He made ſo light of the jealouſy that had ſpread abroad againſt the forces raiſed for the war, that he told them he muſt levy more in the courſe of the ſpring, and that he doubted not but they would conſider the charge of them in their ſupplies. He concluded with aſſurances that he was reſolved to protect the Proteſtant religion,

CHAP. II. 1673.

ligion, and that no man's property or liberty ſhould be ever invaded [e].

Chancellor's ſpeech.

THE Earl of Shafteſbury, as lord chancellor, enlarged with eloquence upon every article of his Majeſty's ſpeech [f]. To much flattery of Charles, and a great deal of abuſe on the Dutch, he added ſome new matter of his own. He excuſed the ſhutting of the Exchequer by the neceſſity of the thing, and the benefit reſulting from it to the ſervice of the nation. He informed them, that the King was, in honour and intereſt, concerned in ſeeing the bankers repaid, with the ſix *per cent.* promiſed upon the money during the ſtop. But he deſired the commons to give only the ſecond place to that buſineſs; and firſt, to ſettle the neceſſary ſupply for carrying on with vigour the war. He defended the declaration of indulgence, with all the obvious arguments. He urged the neceſſity of augmenting the number of the forces. With a peroration full of rhetoric, he concluded his ſpeech, expreſſing his hopes, with an aſſurance ſuitable to his character, that "the triple alliance of King, parliament, and people, might never be diſſolved." Some diſcontented whiſpers among the commons ſuggeſted a new article, which the King added to his ſpeech. The chancellor, to accommodate ſome of his creatures with ſeats in parliament, had iſſued new writs from his office for the election of members, in the place of thoſe who had died during the receſs. The King told the commons, "that though he entertained no doubt that the thing was juſtified by precedents, he deſired them to ſuſpend all other buſineſs, till they ſhould examine that particular [g]."

Proceedings of the commons.

THE commons, retiring to their houſe, took into conſideration the matter of returning members ſince the laſt ſeſſion [h]. They

[e] Journals of the lords, Feb. 5, 1673. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.
[h] Journals of the commons, Feb. 6, 1673.

came

came to a reſolution to ſuperſede all the writs iſſued by the chancellor, for the election of perſons to ſerve in parliament. A motion made for appointing a committee to examine precedents, was overruled by a conſiderable majority. The ſeats filled by the artifice of Shafteſbury, were declared vacant. The ſpeaker iſſued his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to make out new writs; and the right of iſſuing ſuch warrant, was declared to be inherent in the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. Though the miniſtry ſeemed to have dropt the meaſure as indefenſible, the minority were more than one hundred, out of two hundred and ſixty members that were preſent. The houſe went the next day upon the ſupply. They voted twelve hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, by an aſſeſſment of eighteen months; and they ordered a bill for that purpoſe, to be immediately prepared by the attorney-general. This ſupply, ſo inadequate to the wants of Charles, was to be accompanied in its progreſs through the houſe, by demands for the redreſs of grievances. To grant no ſupply, might have occaſioned a diſſolution; a meaſure much deſired by Buckingham and Shafteſbury, to forward, by the means of confuſion, their own private deſigns [i].

Declaration of indulgence recalled.

On the tenth of February [k], the commons began to conſider the declaration of indulgence; and, on the fourteenth, an addreſs againſt it, prepared by a committee, was read and approved by the houſe. In the moſt decent terms, they informed the King, that penal laws, in matters eccleſiaſtical, can only be ſuſpended by act of parliament; and they humbly beſought his Majeſty to give ſuch directions as might remove the apprehenſions and jealouſies of his faithful ſubjects. The chancellor and Buckingham, who, to gain the Diſſenters [l], had adviſed the meaſure, were for ſupporting it with vigour. The King himſelf, whoſe pride was hurt by this animadverſion on his conduct, was inclined to adhere

[i] Carte's Ormonde, vol. iii. [k] Journals. [l] James II. 1673.

to

CHAP. III. 1673.

to his declaration. But the bill of ſupply had not yet paſſed into a law; and he muſt either give up the indulgence or the war. Having endeavoured in vain to ſoothe the commons, by an indefinite anſwer, he had once determined to diſſolve the parliament, and to make a peace with the States [m]. The King of France, apprized of his reſolution. induced him, by his ambaſſador, to comply with the commons [n], for the ſake of the ſupply. On the ſeventh of March, Charles cancelled, with his own hand, the declaration. The people elevated at this victory over the prerogative, expreſſed with bonfires and illuminations their tumultuous joy.

Bill of eaſe loſt in the houſe of lords.

To ſoothe the King, and to pleaſe the Diſſenters, the commons accompanied the progreſs of their remonſtrances, with a bill for the eaſe of the Proteſtant non-conformiſts [o]. It paſſed the lower houſe; but, retarded by amendments, it was loſt in the houſe of lords. The Diſſenters themſelves ſeemed leſs anxious for eaſe in their worſhip, than for the revocation of an indulgence, which placed the Papiſts on a ſimilar footing with themſelves. The zeal of the commons proceeded more from their fears of that ſect, than from the more ſerious danger of the King's diſpenſing power. In their remonſtrance of grievances, they make no mention of ſeveral acts that had been ſuſpended by proclamation, in the preceding year. The capital faults in the meaſures of the crown, were alſo either neglected or forgot. The breach of the triple alliance, the connexion with France, the ſhutting the exchequer, were paſſed over like common tranſactions. Popery was the terror and ſometimes the diſgrace of the preſent reign. Had the Duke of York continued Proteſtant, had Charles himſelf, like his father, adhered with firmneſs, and even with enthuſiaſm, to the church of England, he might have enjoyed all the affluent eaſe, which ſeems to have been the ſole object of his life. But the folly of the

[m] Colbert to Lewis XIV. Mar. 9, 1673. [n] Ibid. Mar. 20. [o] Journals, Mar. 23.

Duke,

CHAP. III.

1673.

Duke, in avowing publickly the ſyſtem of religion which his weakneſs had adopted, gave a juſt ground of jealouſy to the nation. The profeſſions of the King, in favour of a general toleration, were invariably aſcribed to his partiality to a particular worſhip, notwithſtanding his profeſſed indifference to all religion.

Jealouſies concerning the Duke of York

THE apprehenſions of Popery which prevailed among the commons, were converted into a political engine againſt the Duke of York. The ſtrict adherence of that unfortunate Prince to his own narrow opinions, became as dangerous to his enemies as great talents. He ſuſpected the principles of ſeveral of the cabal, and he was at no pains to feign for them any regard. Though the declaration of indulgence favoured the Papiſts, he was averſe from the meaſure, as formed by Buckingham and Shafteſbury [p], to accompliſh their own views. The nation, ignorant of this circumſtance, aſcribed to the Crown's favour for popery, a ſcheme framed by a part of its ſervants to gain influence for themſelves. The law for impoſing a teſt on all who ſhould poſſeſs any public office, was carried forward by different men, for various deſigns. The bulk of the nation favoured it, as the beſt bulwark againſt Popery. A part of the miniſtry abetted it in ſecret, as an expedient to remove, from all their employments, the Duke of York, and the lord-treaſurer. The obſtinacy of the firſt was not more the object of their terror, than the daring abilities of the latter. Clifford avowed his attachment to the power of the crown, and he poſſeſſed courage to ſupport its moſt arbitrary meaſures.

occaſion the teſt.

THE Duke of York, though he continued to attend his brother to public worſhip, had declined to take the ſacrament, according to the forms of the church of England [q]. The thin veil which he had thrown over his converſion was removed; and he openly avowed what he could no longer conceal. Againſt him was chiefly

[p] James II. 1672.

[q] Ibid.

CHAP. III. 1673.

levelled the teſt act. Beſides taking the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, together with the ſacrament, according to the rites of the eſtabliſhed church, thoſe in office were obliged to abjure the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation [r]. Symmons, who had converted the Duke, was as narrow as his proſelyte in his principles. He abſolutely refuſed his conſent to any conformity with the eſtabliſhed religion; and thus he deprived his own church of the benefit of the conqueſt which he had made. If to change his religion was deemed folly in York, his avowal of that change was conſtrued into madneſs. Men ſaw a gloomy proſpect before them; and their indignation kept pace with their fears, when they beheld the heir apparent ſo deſtitute of prudence, as to own his attachment to a religion which the people abhorred.

Schemes to exclude him from the throne.

THE ſcheme for excluding the Duke of York from the throne, which was begun in the year 1668, by Buckingham, was now reſumed by Shafteſbury, with ardour. In conjunction with the Earl of Carliſle, he went to the King, and urged him to own the legitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth [s]. He made uſe of an expreſſion upon the occaſion, fit only to be uttered by ſuch a miniſter as himſelf, or heard by ſuch a monarch as Charles. He deſired him but to ſay that Monmouth's mother was his wife, and he ſhould find perſons to ſwear to the fact [t]. The King anſwered, that he would rather ſee James, meaning Monmouth, hanged up at Tyburn, than entertain ſuch a thought [u]. The chancellor, however, continued his ſchemes. Vaughan propoſed to move the houſe of commons to addreſs his Majeſty to put away the Queen, and to marry a proteſtant wife. A portion of five hundred thouſand pounds was at the ſame time to be offered [x]. On the twentieth of March the propoſal was carried to the King at Whitehall, but upon his diſapproving of the meaſure, the motion was never made.

[r] Journals. [s] James II. 1673. [t] Ibid. [u] Ibid. [x] Ibid.

THE

CHAP. III.

1673.

THE chancellor and his party, upon this new diſappointment, reverted to their ſchemes in favour of Monmouth. In their eagerneſs to exclude the Duke of York from the ſucceſſion, they reſolved to place his rival [u] in a ſituation which would enable him to ſeize the crown in the event of the King's demiſe. In the month of May they endeavoured to raiſe Monmouth to the regency of Scotland; but the vigilance of the Duke of York defeated their deſigns. The pride of Charles overcame his affection. He loved Monmouth, but he hated to be deemed the huſband of Mrs. Walters. Some writers aſcribe to the republican principles of Shafteſbury this violent oppoſition to the Duke of York [x]. Monmouth, highly beloved by the populace, was a fit inſtrument to carry forward his deſigns. To a gracefulneſs which prejudiced mankind in his favour as ſoon as ſeen, he joined an affability which gained their love. Conſtant in his friendſhips and juſt to his word, by nature tender, and an utter enemy to ſeverity and cruelty. Active and vigorous in his conſtitution, he excelled in the manly exerciſes of the field. He was perſonally brave. He loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war; but with theſe ſplendid qualities, he was vain to a degree of folly, verſatile in his meaſures, weak in his underſtanding. He was ambitious without dignity, buſy without conſequence, attempting ever to be artful, but always a tool. Thus, taking the applauſe of the multitude for a certain mark of merit, he was the dupe of his own vanity, and owed all his misfortunes to that weakneſs.

Character of the Duke of Monmouth.

THE eagerneſs of Shafteſbury againſt the Duke of York ſhook his credit with Charles. The boldneſs of his councils, his readineſs to adopt any meaſure, had in ſome degree overcome the King's jealouſy of his principles and his averſion to his perſon. But when he ſaw him levelling all the force of his abilities againſt

Cauſe of the defection

[u] James II. 1673.

[x] Carte's Ormonde, 1677.

CHAP. III. 1673.

his family, he expreſſed himſelf in terms ſufficient to ſuggeſt a change of conduct to a man leſs provident than the chancellor. The monarch and the miniſter had long met upon equal ground. No ſtrangers to their own mutual hatred, each endeavoured to convert the other into a tool. It was a ſtruggle of abilities, as both were regardleſs of principle. The activity of Shafteſbury was more than a match for the indolence of Charles. The ſolid underſtanding of the latter overcame the keen penetration of the former. The feeble ſide of the miniſter was vanity. The eaſineſs of the Prince was his moſt vulnerable weakneſs. Each was diſtruſtful of mankind, as both were deſtitute of virtue; and they were afraid of one another, as neither could be reſtrained by any ties.

of Shafteſbury.

SHAFTESBURY, who had contrived the teſt [y], to rid the cabinet of the councils of the Duke of York and lord Clifford, had entertained hopes of commanding Charles through his affection for Monmouth and his diſlike to the Queen. When both theſe projects failed, he knew that reſentment remained. His throwing himſelf on the popular party was neceſſary as well as prudent. Though the commons had diſcovered little inclination to animadvert upon the miniſtry, they might hereafter inquire; and he knew that Charles would willingly ſacrifice him to his own eaſe. There was even ſome reaſon to believe, that the King had employed him more to accompliſh his ruin, than to forward his own ſchemes. Beſides, the meaſures of the cabal were already broken, by their having quarrelled among themſelves. The timidity of Arlington ſuited not the violent politics of Clifford. The boiſterous precipitancy of Lauderdale was ill-matched with the intriguing, though active, abilities of Shafteſbury. Buckingham, who had firſt formed the great line of their projects, had ſunk,

[y] James II.

through

CHAP. III. 1673.

through his unſteadineſs, into the contempt of all. But though the chancellor had abetted the teſt, he continued obſtinate to the laſt, in favour of the indulgence. His rage againſt France, for inducing the King to relinquiſh it, raiſed his reſentment ſo far, that he propoſed, on the twenty-third of March, to adhere to Clifford, if he would join him in breaking the French alliance [z].

Undeciſive

THE King having given his aſſent to all the bills that were ready on the twenty-ninth of March, ordered the parliament to adjourn themſelves to the twentieth of October [a]. The Dutch, who had derived great hopes of peace from the houſe of commons, found that they had given a ſupply for continuing the war [b]. They were, however, firſt at ſea. The Duke of York being about to reſign all his employments, on account of the teſt, Prince Rupert commanded the Engliſh fleet. The Dutch, arriving at the mouth of the Thames, endeavoured to ſtop its navigation, by ſinking ſhips in the channel, called the middle ground [c]. When the Prince advanced upon them, they retreated to their own coaſt. He joined the French fleet off Rye, and ſailed in queſt of the enemy. On the twenty-ſixth of May he came before Schonevelt, where the fleet of the enemy lay. An engagement was prevented by ſtorms till the twenty-eighth, when, in a kind of running fight, one Dutch ſhip was deſtroyed, and their fleet forced to retreat. The enemy regained their former ſtation. The Engliſh lay by all night under ſail. Both ſides claimed a victory which was not worthy of being claimed. Rupert retired toward England to refit. De Ruyter repaired at ſea the damage which his fleet had ſuſtained.

[z] James II. 1673. [a] Journals, Mar. 29, 1673. [b] Contin. of Baker, p. 667.
[c] Heath, 1673. [d] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323.

CHAP. III.

1673.

battles

THE Dutch were again firſt at ſea, and another undeciſive action happened on the fourth of June. Six hours were ſpent in a diſtant cannonade. Each ſide a ſecond time pretended to victory. The advantage, however, ſeemed to lean to the Dutch; as the project of the Engliſh, to land ſix thouſand troops in Zealand, was laid aſide [e]. The French performed not their duty in either battle. Lewis, in a fondneſs for his naval force, as yet in its infancy, gave ſecret inſtructions for preſerving his ſhips. The fleets loitered in their reſpective ports for two months after the ſecond action. The combined ſquadrons at length ſailed for the coaſt of Zealand; and De Ruyter quitted his ſtation at Schonevelt. On the eleventh of Auguſt the fleets met near the mouth of the Texel. De Ruyter and Van Tromp led the Dutch. Count D'Eſtrees commanded the white ſquadron of the confederates, Prince Rupert the main line, and Sir Edward Spragge the blue. Van Tromp fell alongſide of Spragge, and both fought with their wonted courage. Van Tromp was once forced to ſhift his flag. Spragge was compelled twice to change his ſhip; but when he was paſſing to a third, a ſhot took his boat, and he was drowned. The death of ſuch a gallant officer was a partial defeat to the Engliſh.

at ſea.

WHILST ſome ſhips were engaged in fight, the reſt of both the fleets ſtrove for the wind. The French under D'Eſtrees got the weather-gage of the Dutch, but they came not to the aid of their allies; Admiral Martel only, with his ſhip, adhered to the Engliſh, and fought with courage. Van Tromp, after the death of Spragge, was repulſed by the Earl of Oſſory [f]. Rupert and De Ruyter, left behind by their reſpective ſquadrons, were engaged in an obſtinate fight. Becoming anxious at laſt for their fleets, they both, about two o'clock, as by mutual conſent, ceaſed to

[e] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323.

[f] Carte's Ormonde.

fire.

fire, and crowded all their ſails to join their friends [g]. They rapidly advanced all the while within cannon-ſhot [h]. The battle, upon the arrival of the admirals, was renewed with redoubled fury. Rupert, at length, ſending two fire-ſhips, guarded by Captain Legg, among the enemy, they were thrown into confuſion [i]. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were maſters of the wind, fallen upon their flank, the diſpute with the Dutch, concerning the dominion of the ſea, would have been for ever at an end. De Ruyter, with little loſs, made good his retreat; and the victory, as uſual, was claimed by both ſides [k].

State of the war by land.

WHILST the war remained in this undeciſive ſtate at ſea, fortune ſeemed to become favourable to the Dutch by land. Though Lewis took Maeſtricht [l], one of their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, after a ſiege of thirteen days, the operations of their allies ſeemed to promiſe relief. The Elector of Brandenburgh, deprived of his poſſeſſions in Weſtphalia, concluded a peace with France in the month of May: but the Imperialiſts, under Montecuculli, after having in vain attempted againſt Turenne the paſſage of the Rhine, deceived that able general, and ſat down ſuddenly before Bonne [m]. The Prince of Orange, with a conduct equally maſterly, eluded the other generals of France, and joined the Imperialiſts, with the Dutch and their Spaniſh auxiliaries. Naerden, ill defended by the French, had fallen again into the hands of the States [n]. Bonne itſelf ſurrendered before the end of the campaign [o]. The greateſt part of the electorate of Cologn was ſubdued by the Imperialiſts and the Dutch. The communication was cut off between the United Provinces and France; and Lewis quitted all his conqueſts with the utmoſt precipitation. Holland,

[g] Heath, 1673. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid. [k] Heath, 1673.
[l] June 29. [m] Henault, 1674. [n] Sept. 14. [o] Nov. 12.

CHAP. III. 1673.

by an extraordinary fate, was almoſt conquered, and altogether recovered, without one battle by land.

Ineffectual congreſs at Cologn.

A CONGRESS opened at Cologn, in the courſe of the ſummer, was attended with no effect. The demands of the confederate kings continued almoſt the ſame; but the offers of the Dutch were diminiſhed in proportion to the increaſe of their hopes. The ſeizure of the perſon of the Prince of Furſtenberg by the Imperialiſts, afforded a pretence to the French and Engliſh to break off a negociation, which furniſhed no proſpect of ſucceſs. The States, no longer anxious concerning their ſafety, were now bent on revenge. Their negociations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy concluſion. The houſe of Auſtria, in both its branches, was alarmed at the ambition of Lewis. A treaty between the three powers was ſigned on the thirtieth of Auguſt [p]. Spain forgot her ancient animoſities againſt Holland, in the recent injuries which ſhe had received from France. She declared war on the fifteenth of October; and by a ſtrange reverſe in her policy, defended the Dutch againſt France and England, by whoſe aid they had become independent of her power.

Duke of York and Clifford reſign.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, the late teſt began to have effect in England. The Duke of York and Lord Clifford, in their zeal for popery, refuſed to take the appointed oaths, and reſigned all their employments. The Duke had been Lord Admiral and Warden of the Cinque-ports ever ſince the Reſtoration. He had been for ſeveral years governor of Portſmouth; and, ſince the death of the Duke of Albemarle, commander in chief of all his Majeſty's forces. This latter office he had for ſome time refuſed [q], as a truſt too great for any ſubject: the inſtances of his brother at laſt prevailed over theſe ſcruples; and

[p] Hiſt. de France, vol. iii. p. 798.

[q] James II. 1670.

he

CHAP. III. 1673.

he retained that commiſſion till now that he ſacrificed it to his zeal for the church of Rome. The King had in vain entreated both the Duke and the Lord Clifford to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion[r]. He argued to no purpoſe againſt the abſurdity of their uncomplying opinions. They remained obſtinate, and adhered to their faith. The King retained the Cinque-ports in his own hands[s]. He put the admiralty into commiſſion. He conferred the government of Portſmouth upon Legg, who was recommended to that charge by the Duke of York.

Oſborne made lord-treaſurer.

THE reſignation of the Duke of York happened on the fifteenth of June, and on the nineteenth of the ſame month, Clifford delivered to the King his ſtaff, as Lord Treaſurer. He was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Oſborne, who had been joint-treaſurer of the navy with Lyttelton for ſeveral years. Oſborne, in his principles, or more properly by character a cavalier, had gone into oppoſition to obtain an office[t]. In the proſecution of the Earl of Clarendon, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as a tool of Buckingham, in the houſe of Commons; and after the baniſhment of the unfortunate chancellor, he was rewarded for his ſervices with the half of the treaſuryſhip of the navy. In thoſe reverſes of favour and diſlike, which his patron owed to his own fluctuating character, Oſborne adhered to him with fidelity. He had the good fortune to meet with gratitude, a virtue which the Duke ſeldom exerted toward his friends. He was brought by Buckingham into the privy-council in May, 1672. He was now raiſed to the high office of lord-treaſurer partly by his recommendation.

His character.

OSBORNE, in the ſingular ſucceſs attending a long life, owed more to fortune than either to his own virtue or his abilities. Without the advantage of any antiquity of family[u], and even deſtitute

[r] James II. 1673. [s] Ibid. [t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 490. [u] Collins, vol. i.

CHAP. III. 1673.

of an ample fortune, he roſe to the ſummit of honours, through the mere force of an undertaking and accommodating character. Plauſible in his arguments, though tedious in his eloquence[x], he acquired in the houſe of commons that attention which is uſually given to a ſhow of patriotiſm in popular aſſemblies. In his private converſation, he was more regardleſs of truth than is conſiſtent with good ſenſe. In his public conduct, he poſſeſſed that ſelf-ſufficiency, which is often miſtaken, by the bulk of mankind, for a comprehenſive knowledge of things. Being naturally confident, he foreſaw no difficulties in buſineſs; and this rendered him a comfortable ſervant to a prince who loved indolence and eaſe. Though one hope might fail, another was always in view. His perſecution of Clarendon, and his ſubſequent conduct in his office, had offended the Duke of York. But, before he became miniſter, he cultivated and obtained the favour of that prince; and he owed, in a great meaſure, his elevation to the Duke's opinion of his abilities. His character, upon the whole, was placed in that fortunate medium which ſucceeds beſt in the world. Great talents, like rapid ſtreams, often create obſtacles, which turn them from their courſe; but thoſe which come ſmoothly upon mankind, level them firſt, and then overflow.

Parliament meets.

ON the twentieth of October[y] the parliament met, according to their prorogation, and brought back to both houſes an increaſe of the ill-humour which had made its appearance in the preceding ſeſſion. The Duke of York, having continued more than two years a widower, had, after a ſeries of tedious negociations, fixed on a ſecond wife; and married her by his proxy, the Earl of Peterborow. This Princeſs was Mary d'Eſte, daughter of the Duke of Modena and of Laura Martinozzi. Diſappointed of the Princeſs of Inſpruck, whom the Emperor had married after the death of his firſt wife, ſome overtures were made for a daughter

[x] Burnet. [y] Journals.

of

CHAP. III. 1673.

of the Duke of Neubourg; but, at the inſtigation of the King of France, who had promiſed a portion to the young Princeſs of Modena, Peterborow was ſent to Italy, and the match was concluded in the month of September. The Princeſs had already arrived at Paris [z], on her way to England, when the parliament met. The ſpeaker had ſcarce taken the chair, when the commons voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, to prevent the conſummation of the marriage between his Royal Highneſs and the Dutcheſs of Modena; and that "he might not be married to any perſon but of the Proteſtant religion [a]."

Commons addreſs againſt the Duke's marriage.

THE King, previouſly appriſed of this addreſs, prorogued for a week the parliament, to prevent its being delivered. On the twenty-ſeventh of October, the King opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. He informed the two houſes, that he hoped to have met them that day with an honourable peace; but that the Dutch had treated his ambaſſadors at Cologn with the contempt of conquerors, and not as might have been expected from men in their condition. To ſupport the ſafety and honour of the nation, he told them, he was obliged to aſk a ſupply, which, he hoped, the commons would render proportionable to the occaſion, and to their own known loyalty. He aſſured them of his firm adherence to all his profeſſions and promiſes, for ſupporting the eſtabliſhed religion and the laws of the land; and he earneſtly recommended to their care the debt which he owed to the bankers and goldſmiths, through the ſhutting of the exchequer. Shafteſbury, as chancellor, enlarged upon every article. The part which he had to act was difficult. He abetted the country party in private, though ſtill he adhered in public to the crown. He ſeemed earneſt in continuing the Dutch war, but his ſecret meaſures led all to a peace [b].

[z] James II. 1673. [a] Journals, Oct. 20.
[b] Journals of the lords, Oct. 27.

CHAP. III.

1673. Their violence.

THE lords returned an immediate anſwer to the King. The commons adjourned, for five days, the conſideration of his ſpeech [c]. The oppoſition, offended at the attachment of Sir Edward Seymour to the court, made a motion for his leaving the chair, and for appointing a temporary ſpeaker. The meaſure was violent, and it met with a negative. It was concerted between Shafteſbury and the oppoſing party, in the preceding ſummer [d]. The houſe, however, reſumed their former addreſs, and it was delivered to the King. He anſwered, that they were too late in their addreſs; and that the marriage was already concluded by proxy, and could not be reverſed. The houſe was kindled into a flame. They voted a committee for preparing a general and ſevere teſt, to diſtinguiſh between Proteſtants and Papiſts. They reſolved, that thoſe who ſhould refuſe to take this new teſt ſhould be incapable of enjoying any office, and even to come within five miles of the court. They further reſolved, that no ſupply ſhould be granted, unleſs it appeared that the obſtinacy of the Dutch ſhould render it neceſſary; and they followed this reſolution with a new addreſs againſt the Duke's marriage with a Roman-Catholic [e].

Parliament prorogued.

To raiſe the apprehenſions of the nation to the higheſt pitch, the commons, on the third of November, agreed to an addreſs for a general faſt, as in times of the greateſt calamities. Sir Thomas Clerges, who had ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the Reſtoration, was the chairman of the committee appointed for framing this addreſs. Either diſappointment or patriotiſm had, for many years, induced Clerges to oppoſe the court; and he was now ordered to go up with the addreſs to the lords, and deſire their concurrence. The houſe voted the ſtanding army a grievance; but when they were proceeding in other reſolutions, they were ſuddenly prorogued to the ſeventh day of January. The unex-

[c] Journals, Oct. 27. [d] James II. 1673. [e] Vid. Journals, paſſim.

pected

CHAP. III. 1673.

pected arrival of the uſher of the black rod broke ſhort the reſolves of the commons. Some diſagreeable motions were made, even after the uſher had knocked violently at the door. But the ſpeaker, favouring the court, left the chair, and prevented the queſtion from being brought to a vote. The commons attended the King in the houſe of lords. He excuſed the prorogation, by the neceſſity of preventing the very appearance of a difference between him and his parliament; and he promiſed, that "he would not be idle, during the receſs, in framing meaſures that might add to their ſatisfaction[f]."

Chancellor diſmiſſed.

THOUGH the Duke of York's open profeſſion of the Catholic faith had alarmed the nation, faction was mixed with patriotiſm, in the reſolutions of the commons. The chancellor was long known to have privately joined the country party, and to have even formed the meaſures which he pretended to oppoſe. On the ninth of November, the King ſent for him, and demanded the great ſeal; which was inſtantly delivered into the cuſtody of Sir Heneage Finch[g]. Having obtained a pardon for his paſt counſels, Shafteſbury threw off all reſerve, and became an open enemy to the court. Communicating the ſecrets of the cabinet to the oppoſition, and adding to bad meaſures worſe inſinuations, he inflamed the minds of men with jealouſy and diſtruſt. The tranſition was eaſy, from a counſellor of tyranny to a ſeditious incendiary; and even this conduct was neceſſary to his own ſafety. The change ſurpriſed none, as his diſpoſition was known to all. In all revolutions during the thirty preceding years, he was the firſt in every turn of government. Conſiſtent only with his own verſatility, he was indifferent about the glaring oppoſition in his meaſures and opinions. When chancellor, he was a bold aſſurer of unlimited prerogative. He had the principal hand in the declaration of indulgence. He promoted the Dutch war.

[f] Journals, Nov. 4.

[g] James II. 1673.

He

CHAP. III. 1673.

He adviſed the ſhutting of the exchequer. He juſtified the moſt arbitrary proceedings of government in parliament. But the current changing, he dexterouſly tacked about and joined the country party[l]. The abilities which recommended him as a fit tool of deſpotiſm, rendered him a proper engine of faction.

Marriage of the Duke of York.

THE young Princeſs of Modena arriving at Dover on the twenty-firſt of November, was that evening married to the Duke of York. Dr. Crew performed the ceremony, according to the rites of the church of England[k]. She was then little more than fourteen years of age, and of exquiſite beauty[l]. Her complexion was very fair, her hair black, her eyes full of ſweetneſs and fire. She was tall in her perſon, and admirably ſhaped; dignified in her manner, and graceful in her deportment[m]. During the twelve years ſhe remained Dutcheſs of York, ſhe ſeemed to have given herſelf up wholly to innocent cheerfulneſs and amuſements. The prejudices of the people were gradually removed by her behaviour. The uneaſineſs conceived on account of her religion was ſoon forgot; and ſhe was univerſally eſteemed, and even by many beloved. Her beauty rendered her the favourite of the populace, when the bigotry of her huſband was moſt feared.

Charles tries to ſoothe the commons,

THE King, during the receſs of his parliament, endeavoured to ſooth the commons, by ſuppreſſing their fears of Popery. He iſſued orders, on the fourteenth of November, that no Roman-Catholic, or any perſon reputed to be of the Romiſh communion, ſhould preſume to come into his preſence, enter his palace, or appear at his court. To ſatisfy ſtill further the people, he ordered in council, that no Popiſh recuſant, or any reputed to be ſuch, ſhould preſume to come to St. James's houſe, where the Duke reſided, or even into the adjoining park[n]. To prevent the

[l] James II. 1673. [k] Ibid. [l] Supplement to the Life of James II. p. 36.
[m] Ibid. [n] Ken. vol. iii. p. 325.

ſtorm

CHAP. III. 1673.

ſtorm which threatened to fall at the meeting of parliament, various expedients were propoſed to the Duke of York. Some adviſed him to retire from the kingdom, others urged him to ſtand for the crown of Poland [p]. His beſt friends, and even ſome Roman-Catholic lords, were eager for his complying with the forms and worſhip of the eſtabliſhed church [q]. The Duke, with his uſual obſtinacy, rejected all their propoſals. He refuſed to retire, without the King's expreſs commands. He expoſed the folly of ſtanding for Poland. He deemed it diſhonourable, as well as criminal, to comply with a ſyſtem of faith which he had ceaſed to believe.

and the popular party, to gain the city.

THE popular party, urged by the Earl of Shafteſbury, were not, in the mean time, idle. They endeavoured to gain the people, and, above all, the city of London. They long preſſed the lord-mayor, Sir Robert Hanſon, to call a common-council, under pretence of forming a bill for paving the ſtreets. A common-council accordingly met on the twenty-ſecond of December, and a motion was made to thank the King for what he had done concerning Popery, to deſire him to withdraw his protection from the bankers, and to recommend to him to follow the advice of his parliament [r]. Charles had many perſonal friends in the city of London. His good-humour, his jollity and facetiouſneſs at their public entertainments, highly recommended him to the citizens. He knew them all; he admitted them into his converſation; he treated them with familiarity, and gained their affections by entering into their private concerns. The Duke of York, though diſtant and ſtately, was remarkably affable and well-bred. His knowledge in commerce, his almoſt daily attendance at the meetings of the trading companies, had procured to him the reputation of a man of buſineſs; a character calculated to gain the eſteem of men who derive their importance from induſtry. Ignorant of

[p] James II. 1673. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid.

CHAP. III.

the tendency of the motions, the common-council ſent privately ſome of their number to the King; but upon his diſapproving of ſuch an addreſs, the affair was dropt.

1674. Parliament meets.

THE parliament, according to their prorogation, met on the ſeventh of January 1674. The King told them, that, during their receſs, he had done ſuch things as might add to their ſatiſfaction; and that he expected a return of gratitude, in an immediate ſupply. He urged, that to obtain an honourable peace, it was neceſſary to be prepared for war; and, therefore, that he relied upon a ſpeedy, proportionable, and, above all, a cheerful aid. He again recommended his debt to the bankers to their care; and to remove their jealouſy, he promiſed to ſubmit, without reſerve, all the articles of his alliance with France to the inſpection of a ſmall committee of both houſes. The lord-keeper Finch enlarged upon every article of his Majeſty's ſpeech. He gave a comprehenſive deduction of all the negociations at Cologn; and he, with ſome degree of reaſon, aſcribed to the inſolence of the Dutch the continuance of the war. But the commons were neither to be ſoothed into temper, nor argued into compliance. They revived the grand committee for religion; they appointed a committee for grievances; and then adjourned for five days [s].

Proceedings.

THIS ſeſſion, which promiſed much trouble, and was actually filled with buſineſs, carried nothing to a concluſion but the Dutch war. The commons petitioned the King to appoint a day for faſting and humiliation [t]. The lords addreſſed him to remove Popiſh recuſants from London and its neighbourhood. The lower houſe requeſted the King to remove Lauderdale [u] and Buckingham from their employments and his preſence. They framed articles of impeachment againſt Arlington [x]. They petitioned the

[s] Journals, Jan. 7, 1674.
[t] Ibid. Jan. 12.
[u] Ibid. Jan. 13.
[x] Jan. 15.

throne

throne for diſbanding the army. Charles made no reply with regard to the two Dukes. The impeachment of Arlington was dropt by the commons themſelves. The King complied with their requeſt, in diſbanding the army; and even carried his compliance in that reſpect beyond the limits of what they required[y]. An addreſs for ſending back the troops brought from Ireland, received the ſame favourable anſwer. The King yielded every thing, in hopes of obtaining a ſupply. But the commons were determined on a peace with Holland; and they knew that object could not be obtained, ſhould the King be placed in a condition to proſecute the war.

CHAP. III. 1674.

THE jealouſy againſt Popery continued to increaſe in both houſes. The commons brought in a bill for impoſing a more rigid teſt to diſtinguiſh between Proteſtants and Papiſts. The bill was aimed by the popular party, at the inſtigation of Shafteſbury, againſt the Duke of York. The teſt contained a formal renunciation of all the favourite tenets of the Romiſh church; the ſupremacy and infallibility of the Pope, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, the invocation of ſaints. A new clauſe was added, to expel the Duke from the King's preſence and councils. It was to have been enacted, that no perſon who did not take the teſt ſhould, without leave firſt obtained under the hands of ſix privy-counſellors, preſume to come to the King's preſence[z]. The Duke of York was excepted in this clauſe, by a majority of two upon a diviſion; and theſe two, Sir Charles Gaudy and Sir Anthony Deane, had taken only that day their ſeats in the houſe[a]. The lords proceeded with equal ſpirit againſt Popery. The Earl of Saliſbury moved, on the twenty-fourth of January, for a bill to breed the Duke of York's children in the eſtabliſhed religion. The Earl of Carliſle made a motion, that neither the King, nor

of both

[y] Journals, Feb. 11. [z] James II. 1674. [a] Ibid.

CHAP. III. 1674.

any of the blood-royal to a certain degree, ſhould marry without the conſent of parliament. Lord Halifax moved the diſclaiming all real and reputed Roman Catholics; Lord Mordaunt, that all Engliſh prieſts ſhould be removed from the Queen [b].

houſes.

THE conſideration of all theſe motions being adjourned, the lords reſumed their debate on the tenth of February. Carliſle, ſeconded by Halifax, moved, that any of the blood-royal marrying a Catholic, ſhould be declared incapable of ſucceeding to the throne. Peterborrow, terming it a horrid motion, reprimanded them with great ſeverity. Shafteſbury, in his reply to Peterborrow, endeavoured to ſoften the motion, by declaring that it was to have no retroſpect. He quoted precedents, which the Lord Finch, in an elaborate ſpeech, confuted. He endeavoured to convince the houſe, that the reſtricting the ſucceſſion by acts of parliament, was contrary to the conſtitution of the kingdom. Several biſhops joined the lord-keeper in his arguments. They declared the motion of excluſion contrary to the rules of Chriſtianity, and the doctrine of the church of England. The propoſition was at laſt laid aſide, and another ſubſtituted in its place. It was reſolved in general, that neither the King, nor any of the blood-royal, ſhould marry a Catholic without the conſent of parliament; but no penalty was annexed [c]. The King and Duke were preſent at this important debate [d].

Peace with the Dutch.

ON the twenty-fourth of January, the King communicated to both houſes new propoſals of peace from the States. Though the parliament had declared their averſion to the war, though Charles might be forced to relinquiſh it through want of money, the Dutch prudently choſe not to depend upon fortune in removing

[b] James II. 1674. [c] Ibid. [d] Journals, Feb. 10.

from

CHAP. III.

1674.

from them a powerful enemy. To carry their obſtinacy beyond the bounds of reaſon, might inflame againſt them the Engliſh nation; for it was not impoſſible but the latter might forget their jealouſy of the power of France in their own pride. The Marquis de Freſno, the ambaſſador of Spain at London, was empowered to conclude a peace with Charles. He added the influence of his court to the other reaſons, which obliged the King to liſten to terms. The two houſes concurred in their advice for peace. The conditions, though little advantageous, were not diſhonourable for England. The honour of the flag was relinquiſhed by the Dutch. They agreed to pay near three hundred thouſand pounds for the expence of the war. New regulations of trade were made; and all poſſeſſions were mutually reſtored to the ſame ſtate as before the war[e].

[e] Vide Articles in the Journals of the lords.

CHAP. IV.

Parliament prorogued.——Campaign of 1674.——The King gains London.——Negociations with the Prince of Orange.——A ſeſſion of Parliament.——Their proceedings.——Campaign of 1675.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——They are prorogued.——New ſecret treaty with France.——Campaign of 1676.——Obſervations.——A profound tranquillity.——Affairs of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——France offers peace.——Parliament meets.——Proceedings.——Progreſs of the French.——The commons alarmed.——Reprimanded and adjourned.——Reflections.——Affairs of Europe.——State of France and of the allies.——Views of the King and Prince of Orange.——Marriage of the latter.——They ſettle terms of peace.——France required to agree.——Duplicity of Charles.——Treaty with the Dutch.——Parliament meets.——Ill humour of the commons.——Popular leaders intriguing with France.——Secret hiſtory of parties.——Proceedings of the commons.——Progreſs of the French.——Money treaty.——Alliance with Holland.——Peace of Nimeguen.——The King and Prince of Orange endeavour to break it.——Its effects on France.——State of England.——The Popiſh plot.——Otes's narrative.——Coleman's letters.——Death of Godfrey.——A general conſternation.

CHAP. IV.

1674. Parliament prorogued.

THOUGH the peace with Holland relieved the King from many of his difficulties, it ſoothed not his parliament into any compliance. His meaſures, for ſeveral years, were thought ſo contrary to the intereſts of his ſubjects, at leaſt, ſo oppoſite to their opinions, that in purſuing them, he loſt almoſt all his former popularity and influence. Diſtruſt prevailed among the people, and jealouſy joined all its force to faction in the houſe of commons.

CHAP. IV. 1674.

mons. The endeavours of the King to ingratiate himſelf by compliance, were defeated by the folly of his brother, who, with an enthuſiaſm ſcarce conſiſtent with the poſſeſſion of reaſon, ſeemed to glory in a ſyſtem of faith which his country abhorred. The ferment was too high to be ſettled by any thing but time. The King came ſuddenly to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fourth of February [f], and prorogued his parliament to the tenth of November. No ſupply was granted, no bill whatſoever paſſed both houſes [g]. During debates of ſuch violence and long continuance, there was but one private bill and two of a public concern ſent up by the commons to the lords; and the latter ſent down to the lower houſe but one of each kind [h]. Though the King's party could not prevent ſpirited reſolutions, they were ſufficiently numerous to clog the progreſs of bills that were diſagreeable to the crown.

Charles mediates a peace.

THE ſummer of the year 1674 produced no events of importance in England. Shafteſbury, with his uſual activity, endeavoured to keep up the jealouſies of the people till the meeting of parliament. Pretending a fear of being aſſaſſinated by the papiſts, he lay in the city, in the houſe of one Cook, a fanatic; and exerted all his abilities to promote petitions to the King, for calling a parliament for the redreſs of grievances. His ſucceſs roſe not in proportion to his zeal. He was about to take a houſe in the city, but Charles ſent him a peremptory meſſage; and he retired to the country [i]. An unexpected tranquillity prevailed; and men ſeemed to have forgot their terrors for popery and arbitrary power. The war on the continent remained in an undeciſive ſtate. The Dutch, joined by Spain and the Empire, were now upon an equal footing with France, though provided with the beſt generals of the age, and well-appointed armies. The King, to gratify his people, aſſumed the character of a mediator between

[f] Journals, Feb. 24. [g] James II. 1674. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid.

the

CHAP. IV. 1674.

the contending powers; but either his ſincerity was ſuſpected by the allies, or their hopes of victory rendered them deaf to terms. The court of Spain, with its uſual violence, had engaged the Dutch to continue the war till things ſhould be reſtored to the ſame ſituation as at the treaty of the Pyrenees.

Campaign in Germany

THE French had three great armies in the field; the firſt in Germany, the ſecond in Flanders, and the third in Rouſſillon[k]. On the ſide of Germany, the Mareſchal de Turenne, having paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh, defeated the Count Caprara, at Sintzeim, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Palatinate, by driving the allies beyond the Neckar and the Maine. With twenty thouſand men, he fell upon an army of ſeventy, under the Duke of Lorrain, near Straſbourg, and drove them from the field with great loſs. He again defeated the allies at Malhauſen, before the end of the campaign. Theſe repeated victories drove the war from the frontiers of France. Franche Comté was in the meantime reduced by her arms. The King in perſon commanded his troops on that ſide. There was no enemy in the field; and town fell after town into his hands. The whole province was conquered with little bloodſhed; and Lewis, reſolving to retain it for ever, transferred the univerſity and the ſeat of public juſtice and government from Dole to Beſançon.

and Flanders.

ON the eleventh of Auguſt[l] was fought in Flanders the famous battle of Senef, a village between Marimont and Nivelle. The Prince of Orange, at the head of the army of the allies, conſiſting of eighty thouſand men, was oppoſed by an inferior force, under the Prince of Condé. The French attacked the rear of the confederates, in a narrow defile, as they marched toward Binch; and throwing them into confuſion, ſeized a great part of

[k] Hiſt. de France, vol. iii. [l] Ibid.

their

their cannon and baggage. The Prince of Orange, leſs remarkable for preventing misfortune than for ſtopping its progreſs, acquired ſome glory, though he obtained no victory. He rallied his troops. He fell upon the enemy. He expoſed his own perſon. In the action, which was not finiſhed with the day, he joined the valour of a young ſoldier to the conduct of an experienced general. When night came on, both armies, as if by mutual conſent, put an end to the fight, and left the victory undecided. The loſs was almoſt equal. Six thouſand of each ſide lay dead on the field. The allies kept poſſeſſion of the place of battle, but the French had moſt trophies. The Prince of Orange beſieged Oudenarde; but he was forced to quit that enterpriſe by the Prince of Condé. Graves, however, fell into the hands of the allies, after a very obſtinate ſiege.

CHAP. IV. 1674.

Changes in adminiſtration.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, ſome changes happened in the higher departments of the ſtate in England. Buckingham, ever diſtruſted by the King, had fallen again under his diſpleaſure. Being chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, that place was declared vacant[m], by a letter from Charles; and the Duke of Monmouth was choſen on the fifteenth of July. The puſillanimous conduct of Buckingham, when queſtioned before the houſe of commons, his cabals in private with the country party, and, above all, his ceaſing to be uſeful, induced the King to lay him aſide. Arlington's timidity rendered his fidelity ſuſpected; and he was removed from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and made lord chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold[n]. Sir Joſeph Williamſon, who, in conjunction with Sir Leoline Jenkins, managed the treaty of Cologn, ſucceeded Arlington. Charles, ever ſince the removal of Clarendon, had ceaſed to be led by his miniſters. He formed his own meaſures. He wiſhed not for counſellors, but for ſervants. The adminiſtration was

[m] Kennet, vol. iii. [n] Ibid.

CHAP. IV. 1674.

now compoſed of men who muſt depend upon the crown, as they were deſtitute of weight with the nation. Finch was poſſeſſed of abilities in his own department, but he was no great ſtateſman. Oſborne, who from his firſt title of Lord Latimer had, in June, been advanced to the dignity of Earl of Danby, was paſſive to the will of his maſter. Williamſon roſe to the head of an office, in which he had been a clerk; and though Coventry was a man of ſome parts, he was too unpopular to be acknowledged as ſuch by the world.

King gains the city of London.

THE parliament, which was to have met on the tenth of November, was prorogued [o] by proclamation to the thirteenth of April. This meaſure was adopted, in concert with the King of France, who was afraid that the commons might force Charles to join againſt him in the war. One hundred thouſand pounds was the price of this prorogation. It ſaved Lewis from a powerful enemy, and Charles from addreſſes of clamorous grievances. He, in the mean time, endeavoured to gain the affections of his people, by ſoothing meaſures and condeſcending familiarities. He was reſolved to retain the city of London, which the oppoſition had made ſeveral attempts to gain. In the arts of pleaſing the multitude, the King was more than a match for any of his ſubjects. He accepted of an invitation to an entertainment in Guildhall, on the twenty-ninth of October, when Sir Robert Viner was ſworn lord-mayor. To flatter the citizens, he expreſſed a deſire of being one of their body; and he accordingly received the freedom of the city, at the chamberlain's office, by the hands of Sir Thomas Player. A circumſtance, trivial in itſelf, was followed by conſequences beneficial to the King. The corporation attended him in a body with his freedom, expreſſing their deepeſt ſenſe of ſo unparalleled a favour done to the city, beyond the example of all his progenitors [p].

[o] Journals, Sept. 22. [p] Kennet.

CHAP. IV.

1674.

WHILST Charles ſought popularity at home, he ſhewed an inclination to ſecure it by his meaſures abroad. He ſaw that the nation was exaſperated at his connexion with France; and that the parliament might force him to take arms againſt his ally, ſhould the war continue for another campaign. He reſolved to ſound the Prince of Orange, and to form his own meaſures upon his views [q]. Though Arlington was in a kind of diſgrace, his avowed attachment to the Prince rendered him a fit agent, in any buſineſs in which his intereſt was concerned. Beſides, he was married to the ſiſter of Odyck, who was much in the confidence of the Prince [r]. He was ſent to Holland in the beginning of December, and the Earl of Oſſory was joined with him in a ſecret commiſſion. Their principal inſtruction was to offer the Princeſs Mary, the Duke of York's eldeſt daughter, in marriage to the Prince [s]. The object of this proffered alliance was to engage the Prince of Orange to enter into the meaſures of the Engliſh court with regard to a peace with France; he having hitherto eluded the propoſals of mediation carried from Charles by Sir William Temple [t].

Negociation with the Prince of Orange.

THE Duke of York objected to the offer of his daughter, as it ought in decency to have come firſt from the Prince himſelf [u]. The King told him, that Oſſory, chiefly truſted in that buſineſs, was to ſay nothing on the ſubject, till it ſhould be mentioned to him by the Prince [x]. The Duke, ever ſubmiſſive to his brother, acquieſced in his pleaſure. But the Prince of Orange being bent on the proſecution of the war, the negociation failed for the time. To diſguiſe his averſion to peace, he affected to be diſpleaſed with Arlington. He complained, that he had joined with his "good friends [y]" Carliſle and Shafteſbury, in endeavouring to move the King to own the legitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth. Beſides, the proſpect of ſucceeding to the crown of

[q] James II. 1674. [r] Temple. [s] James II. 1674.
[t] Temple. [u] James II. 1674. [x] Ibid. [y] Ibid

CHAP. IV.

1674.

England, in the right of Mary, had become leſs certain, by the advanced pregnancy of the Dutcheſs of York. A ſon would cut off all the hopes of the throne, which he might otherwiſe derive from the marriage. This obſtacle was ſoon after removed. The Dutcheſs was brought to bed of a daughter, in the beginning of January [z]; and the two brothers were ſtill deſtined to continue the only males of their family. The Prince, however, formed a ſecret connexion with the popular party in England, by the means of one Frymans, a man of abandoned principles and a profligate life [a]. His views, which he had formed even at this early period, upon the throne, are ſaid to have been the ſource of his animoſity againſt France, to pleaſe a people over whom he was reſolved to reign [b].

1675. The laws enforced againſt non-conformiſts.

THOUGH the houſe of commons were averſe from the French alliance, their jealouſy on the ſcore of religion was the chief cauſe of their ill-humour toward the crown. The majority were favourers of monarchy, but they were enthuſiaſts in the cauſe of the church. Charles ſaw that he loſt more of the confidence of his people, by his indulgence to ſectaries, than even by following political maxims inconſiſtent with their principles. To regain, if poſſible, the good-will of his parliament, whoſe ſpeedy meeting his neceſſities required, he reſolved to put in rigorous execution the laws againſt Papiſts and conventicles. To iſſue a proclamation by his own mere motion, might carry the appearance of courting favour. He, therefore, through his miniſters, inſinuated to the archbiſhops and ſome other prelates, that, upon their requiſition, he was willing to execute to the letter the laws againſt all non-conformiſts, eſpecially againſt the Papiſts. The biſhops entered into his views, and adviſed him to recall all the licences which had been granted for holding conventicles. A proclamation was iſſued on the twelfth of February, for convicting and puniſhing all recuſants, and requiring all perſons born within

[z] Public Intell. [a] D'Avaux, vol. ii. [b] Ibid. vol. i.

the King's dominions, who had taken orders from the ſee of Rome, to depart the kingdom before the twenty-fifth day of March [a].

Tranſactions of the commons.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe precautions, the commons brought back to the houſe a part of the ill temper in which they had been prorogued. The King, on the thirteenth of April, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne [b]. Though the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, a circumſtance previouſly concerted with France, precluded any motion for war, the commons entered upon ſubjects little leſs diſagreeable to the court. They renewed their addreſſes againſt Lauderdale [c]. A motion of accuſation was made againſt the lord treaſurer [d]. The King's anſwer with regard to the firſt was ſo unſatisfactory, that addreſſes were repeated; but the charge againſt the latter appeared ſo ill founded, that it was dropt by the commons themſelves [e]. Their requeſt to the King for recalling his ſubjects from the ſervice of France was eluded [f]. Their bills againſt Popery, and even the whole buſineſs of the ſeſſion, were diſappointed by an unexpected quarrel with the lords. One Shirley had brought an appeal into the houſe of lords againſt Sir John Fagg, a member of the lower houſe. A warrant was iſſued againſt Shirley. The Lord Mohun forced it from the ſerjeant at arms. The commons demanded juſtice, the peers refuſed it; and the King, on the ninth of June, was obliged to put an end to the diſpute by a prorogation.

Warm debates

THOUGH parliament entered not into the views of the crown, they ſeemed now more favourable to monarchy than in the preceding ſeſſion. The Earl of Danby, by character a cavalier and a favourer of the church, was ſupported in his meaſures by thoſe who affected his principles in the houſe of commons [g]. To them he owed the victory, which he obtained over the diſaffected party in the articles of his impeachment. In the houſe of lords, the

[a] Vide Proclamation. [b] Journals, April 13, 1675. [c] April 14.
[d] April 26. [e] May 3. [f] May 8. [g] James II. 1675.

CHAP. IV. 1675.

influence of the biſhops, all of whom abetted Danby, carried matters high in their zeal for the crown. They began to compare the preſent conduct of the commons to thoſe violences which had, thirty years before, laid in ruins both the church and the throne. To obſtruct ſuch deſigns, or to remedy the evil, the Earl of Lindſey introduced a bill for a new teſt. This was little more than extending to all perſons in office, and the members of both houſes of parliament, the oath impoſed upon magiſtrates by the corporation-act in the year 1662. They were to declare it unlawful, upon any pretence, to take arms againſt the King; that they abhorred the traitorous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon or his officers; and that they would not endeavour to make any alteration in the government of either the church or the ſtate [h]. The abjuring any change in the government was the only article that was new in the bill; and ſhould it be taken in the literal ſenſe, legiſlation itſelf were at an end.

in the houſe of lords.

THIS bill, as might have been expected, was diſliked by various parties, from different views. The factious oppoſed it from ſpleen, the Roman Catholics from their averſion to all teſts; and ſome conſcientious patriots, from the dangerous doctrine of non-reſiſtance, which it contained. In the eyes of men who weighed matters with coolneſs, the abſurdity of ſuch a law rendered it nugatory; and they conſidered it as the means of increaſing perjuries, without enforcing obedience to government. The debates, which continued ſeventeen days, were warm, and even violent. All the arguments that could be ſuggeſted by reaſon, or invented by ingenuity, were uſed on both ſides. That which had moſt force was, that the bill might deprive ſome ſcrupulous peers of their birth-right to vote. To obviate this objection, the lord-treaſurer moved [i], that the refuſing the oath might not incapacitate any lord from ſitting in the houſe. The Duke of York followed the motion with another, that it might be general for

[h] Journals. [i] James II. 1674.

all

all bills. The houſe agreed, and added it to their ſtanding orders [k]. The bill paſſing at length with this amendment, was ſent down to the commons. It was loſt, with all other bills of public concern, in the ſudden prorogation of parliament.

Campaign

TRANQUILLITY, as uſual, ſucceeded the ſeparation of parliament, and Charles recurred to his amuſements and pleaſures. The war languiſhed during the campaign in Flanders. In Germany it was attended with ſome ſtriking, though not deciſive, events. In the former, the French took Dinain, in May; Hui and Limbourg, in June. The Prince of Orange, being taken ill of the ſmall-pox, was for ſome time detained from the field. The mareſchal de Crequi, in endeavouring to throw ſuccours into Treves, was routed, with conſiderable loſs. George-William, Duke of Brunſwick-Zell, had the honour of the firſt victory obtained over France in the courſe of fifty years. Crequi deſpiſed his enemy; but he was undeceived by his own defeat. He threw himſelf into Treves, and fell, with the place, into the hands of the allies, on the ſixth of September. The prince of Orange, reſuming the command of the army, took Binch, in the end of Auguſt. Both ſides continued in a ſtate of inactivity during the reſt of the campaign.

between

ON the ſide of Catalonia, Mareſchal Schomberg made ſome progreſs, at the head of the French. The King of Sweden, plunging headlong into the war, in favour of France, met with nothing but misfortune. The Dutch, the Spaniards, the Danes, became at once his enemies. He was ſerved ill by his general. He was defeated by the Elector of Brandenburgh. He loſt all Pomerania. Bremerfurt was taken by the troops of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh; Wolgaſt, by thoſe of Brandenburgh. Wiſmar fell into the hands of the Danes. During theſe tranſactions a congreſs was opened at Nimeguen; but the ſeaſon of peace was not

[k] James II. 1672.

yet

CHAP. IV. 1675.

yet arrived. The attention of Europe, during actions of inferior note, was called to the Upper Rhine. Two great armies, commanded by the two greateſt generals of the age, were oppoſed to each other on the banks of that river. Turenne guarded the confines of France with all his conſummate ſkill; Montecuculli endeavoured to carry the war into Alſace and Lorrain. Antiquity only could match the operations of theſe experienced commanders. The conteſt between ſuch talents could be only decided by fortune.

France and the allies.

TURENNE, having aſſembled his army near Straſbourg in the month of May, paſſed the Rhine on the ſeventh of June, to break the deſigns of the allies upon Alſace. Having ſpent near two months in all the moſt maſterly movements of war, he thought at laſt that the happy moment was arrived for attacking Montecuculli with advantage. When he was viewing the poſition of the enemy, a cannon-bullet put an end to his life[1]. The French, ſtruck with conſternation at the fall of their leader, thought of nothing but flight. A diſpute for the command between the Count de Lorges and the Marquis de Vaubrun was added to their other misfortunes. They retreated. Montecuculli hung cloſe on their heels. The valour of the Engliſh auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, ſaved the army. The French repaſſed the Rhine at Altenheim, the allies at Straſbourg. The Prince of Condé ſucceeded Turenne. He forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Haguenau, to quit their deſigns on Saverne, and, at length, to repaſs the Rhine. The campaign, though upon the whole unfortunate to France, produced nothing that could decide the fate of the war.

Proceedings and

THE receſs of parliament had not altered, in any reſpect, the temper in which the two houſes had been prorogued. The King

[1] July 27.

opened

CHAP. IV. 1675.

opened the ſeſſion with a ſhort but ſoothing ſpeech, on the thirteenth of October [m]. He entreated the houſes to forget their former animoſities; he recommended the intereſts of the church of England; he demanded money. He told them of the neceſſity of building ſhips, and of removing the anticipations on the ſtanding revenue of the crown. He owned his own want of œconomy in paſt times; but he declared his unalterable reſolution to be more careful for the future. The lord-keeper, in enlarging upon the articles of the ſpeech, commended in vain the King's meaſures. The commons were not convinced by his arguments. They diſcovered a continuance of their former jealouſy by their proceedings. They reſolved to grant no ſupply for removing the anticipations upon the revenue [n]; and it was with difficulty they were induced to vote three hundred thouſand pounds for building twenty ſhips of war. This aid was appropriated, by ſtrict clauſes, to the uſe for which it was voted; and it was provided by the act, that exact accounts of all outlays ſhould be from time to time ſubmitted to the inſpection of the houſe.

prorogation of parliament.

THE commons, in their zeal for religion, paſſed a bill to prevent Papiſts from ſitting in either houſe [o]. They reſolved, by an expreſs act, to preclude the crown for the future from ſuſpending any law made in favour of the eſtabliſhed church [p]. They brought in a bill againſt ſending men priſoners beyond ſea. But all were defeated, by a renewal of their former diſpute with the lords. Shirley reſumed the proſecution of his appeal againſt Fagg [q]. The two houſes flew inſtantly into a flame. They adhered to their former opinions. Reſolutions were bandied from ſide to ſide. It was moved in the lower houſe, that no appeal ſhould lie from equity to the peers. The lords ſhewed a diſpoſition to addreſs the King to diſſolve the parliament. Charles, diſappointed

[m] Journals, Oct. 13.
[n] Ibid. Oct. 19.
[o] Nov. 8.
[p] Oct. 19.
[q] Nov. 11.

in

CHAP. IV. 1675.

in money, offended at ſome bills paſſed by the commons, and willing to put an end to diſputes ſo contrary to his own love of eaſe, came to the houſe of lords on the twenty-ſecond of November[r]. He gave his aſſent to three private bills; and, without a ſpeech, prorogued the parliament to the fifteenth of February, 1677. The conteſt between the houſes was aſcribed by ſome to deſign, as it furniſhed the King with a ſpecious pretence of ridding himſelf, for ſome time, of a parliament from whom he heard nothing but complaints. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming patriotiſm of the commons, the parties were nearly equal upon every vote. Had Charles managed his former expences with addreſs, he might have procured a ſupply to remove his preſent neceſſities.

1676. New ſecret treaty with France.

THE prorogation of parliament freed Charles from the trouble of addreſſes; but it deprived him of all hopes of relief from his wants. He applied, in the laſt reſort, to France, for thoſe ſupplies which he had in vain endeavoured to procure at home. He had adhered to his engagements, in a degree ſcarce to be expected from his fluctuating politics; and now he expreſſed a deſire of uniting himſelf more ſtrictly with the French King. The propoſal was an expedient to obtain money from that prince, whoſe generoſity required to be rouſed by a ſhow of new engagements. A formal agreement was ſigned, in the month of February 1676, by the two Kings, by which they obliged themſelves to enter into no treaties without mutual conſent. To this promiſe another article was added on the part of Charles. He agreed to prorogue or diſſolve his parliament, ſhould they ſhew a diſpoſition of forcing him to declare againſt France[s]. As this treaty contained nothing that was new, it ſeems to have been one of thoſe many deceptions which Charles played off with ſuch ſucceſs on the King of France.

[r] Journals, Nov. 22.

[s] Rouvigny to Lewis XIV. Jan. 9. and Feb. 27, 1676.

THE

CHAP. IV.

1676. Campaign of

THE ſituation of that monarch required a certainty of the friendſhip of Charles. Though the ſucceſſes of the allies had not broken his power, they were likely to give vigour to their efforts in the approaching campaign. The opinion of Europe had placed the balance in the hands of the King of England; and, as his aid in the war could not be expected by France, his neutrality became an important object. But the good fortune which had attended the allies in the preceding ſummer, began now to forſake their arms. The year began with an advantage at ſea in favour of the French. De Ruyter, who had ſailed from Holland in Auguſt with an intention to join the Spaniſh fleet, fell in with Du Queſne, on the eighth of January, on his way to throw ſuccours into Meſſina. The French had the advantage. Meſſina was relieved. Another naval engagement, on the twenty-ſecond of April, was rendered memorable by the fall of the gallant De Ruyter, and the ſecond defeat of the Dutch. The Duke de Vivonne, having a third time defeated the Dutch and Spaniards before Meſſina, put an end, for the time, to the naval power of both on the coaſts of Sicily.

the year 1676.

THE good fortune which attended the French in the Mediterranean, deſerted their ally, the King of Sweden, in the Baltic. Van Tromp, having joined the Danes, defeated the Swediſh fleet, on the firſt of June. The King of Denmark entered Sweden with an army, and met with great ſucceſs. Their martial ſpirit ſeemed to have deſerted a nation, who had been forty years before the arbiters of the fate of Europe. Charles the Eleventh, however, before the end of the campaign, retrieved a part of the glory which he had loſt. He defeated the King of Denmark at Lunden [t], and forced him to retire to his own country. The French King exerted his whole force in Flanders. His army on the ſide of Germany obſerved only the motions of the allies. Having filled his maga-

[t] Dec. 12.

CHAP. IV. 1676.

zines during the winter, he took in perſon the field early in the ſpring. Condé ſurrendered to him in the end of April [w]. Buchain fell into his hands in the middle of May. The Prince of Orange, ill ſupported by his allies, and with an army ill appointed, had the mortification to ſee Aire and St. Omers taken almoſt in his ſight, without his being able to relieve either of thoſe places. He was equally unfortunate in his attempt upon Maeſtricht. Having beſieged that place in vain for near a month, he was obliged to decamp [x], upon the approach of the French under Schomberg. Misfortune followed him in his retreat. His artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, fell in a great meaſure into the hands of the enemy; and notwithſtanding all his efforts, he cloſed the campaign with diſaſter, though not with diſgrace. The languor of Spain and negligence of the empire left the whole weight of the war on the States; and they began to wiſh ſincerely for that peace which the Prince of Orange had eluded two years before.

Obſervations.

THE diſaſters of the campaign changed the ſtate of an alliance, whoſe efforts had already begun to languiſh. Feeble councils were added to the natural ſlowneſs of the Spaniards; and the Emperor was as deſtitute of perſonal abilities, as he was of reſources for carrying on with vigour the war. The German princes, with their uſual inattention to affairs which reſpect the whole body, failed in all their engagements upon the ſide of the Rhine. The war lay with its whole weight on the Dutch. Their coffers were drained, and their ſpirits were exhauſted. Theſe were the reaſons which inclined them to the thoughts of a ſeparate peace. Beſides, the Spaniards, to whom they were engaged for the ſafety of Flanders, had, by their negligence, forfeited every claim to the obſervance of a treaty, with the conditions of which they had ceaſed to comply. They applied to the King of England, but he was deaf to their entreaties. His connexion with France induced him to adopt

[w] April 26. [x] Auguſt 27.

meaſures,

meaſures, which were in fact beneficial to his ſubjects. The commerce of Europe, on account of the war, in which the moſt of its ſtates were involved, had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. They derived riches from a circumſtance which impoveriſhed other nations. Prevented from indulging their favourite ſyſtem of a balance of power, they were ſaved from thoſe diſtreſſes in which they have been ſince involved by continental wars.

A profound tranquillity.

A PROFOUND tranquillity prevailed in England throughout the whole of the preſent year. Charles, tired of his efforts for acquiring power, left government to the common courſe of the laws, and gave himſelf up to indolence and pleaſure. Diſcontent ſeemed to ceaſe with the ſitting of parliament. Grievances either exiſted not at all, or they were borne in ſilence. The people murmured at the progreſs made by the arms of France; but their complaints reached not the throne, or they were heard with indifference. Charles either affected a complaiſance for the eſtabliſhed church, or he thought it neceſſary to gain the hierarchy, to balance the ſpirit of limiting his power, which appeared in the houſe of commons. If ever he entertained a ſerious deſign of eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion, a meaſure ſcarce conſiſtent with common prudence, he had now ſuſpended it for a time, or dropt it for ever. The Biſhop of London, by his permiſſion, went to the Duke of York. That prelate told his Royal Highneſs, that as the Lady Mary, his daughter, was of age to think of preparing for receiving the ſacrament, he came to aſk leave to confirm her. The Duke's anſwer was ſuitable to his bigotry, though it exhibited the affections of a father. He was unwilling, he ſaid, that his daughters ſhould communicate with a church whoſe doctrine he himſelf had ceaſed to believe; and, though he had not inſtructed his children in his own religion, it was to prevent their being taken from under his care. He deſired the biſhop to go to the King, who inſtantly ordered both the princeſſes to be confirmed.

CHAP. IV. 1676.

The Duke, with his uſual ſubmiſſion, obeyed his brother's commands[y].

Affairs

The tyranny of Lauderdale and the vehemence of Sharpe continued to haraſs the Scots in their civil and religious concerns. The love of public liberty had not, for ſeveral years, raiſed any oppoſition in parliament; but the enthuſiaſm of the Preſbyterians was not to be ſubdued by the rigours of the church. The flame which roſe among the commons of England againſt the meaſures of the crown, extended itſelf, in the year 1673, to Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton placed himſelf at the head of a formidable oppoſition to the corrupt adminiſtration of Lauderdale. A motion was made by Hamilton for conſidering the ſtate of the nation. Twenty perſons ſpoke ſucceſſively after the Duke, and ſupported his arguments with a long catalogue of public grievances. Lauderdale, with his uſual imperiouſneſs, endeavoured to intimidate the members; but that failing, he adjourned the parliament. The chiefs of the oppoſition repaired to London, to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne. They demanded the removal of Lauderdale, the redreſs of grievances, and an act of general oblivion. Charles received them with affability, and diſmiſſed them with promiſes. But the accommodating policy of the miniſter ſoon broke the deſigns of the King, who ſacrificed the happineſs of his ſubjects, to an opinion of his being bound to ſupport the meaſures of his ſervant.

of Scotland.

TERRIFIED at the reſolutions of the commons of England, Lauderdale endeavoured, in the year 1674, to gain the Preſbyterians of Scotland. The diſaffected in the former were ſuſpected of abetting the religious diſturbances which ſubſiſted in the latter. They hoped for a revival of thoſe troubles in the North, which were the ſource of the misfortunes of the crown in the preceding

[y] James II. 1676.

CHAP. IV. 1676.

reign. It was even then ſuppoſed, and it is now known[y], that the Dutch and the Prince of Orange correſponded with the Scotiſh fanatics. To prevent miſchiefs, which might ariſe from both theſe circumſtances, it was thought neceſſary to relax the ſeverities of the law againſt conventicles. Beſides, Lauderdale, whoſe councils were as bold as his meaſures were corrupt, had formed a ſcheme to employ the militia, which had been eſtabliſhed in Scotland in ſupport of the authority of the King, in his other dominions. The lower ſort were almoſt all of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion; and it was hoped, that an indulgence to their principles might ſecure their fidelity, on an emergency. New alarms put an end to theſe lenient meaſures. The Preſbyterians were inebriated by their ſpiritual pride. The more they were indulged, the greater was their oppoſition to the civil authority. Lauderdale renewed his oppreſſions, and Sharpe his perſecutions. Political miſery was ſeen in every form; and even the ignorance of the ſervants of the crown became more fatal than their tyrannies. The year 1676 added the infamy of burning old women to other acts of barbarous deſpotiſm. Witchcraft itſelf was not too improbable for the belief of that age of enthuſiaſm.

Affairs of Ireland.

IRELAND furniſhed nothing of great importance during the laſt four years. The Earl of Eſſex ſucceeded the Lord Berkley in the government, and managed it with more caution than abilities. Standing in awe of the Engliſh faction, and diffident of the Iriſh, he was languid in his proceedings, and leſs anxious for doing good, than afraid of becoming the cauſe of harm. Government went forward in its beaten track. The country was torn to pieces by the quarrels and animoſities of factions. But theſe were private diſtractions. In public, a ſhew of implicit obedience was obſerved by all parties toward the crown. Eſſex derived from his integrity that weight which his inactivity and limited abilities ſeemed to deny. Strictly adhering to the conſtitution, he refuſed

[y] D'Avaux.

obedience

CHAP. IV.

1676.

obedience to the royal orders, when he thought them contrary to law. Charles was not offended with this part of his conduct. In the year 1675, he was permitted to come to England, to lay the ſtate of Iriſh affairs before the crown; but he was remanded back to his office, with approbation, and even applauſe. Ireland was rather peaceable than quiet during his adminiſtration, which continued till the Duke of Ormonde received, for the third time, the government of that kingdom.

France offers terms of peace.

In the hopes that time had cooled the paſſions of the commons, Charles reſolved to meet his parliament on the day to which they had been prorogued. Some whiſpers, rather than murmurs, in favour of their ſitting, were heard, through the tranquillity which prevailed in the kingdom. On the twenty-third of December, 1676 [z], a proclamation was iſſued for the two houſes to aſſemble at Weſtminſter, on the fifteenth of February, for the diſpatch of important affairs. France, alarmed at their meeting, began ſeriouſly to think of peace. Though Lewis had bought the neutrality, and even the favour of the King, he was afraid the parliament would force him to join his arms to thoſe of the allies. He propoſed to Don John of Auſtria to put an end to the war. He promiſed, upon condition that Spain ſhould cede the Low Countries, to give up Rouſſillon, all Sicily, with twelve millions of livres, to enable her to recover Portugal from the houſe of Braganza. Four millions of livres were to be paid to Don John himſelf, for his good offices in the propoſed treaty. Fribourg, and ſome places in Alſace, were to be reſtored to the Empire. Oſtend, and other ports in Flanders, were to have been delivered to Charles for his concurrence; and Antwerp reſigned for ever into the hands of the States [a].

1677. Various opinions formed of parliament.

The circumſtance which induced Lewis to offer peace, encouraged the allies to continue the war. Their hopes from the par-

[z] Kennet, vol. iii. [a] James II. 1677.

liament of England were equal to his fears of their meeting. But in the iſſue both ſides were deceived. Though Charles might be induced to ſacrifice his connexions with France to his love of eaſe, he entertained, in his own mind, unſurmountable objections to a war. He believed that thoſe who preſſed moſt for his breaking with France, ever ſince the year 1673, were more the enemies of monarchy, than the friends of their country [b]. They wiſhed, he thought, to plunge him into neceſſities, that they might impoſe upon him what conditions they pleaſed; or to revive thoſe troubles which, from a ſimilar ſource, had overturned his father's throne. To this impreſſion ought perhaps to be aſcribed the backwardneſs of Charles in entering into any war during the remaining part of his reign. He had no affection for the perſon of Lewis; he knew it was neither the intention nor the intereſt of that prince to render him abſolute; and there is no room to doubt, that he would have preferred ample ſupplies from his own ſubjects, to the pitiful and clandeſtine ſubſidies remitted from France. But he believed, that the oppoſition in the houſe of commons proceeded either from a republican ſpirit, or a motive of avarice; and that all thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the meaſures of the crown, wiſhed to ruin monarchy, or to feed on its ſpoils [c].

1677.

THE parliament meeting on the fifteenth of February [d], the King opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. He expreſſed his hopes, that they had forgot, through the length of their receſs, thoſe quarrels and animoſities between the two houſes which had ſtopt the progreſs of the public buſineſs. He told them, that he was come prepared to give them all ſatisfaction with regard to the eſtabliſhed religion; and to gratify them, if that was thought neceſſary, with as many laws as they ſhould propoſe for the ſecurity of liberty and property. For theſe condeſcenſions,

King's ſpeech.

[b] James II. 1677. [c] Ibid. [d] Journals, Feb. 15, 1677.

he

CHAP. IV. 1677.

he demanded, in return, that they ſhould avoid a renewal of former differences, grant money for building ſhips, continue the additional revenue of exciſe, and give ſuch a ſupply as might make his condition eaſy, by enabling him to diſcharge his debts. He recommended to them the peace of the kingdom, in the careful prevention of all differences; the ſafety of the nation, in providing for ſome additional force at ſea; and the proſperity of the ſubject, in aſſiſting the neceſſary charge and ſupport of the government. Should they fail in any of theſe good ends, he "called God and "men to witneſs, that the misfortune of ſuch diſappointment "ſhould not lie at his doors." The Lord Finch, as chancellor, enlarged with eloquence on every article in his Majeſty's ſpeech [e].

Proceedings in the

MEN of republican principles in both houſes hoped to obtain great advantages in this ſeſſion of parliament. They expected that miniſters would be impeached, and government in all its departments arraigned. They aſſured themſelves, that grievances would make a great deal of noiſe, that no money would be given without ſacrificing ſome great officer of the crown, or ſome favourite branch of its prerogative [f]. The fears of the court were at leaſt equal to the hopes of the country party. The firſt ſaw a gloomy proſpect before them; but the folly of the latter diſappointed their own views. Buckingham, Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and Wharton, who led the oppoſition in the houſe of lords, had, before the meeting of parliament, determined to queſtion its legality, on account of the length of the late receſs. It had been provided, by a ſtatute of Edward the Third, "that parliaments "ſhould be held once every year, or oftener, if need be;" and as the laſt prorogation had continued fifteen months, they concluded that the preſent parliament was virtually diſſolved. The Marquis of Wincheſter, the Lords Halifax and Hollis, noblemen of

[e] Journals, Feb. 15.

[f] James II, 1677.

the

the ſame party, adviſed them againſt this precipitate meaſure[g]. They urged in vain the imprudence of propoſing ſuch a queſtion, as it muſt be determined by a majority of both houſes, who could not be expected to diſſolve themſelves by their own votes.

houſe of lords.

THE four lords were obſtinate. The motion was made; and after an altercation rather than a debate, it was decided againſt them; and they themſelves, for ſupporting ſuch a dangerous poſition, were ſent to the Tower. Three of theſe lords, by making their ſubmiſſions, were ſoon after diſmiſſed. Shafteſbury owed to his own obſtinacy a whole year's impriſonment. Having ſought in vain the remedy of the law, he was at laſt obliged to own the juſtice of his puniſhment, and to petition the lords for his freedom. This impolitic meaſure diſconcerted the popular party. They were frightened at the vigour of the houſe of peers[h]; and dropt their intended accuſation of the Earl of Danby. In the houſe of commons they loſt ground by their raſh proceedings and their violence. On the twenty-ſixth of February, a ſum not exceeding ſix hundred thouſand pounds was voted, by way of land-tax, for building ſhips[i]; and on the twelfth of March, a further ſupply was granted, by continuing the additional duty of exciſe for three years[k]. This latter tax, which had been impoſed on beer and ale, in the year 1670, to make up a part of the deficiency in the ſtanding revenue, was to expire on the twenty-fourth of June, in the preſent year.

and of the commons.

THE commons, in their attention to the wants of the crown, neglected not the liberties of the ſubject. Reſolving themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe on the twenty-third of February, they came to a reſolution, that the extraordinary juriſdiction of the court of chancery and other courts of equity, in

[g] James II. 1677. [h] Ibid. [i] Journals, Feb. 21. [k] Ibid. Mar. 12.

CHAP. IV. 1677.

matters determinable by common law, is a grievance to the ſubject. A bill was accordingly brought in to remedy this evil [l]. A bill was alſo introduced for preventing Roman catholics from ſitting in either houſe [m]; and another for recalling his Majeſty's ſubjects from the ſervice of France. The popular party were not in the mean time idle. Having failed in their hopes of preventing a ſupply, they endeavoured to clog the money-bills in their progreſs, with queſtions, debates, and diviſions. They however prevailed in applying the ſum granted to the ſole uſe of building ſhips: but upon a motion of appropriating the revenue ariſing from tonnage and poundage to the navy, it paſſed in the negative, by a great majority [n]. The conduct of the commons, during the firſt part of the ſeſſion, was ſufficiently peaceable, if not friendly to the court: but the progreſs of France on the continent ſoon rouſed their attention and awakened their fears.

Progreſs of the French.

THE French King, having formed large magazines during the preceding ſeaſon, took very early the field. On the laſt day of February, he left St. Germains. Mareſchal Luxembourg had already inveſted Valenciennes. The trenches were opened on the ninth of March, and the place was taken on the ſeventeenth by ſurpriſe. Cambray, after a feeble reſiſtance, fell into the hands of the French on the fifth of April. St. Omer was cloſely beſieged. The Prince of Orange, with an army ſuddenly aſſembled, marched to its relief. The Dukes of Orleans and Luxembourg covered the ſiege, and a battle enſued at Caſſel, on the eleventh of April. The Prince fought with ſpirit, but he was attended by his wonted bad fortune. In his talents for war, as well as in the diſcipline of his troops, he was inferior to Luxembourg. He, however, with his uſual dexterity, made a good retreat to Ypres. But St. Omer in a few days ſurrendered [o] to the

[l] Journals, Feb. 23. [m] Mar. 8. [n] Journals, Mar. 5. 175 againſt 124.
[o] April 20. N. S.

victors; and Lewis returned to receive the flattery of his court at Verſailles. CHAP. IV. 1677.

THE ſucceſs of France and the languor of the allies alarmed the commons. They ſaw, that without the interpoſition of England, Flanders muſt be loſt. They addreſſed the King to take meaſures for the preſervation of that country. Charles returned a favourable anſwer; but their fears increaſed in proportion to the progreſs of the French. They addreſſed his Majeſty to enter into a ſtrict alliance with the confederates [p]; and they reſolved, in caſe of a war, to ſupport him with all neceſſary aids and ſupplies [q]. The King, in his anſwer, expreſſed his deſire of being firſt placed in a condition to accompliſh the deſign of their addreſs. The commons underſtood this as a demand of money. They added a clauſe to the bill for continuing the additional duty of exciſe, to enable his Majeſty to borrow two hundred thouſand pounds, at ſeven *per cent.* upon that fund, which they promiſed to reimburſe [r]. This ſum was inadequate to the purpoſe; at leaſt it was thought too ſmall by the King. He told them, that without ſix hundred thouſand pounds, or credit for ſuch a ſum upon new funds, it would be impoſſible for him to ſpeak or act ſo as to anſwer the end of their ſeveral addreſſes [s]. Proceedings of the commons

THE houſe were not offended with this anſwer. But they requeſted permiſſion to adjourn for the Eaſter-holidays, as many of the members had left the town. They however made no doubt, but at their next aſſembling, his Majeſty would meet with a compliance in the demanded ſupply [t]. The King's meſſage, and the anſwer of the commons, were reciprocally preſented on the fifteenth of April. Charles coming in the afternoon of that day to the houſe of peers, gave his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, and on that ſubject.

[p] March 20. [q] Journals, March 26. [r] Ibid. April 12.
[s] Ibid. April 16. [t] Journals.

CHAP. IV. 1677.

ordered the parliament to adjourn to the twenty-firſt of May. During this ſhort receſs, it had been whiſpered abroad, that the King had no ſerious deſign of oppoſing France; and that he intended to apply to other uſes any ſupply the commons ſhould grant for ſupporting the confederates, either by negociation or arms. The former conduct of Charles juſtified the ſuſpicion. To remove the diſtruſt, he ſent for the houſe on the third day [u] after their meeting to Whitehall. He told them that he did not call them together merely to obtain a ſupply. He aſſured them, upon the word of a King, that they ſhould have no reaſon to repent any truſt they ſhould repoſe in him for the ſecurity of the kingdom; and he poſitively declared, that he would neither hazard his own ſafety nor theirs, until they ſhould place him in a better condition than he was able to place himſelf.

They are reprimanded and adjourned.

THE commons, inſtead of granting the demanded ſupply, voted an immediate addreſs. They deſired the King to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with the States of the United Provinces, to check the growing power of France, and to preſerve Flanders. They annexed various reaſons to this advice; and they aſſured the King, that when he ſhould be pleaſed to declare ſuch an alliance in parliament, they would moſt cheerfully ſupport his meaſures with plentiful and ſpeedy ſupplies [x]. Though Charles had pledged his royal word to the commons, he had no deſign of complying with their deſires, ſhould they even grant him the ſupplies required. When he found them refractory, he pretended reſentment. He told them, that their addreſs had encroached on the undoubted right of the crown, in its excluſive power of making peace and war. He informed them, he was confident that ſuch a daring invaſion on the prerogative had not its example in any age, when the ſword was not drawn. He declared, that

[u] Journals, May 23. [x] Ibid. May 25.

no

CHAP. IV. 1677.

no condition, no ſituation, no misfortune ſhould induce him to depart from ſuch an eſſential right of the monarchy; and he concluded with aſſuring them, that, notwithſtanding their declining to grant a ſupply, he would uſe all the means in his power for the ſecurity and ſatisfaction of his people. He followed this ſpeech with a command to both houſes to adjourn themſelves to the ſixteenth of July [y].

Reflections.

THIS anſwer, had the motives which produced it remained unknown, might receive ſome applauſe from its ſpirit. But as it proceeded from the King's ſecret engagements with France, it furniſhes a new inſtance of that want of ſincerity which diſgraced his character. The love of money, as the means of procuring pleaſure, was the chief characteriſtic of Charles. To obtain that object, he diſregarded his fame, in a degree ſcarce conſiſtent with common ſenſe. When he urged the commons to ſtrengthen his hands for a war, he had actually ſold his neutrality to France for two hundred thouſand pounds. Had he obtained the ſix hundred thouſand pounds from parliament, he might probably have found expedients to ſcreen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking his private correſpondence with Lewis. But to make an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the allies, as the condition of a ſupply, would deprive him of the ſecret ſubſidy, and throw him upon the mercy of a parliament already averſe from his meaſures. In HIS ſituation, he acted with prudence. His conduct had deprived him of the confidence of the commons; and all his attempts to regain it, by implicitly following their advice, would be aſcribed to want of ſpirit or to deſign. Beſides, he was no ſtranger to the motives of many of thoſe who promoted the war with the moſt vehemence. If HE was bought by France, THEY were bribed by the allies [z]. Men, who ſincerely loved their country, fluctuated between the views of a Prince whom

[y] Journals, May 28.

[z] Dalrymple's Append. p. 3.

they

CHAP. IV. 1677.

they had ceaſed to truſt, and the ſuſpected patriotiſm of violent party-men.

Affairs of

TRANQUILLITY, as uſual, ſucceeded the adjournment of the parliament in England; and men had leiſure to turn their eyes to the affairs of Europe. In Spain, domeſtic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining through the weakneſs of her councils. Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Philip the Fourth, had taken arms againſt the Queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid [a]. Diſappointed in his expectation of offers from the young King, he returned to Saragoſſa. But fortune, ſoon after, favoured his ambition. Charles the Second, eſcaping from his mother, ordered her to be ſhut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime miniſter. The hopes conceived of his abilities were not anſwered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increaſed on every ſide. In Catalonia, the Count of Monterey was defeated. Bracamonte loſt the battle of Tourmina, in the kingdom of Sicily. Flanders, by the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers, was laid open to abſolute conqueſt. The Prince of Orange, after his defeat at Caſſel, ſat down before Charleroy; but he was forced to raiſe the ſiege on the third of Auguſt, at the approach of Mareſchal Luxembourg, at the head of the French army.

Europe.

CHARLES the Fifth, who, in the year 1675, had ſucceeded his uncle, rather in the title than in the territory of Lorrain, commanded a part of the allies on the Upper Rhine. The Prince of Saxe-Eiſinach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alſace. Mareſchal Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the views of the Duke of Lorrain. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from croſſing the Maeſe; he beat up his poſts; he cut off his convoys. The Baron de Monclar de-

[a] In the end of 1676.

fended

CHAP. IV.

1677.

fended Alſace. After various movements, he incloſed the troops of the Prince of Saxe-Eiſinach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Straſbourg [b]. Having defeated a body of the allies near Cokeſberg, he ſat down before Fribourg, and cloſed the campaign on that ſide by the taking of that important place [c]. The King of Sweden was not equally fortunate with his allies the French. Though he took Elſimbourg, in the month of January [d]; though he defeated the King of Denmark in July [e], he ſtill had the worſt in the war. His fleet was twice defeated by the Danes [f]; and the Elector of Brandenburgh took the important fortreſs of Stettin before the end of the campaign [g].

State of France, and of the allies.

DURING the progreſs of the French arms in Flanders, ſerious negociations for a peace were begun between Lewis and Holland. An eventual treaty was actually concluded. All their differences were ſettled, and nothing was wanting but the concurrence of their reſpective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, the natural conſequence of their own long negligence, ſeemed to favour the impatience of the Dutch for peace. The feeble councils of Spain, the want of reſources in the Empire, the backwardneſs of the German princes, together with the hopes which all derived from the eagerneſs of the Engliſh nation againſt their ancient enemies and rivals the French, concurred to render their efforts languid and undeciſive. But France itſelf was now in no condition to continue the war with advantage. Though victorious in the field, ſhe was exhauſted at home. The immenſe expence of her armies, the profuſion of the King, her ſubſidies to England, to Sweden, and to ſome princes of Germany, had drained her coffers, and impoveriſhed her people. Lewis himſelf, though ambitious, unfit for conqueſt, ſeemed too fond of the name of victory to reap any of its benefits. With ſuch an

[b] Sept. 24, N. S. [c] Nov. 14. [d] Jan. 9. [e] July 24.
[f] June 11, and July 11. [g] Dec. 26.

army,

CHAP. IV. 1677.

army, with ſuch reſources, a prince of leſs vanity and more perſeverance might have extended greatly his dominions, conſidering the ſituation of Europe at the time. But the ſucceſſes, which rendered him the terror of his neighbours, had already deprived him of the power of doing more harm.

Views of the King,

THE ignorance of Europe, however, continued her fears. The Engliſh nation, by their jealouſies againſt their rivals, rendered them reſpectable, and France derived more honour from the terrors of her enemies, than ever ſhe loſt to their arms. Though this panic was in parliament an engine of ambition to the factious, it was a matter of ſerious importance among the people in general. Murmurs were heard from every ſide; and Charles, hating trouble, was willing to put an end to clamours that diſturbed his repoſe. His unfortunate connection with France, the obſtinate bigotry of his brother, the pecuniary neceſſities which had betrayed him into violent meaſures, had loſt to him his popularity, and filled the minds of his people with apprehenſions of Popery and arbitrary power. To gain their affections, one meaſure only remained: To give the proſpect of ſucceſſion to the throne to a Proteſtant Prince, and to put an end to the fears of the nation, by procuring a general peace. The marriage of the Prince of Orange to his brother's eldeſt daughter ſeemed to promiſe both theſe deſirable ends; and he, therefore, embraced with eagerneſs a renewal of thoſe propoſals which had formerly been made by the Prince.

and of the Prince of Orange.

THE motives, which Charles derived from his views of eaſe, the Prince of Orange found in his own ambition. The hopes of male iſſue, which the Duke of York entertained upon his ſecond marriage, were hitherto fruſtrated; and though the Dutcheſs was then with child, and was ſoon after actually brought to bed of a ſon, the premature deaths of her former children had rendered it unlikely that any ſhe might bring forth ſhould enjoy a long life. The

CHAP. IV. 1677.

The Lady Mary was the heir-apparent of the crown. Upon the eventual demiſe of the two royal brothers without iſſue-male, there was a certainty of her aſcending the throne. There was, even then, a proſpect of her being preferred to her father, on account of his avowed attachment to the Popiſh religion. The idea of excluding him from the ſucceſſion, which was afterwards carried into parliament, was already a topic of diſquiſition before the public [h]. Swayed by theſe reaſons, the Prince of Orange began ſeriouſly to think of a marriage, which had been in negociation three years before. In the month of June, he diſpatched Bentinck, with great profeſſions of friendſhip and regard to the Duke of York [i], to obtain his conſent to the match. Having thus paved the way, he reſolved to come to England at the end of the campaign, with the avowed deſign of concerting with Charles the plan of a peace for the ſecurity of Flanders [k], and to propoſe in public a marriage, which had been ſettled in private ſome time before.

His marriage.

THE Prince landing at Harwich on the ninth of October [l], was received the ſame evening at Newmarket by the King and the Duke, with every mark of affection and eſteem. Charles intended to ſettle firſt the plan of the peace; but, at the preſſing inſtances of the Earl of Danby [m], that buſineſs was poſtponed till after the marriage. On the thirteenth of October, the court returned to London; and on the fifteenth, the Prince of Orange, for the firſt time, ſpoke in perſon to the Duke of York [n] concerning the match with the Lady Mary. No obſtruction ſeems now to have been thrown in the way of an alliance, to which the Duke had agreed in the preceding ſummer. The King, on the twenty-fourth of October, acquainted an extraordinary council, that he had concluded the marriage between the Lady Mary and the Prince. The agreeable news being carried to the populace, they

[h] Vid. Publications of the times. [i] James II. 1677. [k] Ibid.
[l] Kennet, 1677. [m] James II. 1677. [n] Ibid.

CHAP. IV. 1677.

filled all London with feſtivity and noiſe. On the fourth of November, the marriage was celebrated at St. James's by the Biſhop of London, the King himſelf giving away the bride [o]. The nation was overjoyed at a meaſure which ſeemed to promiſe ſecurity to religious and political freedom.

The King and Prince agree upon terms of peace.

THE marriage of the Prince of Orange being accompliſhed, nothing ſeemed wanting to the eaſe of Charles but a general peace. Europe had, for ſome years, conſidered him the arbiter of her affairs; and now he hoped to give all the neceſſary weight to his deciſion, by the concurrence of his nephew. In a conference between the King, the Duke, the Prince, and the Lord-treaſurer, the terms of pacification were ſuddenly ſettled. It was agreed, that all ſhould be reſtored by France to the Empire and the Emperor that had fallen into her hands during the war. The French and Dutch were to remain in the ſame ſtate as before the rupture. Lorrain was to be returned to its native ſovereign; Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guiſlain, and Binch, reſtored to Spain [p]. The Prince of Orange promiſed his endeavours to procure the conſent of the court of Madrid. Charles undertook to reconcile France to the terms propoſed. The Prince laboured to comprehend Franche-Comté in the territories to be reſtored to Spain; but he ſubmitted at laſt to the reaſons offered by the King againſt the poſſibility of wreſting that province from the hands of the French [q].

State of the belligerent powers.

To induce the allies to agree to theſe terms, ſeemed leſs difficult than to reconcile Lewis to the ceſſion of ſo many conqueſts. Though France was exhauſted by the war, ſhe might find reſources for defending herſelf againſt the efforts of a ſpiritleſs and ill-connected confederacy. Spain, who had ſuffered moſt from

[o] Kennet, 1677. [p] James II. 1677. [q] Temple.

the

CHAP. IV. 1677.

the progreſs of the enemy, was the leaſt able, and even the moſt unwilling, to act with vigour. The Dutch preferred preſent eaſe to the evils dreaded from the acceſſion of a part of Flanders to the power of France. The connection of the Emperor with the royal family of Spain, more than jealouſy againſt Lewis, had induced him to continue a war, from which he derived nothing but misfortune. The court of France, being no ſtrangers to the ſituation of their enemies, could fear nothing but from the junction of the King of England with the allies. But that Prince had already reſiſted the earneſt inſtances of his parliament, and diſregarded the clamours of his people. He continued to receive a ſubſidy for his neutrality; and his free communication of councils with the French King had, in ſome degree, deceived the latter into a fixed opinion of his inviolable friendſhip for his own perſon.

France required to agree to the peace.

THE voyage of the Prince of Orange to England alarmed Lewis. His marriage with the Lady Mary completed his aſtoniſhment. The junction of Charles with the enemies of France was the natural conſequence of the alliance. His firſt meaſure after that event carried the appearance of vigour. The Lord Duras, who had taken the title of Earl of Feverſham, ſince the preceding April, was diſpatched to Lewis to demand his concurrence with the terms ſettled by the court of London. Two days were only allowed to the French King for the acceptance or refuſal of the peace [r]. Feverſham, at the expiration of theſe, was to return; being, by his inſtructions, precluded from all negociation on that head. The ſurpriſe of Lewis had abated before the arrival of Feverſham. He treated him with gentleneſs and complacency, neither granting nor denying his requeſt [s]. He put him off, at length, with a general anſwer [t], that his ambaſſador in England ſhould have full powers to finiſh the treaty to the ſatisfaction of the King. Feverſham returned. Barillon, the French ambaſſador, after various procraſtinations,

[r] Kennet, Hume, &c. [s] James II. 1677. [t] Ibid.

CHAP. IV. 1677.

conſented to yield all the places mentioned in the plan of pacification, except Tournay; and he even agreed to reſtore that town, upon receiving a proper equivalent for the ſums which had been laid out on its fortifications.

Duplicity of Charles.

THOUGH peace was the great object of Charles, he was determined, if poſſible, to obtain it, without breaking with France. The diſtruſt between him and his parliament was mutual and fixed. He depended no more upon their ſupport, than they did on his ſincerity. They had promiſed to grant all the neceſſary ſupplies, upon condition of his joining the allies. But their opinions might change with his compliance. He attributed their oppoſition to France more to faction than patriotiſm. He therefore reſolved not to enter into a war, which would throw him on their mercy [x]. When he ſent Feverſham to France, he made an apology in private to her ambaſſador at London [y]. He, at the ſame time, ſhewed his adherence to the private treaty between him and Lewis, by continuing the prorogation of parliament, as had been concerted, to the month of April. This latter meaſure was, however, no more than an artifice to obtain from France the ſubſidy ſtipulated to be paid for that long receſs. Lewis was not to be deceived by ſuch a ſlight pretext. He ſtopt the payment of the money; pretending to indemnify Charles, by the offer of ſome towns in Flanders, upon condition that he would not interfere in the war [z].

Treaty with the Dutch.

CHARLES, perceiving that he was likely to loſe France, reſolved to terrify her into his views, by aſſembling immediately his parliament. On the third of December, he recalled his proclamation, and ordered the two houſes to meet at Weſtminſter on the fifteenth of January [a]. To add to the panic which this ſud-

[x] James II. 1677.
[y] Dalrymple's Append. p. 127.
[z] Barillon to Lewis XIV. Dec. 16, 1677, O. S.
[a] Journals, Dec. 3. 1677.

den

den reſolution might throw into the councils of France, the King determined to make a treaty with the Dutch, in terms of the triple league, which had, ten years before, received ſo much applauſe. The Prince of Orange, preſſed with the urgency of affairs at home, had already returned to Holland with his ſpouſe. The King fixed upon Sir William Temple as the moſt proper perſon to execute a buſineſs of ſuch importance. But Temple knew the inclinations of the Prince, and he declined the employment. The terms propoſed by Charles were calculated to force Spain, as well as France, to accept of the concerted peace [b]. The object of the Prince of Orange was to obtain the aid of England againſt France, and retain the confederacy entire. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rocheſter, executed the office which Temple had refuſed. The Dutch, eager for a peace, accepted of the propoſals of Charles. Spain even conſented to a league apparently againſt herſelf; and the treaty was concluded with ſuch rapidity, that it was ſigned by the States on the ſixteenth of January 1678 [c]. CHAP. IV. 1677.

THOUGH the greateſt expedition had been uſed in finiſhing the treaty with the States, it was not ready by the day appointed for the meeting of parliament. On the fifteenth of January, the two houſes were adjourned till the twenty-eighth [d], when the King opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. He told them, that, in purſuance of his promiſe at the laſt prorogation, he had made ſuch alliances with the States of the United Provinces, as were calculated for the preſervation of Flanders. To proſecute that object, he made no doubt of that aid which they had ſo often promiſed; and he endeavoured to convince them, that nothing could obtain the propoſed end, but a proſpect of their firm reſolution to ſupport his arms. Nothing, he informed them, could now be expected from negociation; France having either eluded or refuſed the terms which he had offered to eſtabliſh a general 1678. Parliament meets.

[b] Temple. [c] Kennet, vol. iii. [d] Journals, Jan. 15.

peace.

CHAP. IV. 1678.

peace. He therefore demanded ample ſupplies for the immediate equipment of ninety ſail of capital ſhips, and for levying a land-force of thirty or forty thouſand men. He demanded the repayment of the two hundred thouſand pounds borrowed, by their appointment, on the additional duty of exciſe. He inſinuated to them his extraordinary expences on the new war with Algiers, and the rebellion in Virginia, together with his engagements to the Prince of Orange for the portion of his niece [e].

Ill-humours of the commons.

THE popular ſchemes adopted by Charles produced not the expected effect on the commons. Having ſo often deceived his parliament, his beſt meaſures were ſuſpected the moſt. The lower houſe returned him their thanks, for marrying his niece to a proteſtant prince [f]; but they beſeeched him to admit of no treaty of peace, till the King of France ſhould be reduced to the ſame condition as at the treaty of the Pyrenees [g]. When the addreſs was reported to the houſe, they added a clauſe, requeſting the King to make all the neceſſary alliances for maintaining the war; and they gave him the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of their utmoſt aid and ſupport [h]. Charles was provoked at this conduct, and ſent a written anſwer to the houſe. He told them, that in the preceding May, they had adviſed him to conclude a league with the States, for the preſervation of Flanders. That they had accompanied their advice with proffers of ſpeedy aids, upon the declaration of ſuch alliance. But now this treaty was declared, they forgot their promiſe, and offered new conditions upon which they ſhould grant a ſupply. He informed them, that it was the height of abſurdity to deſire him to conſent to no peace till France were reduced to the ſame ſtate as at the treaty of the Pyrenees; "a determination fit only "for Almighty God, ſince none can tell the terms of peace, but "he who knows the events of war." He aſſured them, how-

[e] Journals, Jan. 28. [f] Ibid. Jan. 29. [g] Ibid. [h] Journals, Feb. 1.

ever, that, with a proper aid, he was willing to maintain the war till Europe ſhould be rendered independent of any ſingle prince: that if they would have him proceed in further alliances, they muſt furniſh him with ſpeedy ſupplies, as it was upon theſe alone he could form his meaſures [l].

They grant a ſupply.

THIS anſwer becoming a ſubject of debate, it was reſolved, by a conſiderable majority [k], to go upon a ſupply. The houſe voted, that ninety ſhips were neceſſary for the ſupport of his Majeſty's preſent alliance with the States of the United Provinces [l]. Twenty-ſix regiments of foot, conſiſting each of a thouſand men, four regiments of horſe, and two of dragoons, were voted for the ſame purpoſe [m]. An expreſs clauſe was annexed to each vote, ſignifying that the fleet and forces were both intended for preſerving Spaniſh Flanders, and leſſening the power of France. The monthly expence of the naval armament was computed to amount to little more than one hundred and eight thouſand pounds; that of the land-forces was calculated at near fifty thouſand [n]. No contingencies were allowed, no money for the tables of the principal officers. A million was voted for the ſervice, a ſum which would barely maintain for four months the force of the kingdom in a ſtate of abſolute inactivity. Twenty-five thouſand ſailors were voted for the uſe of the navy; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the nation for war, that the fleet was manned and the army complete in the ſpace of ſix weeks. Charles himſelf ſeemed to enter into the ſpirit of his ſubjects. Though not fond of the trouble of war, he was not averſe to its pomp; and he loved an army, as the obvious means of relieving him from his bondage to a parſimonious and, as he thought, an arrogant parliament.

Popular leaders intrigue with France.

THE great body of the nation being bent upon a war with France, to promote that meaſure was the avowed object of the

[l] Journals, Feb. 4. [k] 193 againſt 151. [l] Journals, Feb. 6.
[m] Ibid. Feb. 8. [n] Ibid. Feb. 14.

popular

CHAP. IV. 1678.

popular party. This ſcheme, however, was privately obſtructed by different perſons, from various views. Men who loved their country, were afraid that the King might make uſe of the army to enſlave the nation. Some oppoſed the court through faction, others from private ambition. The eagerneſs of a few well-meaning men, the avarice of ſeveral, and the profligacy of ſome in the oppoſition, opened a ſecret intelligence with France, through Barillon, her ambaſſador at the court of London. The allies had taught the French King to ſway the deliberations of the Engliſh parliament, by corrupting its members. Buckingham, Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, and Hollis, from their averſion to Charles and his miniſters, fell into the views of Lewis. They held private conferences with his agents[p], when they declaimed in public againſt his power. Some deſcended to the meanneſs of ſelling their votes for money; and thoſe who received no bribes themſelves, were privy to the corruption of others. Their ſuſpicions of Charles, perhaps, juſtified their oppoſition; and men of vehement paſſions might reconcile corruption itſelf to honour, when it proved the means of defeating the ſuppoſed projects of the King againſt public freedom.

Reflections.

MEN of undeviating honeſty are perhaps, of all others, the leaſt calculated for carrying forward their views in a political line. The ſtrict adherence to virtue, which is a part of their character, is more ſuitable to private life than to the tumult of public affairs. There muſt be a kind of want of ſincerity in that addreſs which obtains the name of parts. A perſon whoſe only view is the good of the people, muſt ſometimes uſe engines for accompliſhing his purpoſe, of which his own mind cannot ſtrictly approve. To lead a party, one muſt overlook the ſelfiſh views of individuals, and even accommodate himſelf to paſſions and prejudices which he may perhaps abhor and deſpiſe. The man whoſe ſqueamiſh virtue revolts at the profligacy of ſome members of his party, is fit only

[p] M. de Barillon, Mar. 14, N. S. 1678.

for mourning over the ruins of his country. Such is the excuſe of thoſe who thought it was from principle they joined with France againſt the King. His own example juſtified their uſing the ſame means which HE was known to have employed. He bought votes in the houſe of commons with French money; and thoſe who oppoſed his meaſures, met him in his own way. This refined reaſoning might weigh with a Lord Ruſſel. To gratify, by any means, their own reſentment, was ſufficient for a Buckingham and a Shafteſbury.

Secret intrigues

BUT notwithſtanding the public profeſſions of the leaders of oppoſition, there is reaſon to believe that their chief deſign was upon office. The new meaſures adopted by Charles, had deprived them, in ſome degree, of the ground on which they ſtood. The marriage of the Prince of Orange, the apparent vigour againſt the power of France, were calculated to gain the nation. The Earl of Danby was conſidered as the author of a change which, by being followed, might in time regain to the King and his councils that irreſiſtible popularity which he had once poſſeſſed. In the month of January, the Duke of Buckingham found means to have a ſecret conference with the King[q]. He made offers, it may be ſuppoſed, of the ſervice of the faction, and that being rejected, they formed a reſolution to ruin the treaſurer. In their eagerneſs to accompliſh this point, the Lord Ruſſel and other conſiderable men of the party ſent to the Duke of York in the month of April. They acquainted him, that if he would truſt them, and join with them in what they ſhould propoſe for the good of the King and the nation, they would undertake to take off the incapacity under which he lay of being Lord High Admiral, or of exerciſing any other public office. They promiſed, in ſhort, to do every thing to his ſatisfaction; but in return, they expected his concurrence

[q] James II. 1678.

CHAP. IV. 1678.

and aid in ruining the Lord-treaſurer. The Duke made anſwer, that he would heartily concur with them in any meaſure for the good of the King and the nation, but that he would not fall upon the King's miniſter, without the King's conſent, unleſs he were viſibly guilty of very great miſdemeanours [r].

of parties.

THE reſentment of the party againſt the Lord-treaſurer, and the favour of the Duke of York for him, proceeded from the ſame cauſe. Charles, in his great affection for Monmouth, had reſolved to conſtitute him commander in chief of all his forces. His vanity induced the Duke to magnify this mark of favour into a matter of much greater importance. In a conference which he had with ſome of the leaders of the popular party [s], he told them, that the King had promiſed to declare him Prince of Wales [t]. Colonel Birch was ſent to the treaſurer, to induce him to perſuade Charles to this meaſure. The treaſurer told Birch, that he was certain the King abhorred ſuch an untruth; and that he would never adviſe him to adopt a ſcheme at once dangerous to the kingdom and diſhonourable to himſelf. This declaration enraged the party, while it pleaſed the Duke of York. They reſolved to ruin him [u]; and they were bent ſo much on their purpoſe, that they ſhewed an inclination of gaining the favour of the Duke, who was Danby's great ſupport with the King. That miniſter induſtriouſly cultivated a good underſtanding with the Duke, though he afterwards endeavoured to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety [x].

Proceedings

THESE were the private motives which produced the public ferment in the houſe of commons. The popular party, with all their pretended eagerneſs for a war with France, clogged with clauſes every motion calculated to begin it with vigour. An addreſs to the King, adviſing him to declare war, was, on the fif-

[r] James II. 1678. [s] Ibid. [t] Ibid. [u] Ibid. [x] Ibid.

teenth of March, carried up to the lords, for their concurrence, by the Lord Ruſſel [y]. The peers ſent it down with amendments, and it was never preſented. On the twentieth of March the King gave his aſſent to the poll-bill; and ſeven days after, the two houſes adjourned to the eleventh, and afterwards to the twenty-ninth of April [z]. The chancellor, by command of his Majeſty, acquainted the parliament, that the Dutch were making preparations for a ſeparate peace, without either the privity or conſent of the King; and deſired the advice of the two houſes [a]. On the fourth of May, the commons reſolved, that the league with Holland was not purſuant to the addreſſes of their houſe, or conſiſtent with the ſafety of the kingdom [b]. They at the ſame time voted to adviſe the King to join with the confederates, and to enter into an immediate war with France. Charles, offended at theſe votes, eluded them, by declaring that he could take no notice of what was done by a ſingle houſe, becauſe the advice he wanted was to come from both houſes of parliament.

THE ill-humour of the commons proceeded not entirely from the machinations of the leaders of party. That there exiſted a kind of friendly correſpondence between Charles and France was ſuſpected at leaſt, if not known. Men who had no inclination to diſtreſs government, were offended at being made its tools, to procure money for a war which was never intended. Several who loved their country abetted the violence of the factious. On the tenth of May, an addreſs was preſented, which bore, that they conceived the preſent inconveniences might have been prevented, had his Majeſty accepted of the advice of his commons of the twenty-ſixth of the preceding May and the thirty-firſt of January [c]. They therefore requeſted, that he would remove from his councils thoſe who had adviſed his anſwers to their addreſſes. A

of the

[y] Journals, Mar. 15. [z] Ibid. [a] Ibid. Apr. 29. [b] Ibid. May 4.
[c] Ibid. May 10.

CHAP. IV. 1678.

clauſe was added, for removing the Duke of Lauderdale from the King's preſence for ever. The miniſtry and abettors of the crown oppoſed with vigour this addreſs. They divided the houſe upon each of the three paragraphs [d] of which the addreſs conſiſted; and the oppoſition gained the firſt by two votes, the ſecond by one, and the third only by three. The King was highly offended, and prorogued the parliament for ten days.

commons.

THEY met again on the twenty-third of May. The receſs had rather increaſed than diminiſhed the flame. The King, in a ſpeech, acquainted them, that he was reſolved either by war or peace to ſave Flanders; that in either of thoſe caſes, he thought it neceſſary to keep in readineſs the army and the navy; that he left it to his parliament to conſider of ſupplies, which were equally wanted, whether the forces were continued or diſmiſſed from the ſervice. It was reſolved by the commons to ſupport the King, if he would enter into a war with the French; otherwiſe they would conſider of providing for diſbanding the army. Charles informed them, that the French King had propoſed a ceſſation of arms, which he believed would end in a general peace. The commons immediately voted, that all forces levied ſince the twenty-ninth of the preceding September ſhould be paid off and diſbanded. Six hundred thouſand pounds were granted for that purpoſe. The King aſked in vain for a fund of three hundred thouſand pounds to ſupply the deficiency in his ſtanding revenue. He demanded, to no purpoſe, a ſupply to enable him to pay the portion of the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange. The ill humour of the commons continued. Altercation, rather than debate, filled their houſe with noiſe and tumult. The buſineſs of the nation was forgot in paſſion; and the people, as well as the King, were eaſed from trouble when the two houſes were adjourned, on the fifteenth of July [e].

[d] I. 176 againſt 174. II. 170 againſt 169. III. 169 againſt 166. [e] Journals.

CHAP. IV.

1678. Progreſs of France.

FRANCE availed herſelf of the diſſenſions which her agents had kindled in England. In a good correſpondence with Charles, and on the beſt terms with the popular party, ſhe had little to fear from meaſures carried on by the firſt with languor, and obſtructed with eagerneſs by the latter. Whilſt the eyes of the allies were turned toward the deliberations of parliament, the French took the field in Flanders. Ghent, inveſted on the fifth of March, ſurrendered on the ninth to the Mareſchal d'Humiers. Ypres, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, fell into the hands of Lewis. Though the commons ſeemed to be alarmed at theſe new conqueſts, no effectual meaſures were purſued for ſtopping the progreſs of France. Had the neceſſary ſupplies been granted, Charles, notwithſtanding his averſion to war, would have yielded to the voice of his ſubjects, and joined the allies. But the confederates, long divided in their councils, had at length begun to ſeparate their reſpective intereſts. The reſources of the Dutch had failed, through the great expence of the war, and the ruin which it had brought on their commerce. They had long diſcovered an inclination toward a ſeparate peace; and they now reſolved upon that meaſure, as they ſaw no proſpect of any effectual aſſiſtance from England to proſecute war.

Money-treaty

LEWIS, perceiving that he had little to dread from the two only powers who could ſtop his progreſs, aſſumed the tone of a conqueror. Inſtead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he formed for himſelf a plan of peace, which, by placing all the barrier towns of Flanders in his hands, left that country open to his future attacks. Though the King of England was fettered by his parliament, though his diſpoſition to peace was not unknown, Lewis thought it neceſſary to gain his conſent, by tempting his avarice. In the beginning of May, the French ambaſſador made propoſals to Charles, which were, toward the end of that month, carried

CHAP. IV. 1678.

carried into a formal treaty[f]. Three hundred thouſand pounds were to be paid to the King of France, upon condition of his neutrality, ſhould the allies refuſe to receive the terms of peace as already delivered at Nimeguen by the agents of Lewis. To this treaty a ſeparate article was annexed, the execution of which was to have been prior to the firſt payment of the ſubſidy. Charles was enjoined to diſband his new-raiſed troops to ſix thouſand men, one half of which was already in garriſon at Oſtend, and the other deſtined for the ſupreſſion of tumults in Scotland[g]. Beſides, he was to prorogue his parliament for four months; Lewis, notwithſtanding his connexion with the popular party, being afraid of a change of conduct in an aſſembly ſo fluctuating in their opinions.

with France.

THE King heſitated between the propoſals of France and the eagerneſs of England for a war. The conduct of the States put an end to his ſuſpence. They communicated to him their reſolution of concluding a ſeparate peace, upon the terms delivered at Nimeguen by the commiſſioners of France. This change in their opinions proceeded from other cauſes as well as from the exhauſted ſtate of their finances. The eagerneſs of the Prince of Orange for continuing the war, his late connexion with the royal line of England, the former influence of his family, and their frequent attempts on the liberties of a people whom they were choſen to defend, were placed in the moſt ſuſpicious light by the agents of France. The Louveſtein party, who had been cruſhed by the terrors of the vulgar, had recovered ſome of their former ſpirit, when the danger which gave birth to their fears was removed. Men who loved their country, ſaw with jealouſy the dangerous aſcendency which the Prince had acquired during the war; and they reſolved to take advantage of the general inclination for a

[f] Dalrymple's Append. p. 157.

[g] Ibid. p. 168.

peace,

CHAP. IV. 1678.

peace, the neceſſity, or at leaſt the expediency of which was now apparent to all. They inſinuated to the King of England, that they were diſpoſed to a peace. They ordered Van Beverning, their ambaſſador at Nimeguen, to proceed to Lewis at Ghent [h]; and, as a preparatory ſtep to a general peace, to conclude a truce for ſix weeks with that monarch.

Charles offended.

THE King, apprized of this event, accepted of the propoſals of France in a formal treaty. It was ſigned by himſelf; the miniſter having declined to hazard his name to a tranſaction which might be attended with peril [i]. The article concerning the diſbanding of the troops lately raiſed to ſix thouſand men, and the prorogation of the parliament for four months, was annexed as a condition neceſſarily prior to the payment of the money, and ſigned only by the French ambaſſador. In the mean time, a general peace advanced to a concluſion at Nimeguen. Of all the towns taken during the war by the French in Flanders, ſix only, and theſe of no great conſequence, were to be reſtored to Spain. Ypres, Condè, Valenciennes, and Tournay, were to remain to France. Flanders was left expoſed by a treaty which placed the whole ſtrength of its frontier in the hands of Lewis. A peace which promiſed no ſecurity to the allies, and which raiſed the power of France, was received with great murmurs in England. The inactivity and negligence of Charles were blamed, his ſecret concurrence ſuſpected, and his whole conduct arraigned. He had loſt the parliament, and now he was likely to loſe the people. He regretted the opportunity which he had neglected; and he began heartily to wiſh that he had adopted in fact thoſe vigorous meaſures which he pretended to purſue.

concludes an alliance with the Dutch.

AN accident ſeemed to offer that opportunity which he had loſt. The day before [k] the treaty was to have been ſigned at Nimeguen,

[h] Hume, vol. viii. [i] Dalrymple's Append. p. 159. [k] June 29.

the

CHAP. IV. 1678.

the Marquis de Balbaces, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſignified an inclination to know at what time Lewis intended to reſtore the towns in Flanders which were to be returned to the crown of Spain. The ambaſſadors of France, without heſitation, replied, that the reſtitution ſhould not take place till all that was loſt by Sweden to Denmark and the Elector of Brandenburgh ſhould be reſtored. The Spaniſh and Dutch plenipotentiaries refuſed to ſign the treaty, upon ſuch vague and indefinite conditions. Charles, apprized of this circumſtance, exhibited ſymptoms of aſtoniſhment and rage. He ſaw that, from being the umpire of the differences of Europe, he had fallen under the contempt of France. He diſpatched Temple to the States. That miniſter, in the ſpace of ſix days, concluded a treaty at the Hague [l], by which England and Holland were mutually bound to proſecute with vigour the war, in caſe Lewis ſhould refuſe to evacuate the ſix towns within a limited time [m]. The parliament, which was ſtill ſitting, did not ſecond this new ardour of Charles. The popular party were leſs jealous of France than they were of their native ſovereign. The commons refuſed ſupplies. They even had come to a reſolution to permit no motion for money to be made in their houſe till after a receſs [n].

Treaty of Nimeguen.

THE coldneſs of the commons, and his own fluctuating diſpoſition, ſoon changed the reſolutions of the King. He repented of a treaty which threatened to involve him in a war, for which he was provided with no reſources. He took meaſures [o] to perſuade the ambaſſador of Sweden at Nimeguen not to inſiſt upon the retention of the towns in Flanders, as a pledge for thoſe which his maſter had loſt. He even diſcovered an inclination to enter, at the expence of France, into an actual war in favour of Sweden [p]. The firſt meaſure muſt be attributed to the neceſſities of his ſitua-

[l] July 26. [m] Aug. 10. N. S. [n] Journals.
[o] Temple. [p] Dalrymple's Append. p. 178.

tion,

tion, the latter to his deſire of keeping in pay a conſiderable force. This fluctuation of councils alarmed the Dutch, and terrified the French. The firſt could not depend on the ſupport of Charles, nor the latter on his neutrality. The States were too weary of hoſtilities to renew them with ſuch an uncertain ally; and the prize obtained by France by the propoſed treaty was too great to be thrown back into the wheel. Both ſides made advances in private toward a peace. The eleventh of Auguſt was the laſt day appointed by the treaty of the Hague for receiving the ultimate determination of France. In the morning of that day, the French ambaſſadors deſiſted from their reſolution of retaining the ſix towns; and, before twelve at night, a ſeparate treaty was ſigned between Lewis and the States. 1678.

Battle of St. Dennis.

EUROPE exclaimed againſt a treaty which reſtored every thing to the Dutch, whilſt it deprived their allies of a part of their dominions. Thoſe who lay the whole blame on the fluctuating councils of Charles, have not diſcovered all the truth. The country-party, if that appellation may be uſed with regard to Holland, were the makers of a peace, which was to deprive the Prince of Orange of a part of his dangerous power. HIS eagerneſs for continuing the war was THEIR chief inducement to bring it to a ſpeedy concluſion. His friends obſtructed the treaty with all their influence. He himſelf took an unjuſtifiable ſtep to break it after it was made. The French, under Luxembourg, had held Mons for ſome time in blockade. In a daily expectation of a peace, they made no motion for puſhing their operations with vigour. The Prince, having received intelligence of the treaty being ſigned, was fired with diſappointment and reſentment. On the fourteenth of Auguſt, he fell upon the French with the utmoſt courage. Their advantageous ſituation and the conduct of Luxembourg prevented a defeat. The lives of thouſands were thrown away to no purpoſe. The Prince gained no victory, and he loſt

CHAP. IV. 1678.

reputation by a breach of public faith. His conduct was inexcuſable upon the occaſion. A copy, or, as ſome ſay, the original treaty [q], was in his pocket when he fought at St. Dennis. But he hoped, if ſucceſsful, to encourage his countrymen to diſavow terms, of which he himſelf could never approve; or he wiſhed to put an end, with ſome renown, to a war, in which his ſucceſs had not been anſwerable to his aſſiduity and courage.

Charles endeavours to break the peace of Nimeguen, in vain.

CHARLES, when he received information of the peace of Nimeguen, demanded from France [r] the money ſtipulated to be paid for his neutrality, by his treaty with Lewis of the twenty-ſeventh of May. He had not kept his part of the terms; and his penſion was, with juſtice, refuſed. Diſappointed by what he deemed a breach of faith, he flew into rage againſt the French. He diſpatched Mr. Hyde to the States, to endeavour to perſuade them to diſavow their miniſter at Nimeguen. He promiſed, if the Dutch would join him, to declare an immediate war; and to ſupport it with the utmoſt vigour, till France ſhould be reduced to terms of more advantage to Europe. He ordered troops to embark for Flanders. He haſtened his ſhips to ſea. The whole nation bore the appearance of inſtant hoſtilities. But the States were not to be moved. They approved of the conduct of their ambaſſador, and they ratified the treaty. The Spaniards and the Empire were ſoon obliged to accept of peace, upon the terms ſettled between Lewis and Holland. The allies were highly offended at the conduct of the Dutch. His own ſubjects, as well as the confederates, blamed the fluctuating councils of Charles. The firſt ſacrificed the intereſt of their friends to their own eaſe. The latter, from being the umpire of Europe, became, through a mean love of money, ingloriouſly ſubſervient to a power whom, by a more politic conduct, he might command. But he made one falſe ſtep,

[q] James II. 1678.

[r] Dalrymple's Append. p. 180.

which

which he could not recover; and having loſt his conſequence at home, he could never regain his importance abroad. CHAP. IV. 1678.

Though the war, which terminated with the peace of Nimeguen, was inglorious to the allies, it threw much leſs honour on French councils than on the French arms. Succeſsful almoſt on every ſide, the King of France ſeemed only ſolicitous to over-run countries for the pleaſure of evacuating them again. He gained Holland without bloodſhed, and he loſt it without a battle. Having reduced Sicily, with ſome actions of renown, he relinquiſhed that iſland without any apparent cauſe. The unſteady meaſures of the King of England, the impatience of the States for peace, the extreme debility of Spain, which added her own want of reſources to the feebleneſs of the government of Charles the Second, preſented at laſt a field for Lewis, which he improved with more prudence than he had employed in conducting the war. His acquiſitions in Flanders laid open the remaining part of that country to conqueſt. The ſeizure of Lorrain and the ceſſion of Franche-Comté expoſed the Netherlands on the one ſide, and the Empire on the other, to a French invaſion. But all theſe advantages neither anſwered the expectations of Lewis at the beginning of the war, nor ſupplied the loſs ſuſtained by France during its progreſs. In ſubſidies to England, in ſupporting his ally the King of Sweden, and in the extraordinary expence of his own army, he ſquandered near twenty millions ſterling, while his gains could not be eſtimated at a twentieth part of that ſum. But his chief loſs was that of reputation. He gained no fame as a warrior in the field; and he loſt all credit as a King, by his diſregard to the faith of treaties. Reflections on the peace with regard to France.

The eagerneſs of Charles for a war with France muſt, in ſome meaſure, be aſcribed to a perſonal reſentment againſt Lewis. However careleſs he might be in his conduct toward others, he affected Cauſe of Charles's eagerneſs for war.

CHAP. IV.

1678.

to treat the French King with the moſt ſcrupulous honour. He found, at length, that Lewis ended his attention where his own intereſt ceaſed. When the Engliſh troops, whoſe valour had contributed ſo much to his victories, were recalled, they met rather with indignity, than thoſe generous marks of favour which their ſervice deſerved. Though reduced to one half of their number in the war, ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence only was given to men diſbanded in Dauphiny and Burgundy [s]. The King was highly offended at this inſtance of meanneſs. His brother was enraged. In June, the Duke received letters from the officers, complaining of this unworthy treatment; and, at that very time, intelligence arrived from Nimeguen, that Lewis, by an invaſion, had refuſed to deliver the ſtipulated towns to the Spaniards. Charles derived ſpirit from his reſentment. The Duke ſeconded his brother's ardour. He even ſeems, for this and other reaſons, to have harboured an averſion to the intereſts of France, which, with his uſual obſtinacy, he entertained for ſome years [t]. His cloſe correſpondence with the Prince of Orange proves that he entered heartily into his views [u]. Beſides, he wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf in a popular war, to regain ſome part of that confidence which had been loſt through his ridiculous adherence to the Romiſh faith.

His neutrality beneficial to England.

THOUGH the neutrality, which Charles obſerved with ſo much attention, was inglorious to himſelf, it was advantageous, in the reſult, to his people. The ſums obtained from France, the money extorted at the peace from the States, the ſuppoſed remittances of the latter, and the ſecret penſions from Spain, were more than an equivalent for the ſupplies raiſed on the ſubject for the ſupport of the war. Beſides, by being expended on the navy, the ſums granted by parliament reverted to the channels from which they came. Commerce, which had flouriſhed greatly ſince the Reſto-

[s] James II. 1678. [t] Ibid. 1680. [u] Vid. James II. paſſim.

ration,

ration, was both encouraged and protected. The trade of England extended itſelf through Europe, whilſt other powers were exhauſting their reſources in a fruitleſs war. Had Charles followed the inclinations of his people, had he ſtudied his own glory, he would have weakened his kingdom with expence, before its proſperity was confirmed by the induſtry of the people. Theſe advantages were not then ſeen. The nation, jealous of the power of France, were eager for a war, in which, however, glory might be attended with ruin. The King, it muſt be confeſſed, derives no credit from an inactivity which ultimately proved a benefit to his ſubjects.

State of public opinion.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vehemence exhibited by Charles for joining himſelf to the allies, he was never thought ſincere. His partiality to France during the war, the obſtinacy with which he had reſiſted the cries of his people, and the addreſſes of his parliament, had confirmed the nation in an opinion, that he never intended to ſeparate his intereſt from Lewis. He had uſed deception ſo often, that the more popular his meaſures appeared, the more they were the objects of fear. When he ſhewed an eagerneſs for war, it was conſtrued into an artifice to gain ſupplies. His pacific diſpoſition was invariably aſcribed to his cordial union with France. His brother's avowed attachment to the church of Rome implied his own indifference to the Proteſtant religion. Dark ſurmiſes were propagated, and received with eagerneſs every where. Political diſtruſt was improved by the arts of the factious and the whiſpers of party-men. Silence, rather than peace, prevailed. Mankind were taught to look up to the Sovereign and his family as the enemies of their religious and civil liberty; and they would even be diſappointed, if no ſymptoms of danger to either appeared from a quarter ſo much ſuſpected.

CHAP. IV.

1678. Popiſh plot. Titus Otes,

SUCH was the ſtate of public opinion when the firſt reports of a Popiſh plot were heard. A brief detail of the circumſtances, as they have ſince appeared, will throw more light on the ſubject, than a narration of the facts as they gradually roſe to view. Titus Otes, the chief actor in this pernicious impoſture, was the ſon of a ribbon-weaver, who afterwards became an Anabaptiſt preacher, and ſerved as chaplain to one of Cromwell's regiments ſtationed in Scotland. The ſon was bred at Merchant-Taylors ſchool in the city. He afterwards ſtudied at Cambridge. Having left that univerſity, with neither the reputation of learning, nor the character of virtue, he ſlipt into orders, and officiated as curate for his father, who poſſeſſed a living; having conformed to the church of England at the Reſtoration. He afterwards enjoyed the ſmall vicarage of Hobbing in Kent. He removed from thence to another in Suſſex; and having inſinuated himſelf into the Duke of Norfolk's family, he came to London. In that city he abandoned himſelf to every vice, and was reduced to every ſpecies of diſtreſs. He was proſecuted for perjury; but he eſcaped. He ſerved as chaplain on board a man of war; but he was diſmiſſed for an unnatural crime. He returned to London, the former ſcene of his wickedneſs and miſery, and was reduced to beggary and rags, when his fortune threw him into the acquaintance of one Dr. Tong, a city divine [x].

Tong, and Kirby,

TONG, whom Otes had choſen for his patron, was ſcarce leſs abandoned or leſs wicked than himſelf. Under the government of Cromwell, he endeavoured to deſtroy the two univerſities, by miſrepreſenting them to the prevailing powers [y]. He was expelled from the garriſon of Tangier, where he officiated as chaplain, for various miſdemeanours and evil practices [z]. In his diſpoſition buſy and intriguing, by nature credulous, reſtleſs, hu-

[x] Echard, Burnet, L'Eſtrange, James II. Kennet, &c.
[y] James II. 1678. [z] Ibid.

CHAP. IV. 1678.

mourſome, a lover of miſchief, as he enjoyed the misfortunes of mankind. To ſpread ſcandal was his great amuſement, and to form plots, or ſuſpect them in others, his chief delight. He was poſſeſſed of a moderate degree of learning, and he had a turn for chemiſtry. This latter qualification introduced him to the acquaintance of one Kirby, a broken merchant, whoſe knowledge in chemical operations opened to him acceſs to the King, who took great pleaſure in that ſtudy. This connexion with Kirby he afterwards improved, in forwarding his own deſigns. Averſe, from enthuſiaſm, to the papiſts, and ſuſpecting, from wickedneſs as well as prejudice, their deſigns againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, his whole converſation turned upon their ſuppoſed plots, conſpiracies, and treaſons [a].

form a pretended plot.

HAVING, under a pretence of charity, entertained Otes for ſome time, he found him a bold and an impudent man, a perſon who ſhrunk from no undertaking, as he was poſſeſſed of no ſolid underſtanding to foreſee difficulties. He told him, that ſeveral plots had been formed in England to introduce popery; and that in all probability one exiſted at preſent to accompliſh the ſame purpoſe. He adviſed him to reconcile himſelf to the Romiſh church, to go beyond ſeas, to enter into the ſociety of the Jeſuits. He aſſured him, that if he could diſcover the exiſtence of a real plot, or even to procure names upon which an ideal one might be formed, his fortune and preferment were made. Otes followed implicitly the directions of his patron. He became a Papiſt and a Jeſuit. He went in the April of 1677 to Valladolid, in Spain. After ſix months he returned to England. Having remained one month at home, he repaired to the Engliſh ſeminary of Jeſuits, at St. Omers. His bad behaviour ſoon brought upon him the diſpleaſure of the college; they diſmiſſed him; and he returned to

[a] Echard, Burnet, Hume, James II.

England

CHAP. IV. 1678.

England in the July of this preſent year, having added reſentment againſt the whole order to his own wicked deſigns [b].

which is communicated to the King.

OTES, repairing to his friend, Dr. Tong, communicated to that credulous and reſtleſs ſpirit all the materials which he had collected abroad. In frequent conferences in the city, and in a retired lodging, at the houſe of one Lambert, a bell-founder, at Vauxhall, they framed narratives of a popiſh plot, to murder the King, to ſubvert the government, and to re-eſtabliſh the Catholic faith in the kingdom, Having arranged, to their own ſatisfaction, the particulars of the intended impoſture, Tong prevailed on his friend, Kirby, to carry inſinuations of a plot to the King, to whom he was perſonally known. On the twelfth of Auguſt, as Charles, according to his daily cuſtom, was walking in the Park, Kirby addreſſed him abruptly, deſired him to keep within the company, aſſuring him that his enemies had an immediate deſign upon his life. Charles, who was not to be eaſily alarmed with a plot, inquiring the reaſon of ſuch a ſtrange piece of intelligence, was informed by Kirby, that one Doctor Tong knew the whole affair; and whom, if permitted, he would bring in perſon before the King.

By an artifice brought before

TONG being introduced to his Majeſty the next day, delivered into his own hands a narrative of a plot, reduced under forty-three heads. The King, preparing to ſet out for Windſor, ſlightly peruſed the paper, and ordered Tong to carry it to the Lord-treaſurer Danby [c]. That nobleman, more credulous than his maſter, or hoping to derive ſecurity to himſelf from a circumſtance which promiſed to turn the attention of the nation to another object [d], treated Tong's information more ſeriouſly than it ſeemed to deſerve. Encouraged by the countenance of the mi-

[b] Vide Danby's Memoirs, p. 34, &c. [c] Danby's Memoirs. [d] James II.

niſter,

CHAP. IV. 1673.

niſter, the Doctor plied the King with freſh informations and further importunities, till toward the end of September: but inſtead of gaining credit by additional confirmations and new diſcoveries, the penetrating eyes of Charles perceived that the whole was a groſs impoſture. The plot, were it not for an accident, would have ſunk in oblivion, through the King's diſregard to a tale whoſe contradictory circumſtances had rendered it incredible. Tong, in a letter to the treaſurer, informed him, on the twenty-eighth of September, that a packet written by Jeſuits, concerning the plot, was ſent by the poſt to Windſor, addreſſed to one Bedingfield, confeſſor to the Duke of York. Danby, who was then in Oxfordſhire, repaired to court; but before his arrival, Bedingfield communicated the packet, which appeared to be forged, to the Duke, who immediately carried it to the King [f].

the council. First narrative.

THIS incident confirmed Charles in his belief of an impoſture. But the Duke, who had not heard till that hour [g] the leaſt ſurmiſe of the plot, inſiſted upon a thorough inquiry into the pretended conſpiracy before the council. Danby, willing to throw the whole into parliament [h], ſeconded the vehemence of the Duke. The council ſat upon the buſineſs. Kirby, Tong, and Otes were brought before them; the plot made a noiſe, and the whole nation was ſoon alarmed. On the thirteenth of October [i], Otes, the chief actor in this pernicious farce, related his whole ſtory before the council. The ſum of this impoſtor's information conſiſted chiefly of the following articles: he told the board, that he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many conſultations among the Jeſuits, for the aſſaſſination of his Majeſty. Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jeſuit, the other a lay-brother

[f] James II. 1678. [g] Ibid. Danby's Mem. [h] James II. [i] Ibid.

CHAP. IV. 1678.

of the ſame order, were firſt appointed to ſhoot the King; but afterwards it was reſolved to diſpatch him with poiſon, by the means of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician, and a papiſt. Many Jeſuits, he ſaid, in diſguiſe, had gone to Scotland, to diſtract the government of that country, by preaching ſedition in the field conventicles. He affirmed, that, in proſecution of the great deſign, he had viſited St. Omers, Paris, and even Spain, by command.

Otes's evidence ſuſpected.

WITH many letters and directions, he affirmed that he himſelf had returned to England. That in a tavern behind St. Clement's church, in the Strand, he aſſiſted at a conſultation of fifty Jeſuits; and that he carried their reſolutions from room to room. He informed the board, that in this aſſembly it was determined to diſpatch the King by the dagger, by ſhooting, or by poiſon. That when he was buſy in collecting evidence for a full diſcovery, he was ſuſpected, and was obliged to ſeparate himſelf from their meetings to ſave his own life. This ſtory he related with ſuch circumſtances, that on the firſt day of his examination before the council, he gained ſome credit[1]. But when he was croſs-examined, the villany began to appear. The letters ſent to Bedingfield being produced, he affirmed that he knew them to be of the hand-writing of thoſe from whom they were pretended to come. But one letter, ſaid to be written by Blundel, an Engliſh Jeſuit, appeared, to the conviction of all preſent, to be in the ſame hand with Dr. Tong's depoſition. Beſides, the letters carried on their face the evidence of forgery. They were full of falſe ſpelling, no points, no marks of diſtinction, no air of coming from men of buſineſs. Treaſon was written in plain terms. No double meaning was uſed, nothing tending to deception or to the preven-

[1] James II. 1678.

tion

tion of diſcovery. It was thought impoſſible that five perſons, and thoſe at different places, and natives of different countries, could agree in the ſame falſe Engliſh, write on paper with the ſame mark, of the ſame ſize, and uſe the ſame expreſſions, the ſame affected cant. CHAP. IV. 1678.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe and various other proofs of an impoſture, which aroſe to view from the examination of Otes, the council iſſued orders for ſeizing ſuch accuſed perſons as were then in London. A guard, led by the informer, was ſent in ſearch of ſeveral Jeſuits and their papers. During three days he was almoſt perpetually employed, either in apprehending the accuſed, or in attending the council. Sir George Wakeman was ſeized, and Coleman, late ſecretary to the Dutcheſs of York. Langhorne, an eminent counſellor at law, was apprehended; eight Jeſuits, Whitbread, Turner, Marſhal, Ireland, Gavan, Rumley, Corker, and Pickering were ſeized. Theſe were the principal perſons in England who were accuſed by Otes, in his firſt examination, of being privy to the Popiſh plot. The meaſures of the council in an inſtant alarmed the nation. The city was all in a ferment. Apprehenſion and terror flew over the whole country. Every perſon was now employed either in hearing or telling ſtrange reports. The truth was magnified by the fears of the people. The moſt groſs inventions, the moſt improbable fictions were received as certain fact. Idle rumours coinciding with the former jealouſies of men, were implicitly believed; and the whole people wore the appearance of public miſery and diſtreſs. Several perſons ſeized.

IN the midſt of this terror and ſuſpenſe, ſome collateral incidents ſeemed to place the truth of a plot beyond diſpute, in the eyes of a credulous people. Coleman, before his houſe was ſearched, found means to convey away his letters for the two laſt Coleman's letters.

CHAP. IV. 1678.

years, together with his book of entries. In his confuſion he left in a drawer ſome copies of letters, which he had written to Father la Chaiſe, the French King's confeſſor, to the Pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, and to other Catholics abroad. Theſe were found, examined, and publiſhed. Coleman, a man of a weak underſtanding, was a bigot, to the laſt degree of enthuſiaſm, in the Romiſh faith. Sanguine beyond meaſure, through the fury of his zeal, he inſinuated, in a kind of incoherent jargon, the great expectations which he entertained of the converſion of the three Britiſh kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Proteſtant religion, which this fooliſh zealot called a peſtilent hereſy. He built his hopes on the zeal of the Duke of York, and ſpoke in indefinite and obſcure terms of aids from abroad, to accompliſh what he denominated a glorious work. He inſinuated in other letters, that the intereſts of the French and Engliſh royal families, and thoſe of the Romiſh faith, were inſeparable. He propoſed to la Chaiſe to procure a remittance of three hundred thouſand pounds from France for the diſſolution of the parliament; which meaſure would greatly forward their views. This buſy and weak enthuſiaſt ſeems to have gleaned hints of the money-negociations then ſubſiſting between Charles and Lewis, and to have founded upon that circumſtance a romantic ſcheme, which exiſted only in his own diſtempered imagination [m].

Godfrey's murder.

THOUGH Coleman's letters bore no relation to the plot diſcovered by Otes, they ſeemed to infer, that a deſign of the ſame kind had been formerly in agitation. Some concluded they were the beginning of a chain of correſpondence, which came down to the preſent times. They ſuppoſed that the ſubſequent letters contained a full information of a plot, as yet very imperfectly known. This incident was followed by another, which put an

[m] Vid. Coleman's Letters.

end

CHAP. IV. 1678.

end to every doubt. On the ſixth of September [n], Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a man of a good character, but of a melancholy diſpoſition, who had acted many years as a juſtice of the peace in Weſtminſter, was prevailed upon by ſome of the popular party to ſwear Otes to the firſt narrative delivered to the King by Doctor Tong. On the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, he took again the oath of Otes to the ſame paper, with what he denominated freſh and further informations. Theſe depoſitions were preſented on the ſame day to the King and council by Tong. Godfrey, on Saturday the twelfth of October, ſuddenly diſappeared. No tidings were heard of him till Thurſday the ſeventeenth, when he was found dead in a ditch near Primroſe-hill, on the way to Hampſtead, with his ſword run through his body. No blood appeared on his clothes. His money was in his pocket, his rings on his fingers, his ſhoes were clean. His gloves and his cane lay near him on the ground. His neck, from its limberneſs and diſtortion, a circumſtance even common in a natural death, and the appearance of ſtagnated blood all round his throat, confirmed mankind in the opinion that he was ſtrangled [o].

Conſternation of the people.

THE whole city poured round the body, which lay expoſed to public view for two whole days. Every one concluded that Godfrey was murdered by the Papiſts, for taking the oath of Otes concerning a plot in which they were deemed to be all concerned. The paſſions of the populace were raiſed to a degree of madneſs, by the moving ſight of the body. The ſpirits of the better ſort were inflamed by terror, ſurmiſes, and ſuſpicions. The evidence of Otes, with all its contradictions and abſurdities, was implicitly ſwallowed by all degrees of people. Men, who preſumed to reaſon on the ſubject, were hated like accomplices in the plot. The whole ran down in one torrent on the ſide of a Popiſh con-

[n] L'Eſtrange's Caſe, &c.

[o] Trials.

ſpiracy,

CHAP. IV. 1678.

ſpiracy. Charles, perceiving that it was dangerous, if not impoſſible, to oppoſe the ſtream, added his own force to its violence. He no longer ſeemed to form a doubt on a ſubject which his penetrating judgment could never permit him to believe. He iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of five hundred pounds to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the murder; and, as it had been inſinuated that many might be kept from giving their evidence through fear, he promiſed all ſecurity to the perſons of the diſcoverers. The alarm ſpread from London through the whole kingdom. The buſineſs of life was interrupted by confuſion, panic, clamour, dreadful rumours; and the unfortunate Catholics began to be afraid of the maſſacre, of the deſign of which they themſelves were accuſed [p].

Reflections on Godfrey's death.

NOTWITHSTANDING the temporary belief of a whole people, the death of Godfrey ceaſed, ſoon after, to be aſcribed to the Papiſts. That ſect could entertain no motive of offence againſt a juſtice of the peace, for executing a duty which, from his office, he could not refuſe. Inſtead of officiouſly inquiring into the matter, it is certain that he was, with much difficulty, prevailed upon to ſwear Otes. He put no interrogatories to the informer. He only received his oath upon a written narrative, which was already no ſecret. Beſides, Godfrey was known to be on the beſt terms with the Catholics. He was intimate with Coleman. He never executed with rigour the laws againſt the ſect. The evidence given, ſoon after, of the murder, is now exploded, with the other perjuries of that diſgraceful and profligate period. Thoſe who profited firſt by the plot might with moſt reaſon be ſuſpected of Godfrey's death; yet a charge of ſo deep a dye muſt never be admitted, without direct and poſitive evidence. A great uſe, it is certain, was made of this incident by the po-

[p] Vid. Auct. citat. paſſim.

pular

pular party. They carried the body, in a long and melancholy proceſſion, through London. They buried it with every ceremony calculated to excite pity and rouſe terror. They tampered with the witneſſes, who ſwore that they were privy to the murder. But as Godfrey was of a diſconſolate ſtate of mind, his death may, with more juſtice, be aſcribed to his own melancholy, than to the wickedneſs of other men [q].

[q] L'Eſtrange, Contin. of Baker, et Auct. citat. James II. to the Prince of Orange.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Popiſh plot abetted by all.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Their violence and fears.——Attack on the Duke of York.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Bill to diſable Papiſts.——Bedloe's evidence.——Queen accuſed.——Coleman and others condemned.——Accuſation and impeachment of Danby.——Reflections.——Parliament prorogued.——Diſtracted ſtate of the nation.——Parliament diſſolved.——Duke of York withdraws.——Monmouth declared illegitimate.——Intrigues with France.——New parliament.——Difference concerning a ſpeaker.——Violence of the commons.——Danby proſecuted.——A new council.——Propoſal of limitations.——Bill of excluſion.——Reſolution againſt Biſhops.——Habeas-corpus act.——Condemnation of Jeſuits.——Langhorn condemned.——Parliament diſſolved.——Affairs of Scotland.——Murder of Sharpe.——Rout at Bothwell-Bridge.——Affairs of Ireland.——State of parties and opinions.——King's ſickneſs.——Duke of York returns.——Monmouth diſgraced.——The Duke of York in Scotland.——Monmouth returns, without leave.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——The King's firmneſs.——Meal-tub plot.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange——A change in the miniſtry.——Some members of the council reſign.——Secret views of the Prince of Orange.——Petitioners and abhorrers.——Whigs and Tories.——Duke of York returns.——He is preſented for recuſancy.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth's progreſs.——Policy of the King.——The Duke retires.——A parliament.——Violence of the commons.——Prince of Orange's negociations with the houſe of Lunenburgh.——Bill of excluſion.——Rejected by the lords.——Violent proceedings of the commons.——They animadvert on the abhorrers. Impeach the judges.——Trial and execution of Stafford.——

Extraordinary

Extraordinary votes.——Parliament prorogued.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Parliament diſſolved.——Firmneſs and views of the King.——Negociation with France.——Fitz-Harris's libel.——A parliament at Oxford.——Violence of the commons.——A quarrel between the houſes.——Bill of excluſion.——Parliament diſſolved.——Conſternation of the popular party.

CHAP. V.

1678. Popiſh plot abetted by Danby.

THOUGH the Popiſh plot was abetted by the popular party through faction, it received its chief ſupport from the arts of the miniſter, the Earl of Danby. Suſpecting the attachment of the King to his perſon, he had ceaſed to act heartily in his ſervice ever ſince the beginning of the preſent year[r]. The Duke of Buckingham, to whom he partly owed his place, had added ill offices to the enmity which the proud give in return for favours too great for common gratitude. He had, in the preceding January, found means to be admitted to the King in private, with propoſals from the leaders of oppoſition, promiſing every thing for the diſgrace of the treaſurer[s]. Danby, hated by the country-party, and uncertain of the protection of Charles, employed all his thoughts for ſecuring himſelf. He ſeized with eagerneſs the Popiſh plot, as at once the proof of his attachment to the eſtabliſhed church, and the probable means of diverting the ſtorm, which was ready to fall on his own head. When it was propoſed in council by the Duke of York and by Lauderdale to put an end to the plot, by a thorough examination, he evaded the motion, and encouraged the King to follow his diverſions at Newmarket till the time was paſt[t]. Had the improbable fictions of Otes been ſearched to the bottom before the credulity of the nation was alarmed, the ruin which fell on individuals, and the miſchiefs that threatened the people, might have been entirely prevented[u].

[r] James II. 1678. [s] Ibid. [t] Ibid. [u] Ibid.

CHAP. V.

1678. Parliament meets.

BUT the treaſurer, having reſolved to throw the whole of that intricate buſineſs into parliament, was unwilling to remove the veil from the eyes of a credulous people. To continue the deluſion, by encouraging the profligate to perjuries, rewards were offered for oaths and evidence. Otes himſelf was lodged in the palace, where he lived at a conſiderable expence to the King. Indemnity, money, and even applauſe, were held forth as incitements to iniquity; and mankind were prepared, by their fears, to give credit to the moſt improbable lies. In this ſituation of affairs, the parliament met on the twenty-firſt of October. The King told them in his ſpeech, that the part which he had acted for preſerving the neighbouring powers, and ſecuring Flanders, was ſufficiently known, without enlarging on that ſubject. He excuſed his not diſbanding the army, by the effect which that meaſure had to ſupport the ſpirits of his friends, and to leſſen the demands of their enemies. He complained of the expence of the troops to his ſtanding revenue. He earneſtly demanded an immediate ſupply. He informed them of the Popiſh plot; but he forbore to offer his opinion. He ſaid, that he left the whole to the law; that, however, he ſhould take effectual means to prevent foreigners from introducing Popery. He recommended to them his own concerns. He mentioned the deficiency in the poll-bill, and the anticipations on his revenue; and he concluded with a deſire that they would conſider his neceſſities with that duty and affection which he was certain of deriving from their loyalty [x].

Their violence

POPULAR aſſemblies are truly the repreſentatives of the people, in their violence and fears. The madneſs which had ſeized the nation raged with redoubled fury in parliament. The two houſes went inſtantly into a flame. The reſt of the King's ſpeech was in a moment forgotten. The plot at once engroſſed the attention

[x] Journals, October 21, 1678.

CHAP. V. 1678.

and awakened the fears of all. The commons voted an immediate addreſs for all papers relating to the diſcovery made by Otes [y]. The lords ſent down a meſſage for the concurrence of the lower houſe in an addreſs for a day of faſting and humiliation. Both houſes joined in a requeſt for removing all Catholics beyond ten miles from London [z]. On the third day of their meeting, the commons began to inquire into Godfrey's murder. They addreſſed the King to give orders to the lord-chamberlain to permit no unknown perſons to come to his preſence [a]. They ordered the ſerjeant at arms to bring Otes before them. They heard with attention an account given by Doctor Tong, relating to the firing of London, twelve years before [b]. They greedily liſtened to Otes. Contradictions, impoſſibilities, and abſurdities, were ſwallowed without examination. The reign of reaſon was paſt. Paſſion, credulity, violence, prevailed. The honeſt and timid were frightened by ſurmiſes. Men of penetration were obliged to diſſemble, and the factious enjoyed the ſtorm.

with regard to the plot.

OTES, on the twenty-eighth of October, made a new edition of his diſcovery, at the bar of the houſe of commons. He ſaw that his former narrative, wild and incredible as it had been, was received with avidity; and that even the reſemblance of truth was no longer neceſſary to gain credit to his tales. The Pope, he affirmed, had declared England his kingdom, and had actually ſent over commiſſions to ſeveral perſons to govern his new dominions in his name. He had made, according to this impudent impoſtor, the Lord Arundel of Wardour, chancellor; the Earl of Powis, treaſurer; the Lord Bellaſis, general; the Viſcount Stafford, paymaſter of the forces; Sir William Godolphin, the ambaſſador in Spain, privy-ſeal; Coleman, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Francis Radcliffe, a major-general; and Langhorne, advocate-general. The famous Lambert, then oppreſſed with idiotiſm in his priſon at

[y] Journals, Oct. 21, 1678. [z] Ibid. [a] Ibid. Oct. 24. [b] Ibid. Oct. 26.

CHAP. V. 1678.

Guernſey, was made adjutant-general to the Pope's army, in his ideal kingdom. This ridiculous diſcovery was, on the ſame day [c], ſucceeded by Coleman's letters; which, though they related in no circumſtance to the preſent plot, confirmed its certainty to the parliament. They reſolved, without one diſſenting voice, that it appeared to the conviction of both lords and commons, "that there has been, and ſtill is a *damnable* and *helliſh* plot, contrived and carried on by the Papiſts, for murdering the King, for ſubverting the government, and for deſtroying the Proteſtant religion [d]."

Their abſurd fears.

THE vehement zeal of the two houſes, preſented to their diſtempered imaginations a new gun-powder plot. On the firſt of November, a committee was appointed to inquire into ſome ſtrange knockings and noiſes that were ſaid to have been heard in the night in the Old Palace-yard. This committee was inſtructed to ſearch all houſes near the two houſes of parliament. But though the Earl of Shafteſbury was one of the number, nothing that could be conſtrued into danger was found. The violence of parliament, however, continued. They reſolved to ſit both forenoon and afternoon [e]. Committees were appointed by the two houſes for examining priſoners, and for ſwearing witneſſes. In a rage for intelligence, they were willing to purchaſe it at the higheſt rates. A pardon was offered to Coleman for making diſcoveries. Otes, the moſt infamous of mankind, was praiſed, careſſed, and rewarded. The two houſes recommended him to the King. A revenue of twelve hundred pounds a year was allotted for his maintenance. Guards were placed around him for his protection. Men of the firſt rank and birth courted his company, and called themſelves his friends. He was deemed the ſaviour of the whole people, and was actually the idol of the nation. The character of informer became honourable. Perjury itſelf was attended with applauſe, as well as with advantage; and the public opinion,

[c] Oct. 28. [d] Oct. 31. [e] Nov. 1.

CHAP. V. 1678.

which is uſually a check upon vice, became an encouragement to iniquity, in all its forms.

Attack the Duke of York.

The enormous growth to which the ſeeming abſurdity of the nation roſe, proceeded from their fears of the Duke of York. Though he was not mentioned by the informers as a party in the plot, thoſe who gave it credit aſcribed it to the hopes founded by the Roman Catholics upon his adherence to their faith. Men of ſenſe foreſaw danger from his principles and bigotry; and they deemed the preſent juncture a fit ſeaſon for ſecuring the civil and religious liberties of the people, againſt his eventual acceſſion to the throne. The leaders of the popular party had added perſonal reſentment to their prejudices againſt the Duke. Uncomplying and impolitic in his diſpoſition, he had rejected their offers of ſervice [f]. Beſides, they had already gone too far againſt his intereſt, to hope to be either forgotten or forgiven. A motion was made in the lower houſe, on the fourth of November, to addreſs the King to deſire his Royal Highneſs to withdraw from his perſon and councils [g]. This was the firſt ſtep toward the excluſion. But the commons were not yet prepared for ſuch an important meaſure; and the debate was adjourned, without any diviſion, to another day.

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

THOUGH the bigotted adherence of the Duke of York to the Romiſh faith was the obvious cauſe of the uncommon fears which had ſeized the nation, there were ſecret ſprings, which greatly contributed to ſet the whole machine of oppoſition in motion. The peculiar ſtate of the royal family of England had already rendered the throne an object of ambition to the Prince of Orange, whoſe whole attention ſeems, from this time forward, to have been pointed towards the crown, which his perſeverance placed, at length, on his head. The King and the Duke of York had

[f] James II. 1678.

[g] Nov. 4.

been

CHAP. V. 1678.

been long the only males remaining of the houſe of Stuart. The Prince, as the ſon of their eldeſt ſiſter, had, even before he married the daughter of the Duke of York, formed ſome diſtant ſchemes for mounting the throne. As early as the year 1674, he had eſtabliſhed, by his agents, a connexion with ſome diſcontented members in the Engliſh parliament [h]. The ill-humour which had crept into that aſſembly ſerved, from time to time, to employ his intrigues, and to encourage his hopes. The Popiſh plot threw, at length, an opportunity in his way, which enabled him to add to the ferment, in the manner beſt calculated to forward his own views [i].

The King interferes.

THE intrigues of the Prince, however, were hitherto ſo ſecret, that their effect muſt have been feeble and inſenſible. Time only could raiſe and bring to maturity the ſeeds of diſſenſion, which he had partly ſown. The King was, in the mean time, alarmed at the motion againſt the Duke of York, though it had not been brought to a queſtion. He plainly perceived that it tended to a limitation of the ſucceſſion to the crown, a meaſure which he was reſolved to oppoſe with all his power. On the eighth of November, he came to a reſolution to diſſolve the parliament; but he reflected on the ſtate of the nation, and dropt, for the time, that meaſure [k]. He ordered the houſe to attend him on the ninth of November. He thanked his parliament for their care of his perſon and government. He promiſed to join them in every reaſonable meaſure for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, not only for the preſent, but even to the end of the world. He told them, that he was ready to give his aſſent to any bills to enſure their ſafety in any future reign, provided ſuch bills limited not the right of ſucceſſion to the crown in the true line, and ſo as they reſtrained neither his own power, nor the juſt rights of any Proteſtant ſucceſſor, in the throne. To gain their confidence,

[h] D'Avaux, 1679. [i] Ibid. 1678. [k] James II. 1678.

and

CHAP. V. 1678.

and to convince the nation of the ſincerity of his profeſſions, he preſſed them to expedite their councils, to bring Popiſh recuſants to an effectual conviction. The majority of the commons were ſatisfied with this condeſcenſion; and the moſt violent thought it prudent to defer for the preſent their deſigns. The houſe, in a body, waited upon the King at Whitehall, and gave him their thanks for his gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Bill to diſable all Papiſts.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſeaſonable reſpite, the Duke of York found no reaſon to think himſelf ſecure. The commons reſolved, on the ſixteenth of November, to bring in a bill to diſable all Papiſts from ſitting in either houſe of parliament[l]. Motions of the ſame kind had been made in former ſeſſions; but as the paſſions of men were not ſufficiently inflamed, they were proſecuted with no vigour. The bill paſſed without any oppoſition, and was ſent up to the lords. The upper houſe made an amendment, which excepted the Duke of York; and, on the twenty-firſt of November, it was returned to the commons. Next[m] day they entered into debate upon the amendment, and ſat late. Upon a diviſion, it was carried for the Duke by two votes[n]. The lord-treaſurer adhered to him, with all his influence[o]. The church-party ſupported him to a man. The members attached to the Preſbyterian perſuaſion, and all thoſe who favoured other Proteſtant ſects, joined the republican party, upon a queſtion which, in the Duke's opinion, was to decide the fate of monarchy[p].

William Bedloe.

DURING theſe tranſactions in parliament, another evidence aroſe, from their encouragement, to corroborate the narrative of Otes. The name of this perſon was William Bedloe, or rather Beddoe[q], a man more infamous, and, if that were poſſible, more profligate, than Otes himſelf. He roſe from a foot-boy, or com-

[l] Journals, Nov. 15. [m] James II. 1678. [n] 158 to 156.
[o] James II. 1678. [p] Ibid. [q] L'Eſtrange.

mon-

CHAP. V.

1678.

mon runner of meſſages, into a livery ſervant, in the family of the Lord Bellaſis. To the baſeneſs of his birth he added the loweſt depravity of mind. He was by nature a knave, and followed iniquity from inclination, more than from profit. Active in his perſon, and a wanderer from diſpoſition, he was a kind of poſt or letter-carrier beyond ſea; and, in that ſervile condition, he found an opportunity to become acquainted with the names and the more obvious concerns of people of note on the continent. He converted this knowledge into the means of ſharping. He went under falſe names; he borrowed money by fraud; he forged recommendations; he perſonated men of figure. Under the character of an Engliſhman of rank, he traverſed Italy, he paſſed through France, he travelled to Spain; marking his way with frauds, cheatry, robbery, and lies. Habituated to puniſhments, and ſeaſoned to priſons, he became hardened againſt the animadverſions of the law; and though he fed, half his time, with common felons, out of the alms-baſket, he was always prepared for any wickedneſs that promiſed temporary profit[r].

a new evidence.

THE rewards offered by the King, and the encouragement given by parliament to the diſcoverers of the manner of Godfrey's death, engaged the attention and rouſed the avarice of this profligate man. In the company of a common trull, he went from London to Briſtol; and, in his way, ſent a letter to Coventry, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, informing him that he was privy to the murder. He was ſeized at Briſtol. He was brought to London[s]. He was dignified with the name of captain. He rivalled Otes in the magnificence of his ſituation; having his guards, his reſidence, and his ſubſiſtance at Whitehall. When he appeared before the council[t], he profeſſed that he knew nothing but the particulars of Godfrey's murder, which, he ſaid, was committed by the Queen's Popiſh ſervants at Somerſet-houſe, where ſhe

[r] Publications of the times. [s] Nov. 5. [t] Nov. 7.

reſided

CHAP. V. 1678.

reſided at the time. He affirmed, that the body had lain two days in the Queen's back-ſtairs, and that he was offered four thouſand pounds to aſſiſt in carrying it away. He diſclaimed all acquaintance with Otes. He utterly denied his having any knowledge of the plot. Being properly inſtructed that night, he became next day more enlightened. When he was examined before a committee of the lords, he told them, that he had now recollected himſelf, and that he was ready to give an explicit account of the whole plot.

for the Popiſh plot.

HE accuſed the Lord Bellaſis, the Earl of Powis, the Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Coleman, of a conſpiracy to murder the King[u]. He affirmed, that forty thouſand men were ready to take arms in London; that ten thouſand were to come from Flanders; that forty thouſand pilgrims, aſſembled at St. Jago, in Spain, were to be tranſported to England. Jerſey and Guernſey, he ſaid, were to be ſeized by a force from Breſt. The Earl of Powis and the Lord Petre were to form an army in the county of Radnor; and the Viſcount Stafford, Coleman, and Father Ireland, were poſſeſſed of funds for defraying the charge of all theſe armaments. The crown, he added, was to be offered to ONE, upon condition of his holding it of the church; but, as his acquieſcence was not expected, a commiſſion was prepared for certain lords to govern the kingdom in the name of the Pope. This evidence was in itſelf ſo incredible, that nothing but the force of prejudice could gain for it a hearing, much leſs give it any credit. Godfrey's body was ſaid to lie two days in the Queen's back-ſtairs; yet all the ſervants in the palace paſſed that way, a centinel ſtood conſtantly there, a company of foot was always on guard below[x]. Forty thouſand men were ſaid to be prepared to take arms in London; yet all the men, women, and children of that perſuaſion

[u] Bedloe's Narrative. [x] James II. 1678.

CHAP. V. 1678.

amounted not to that number. Flanders, inſtead of ſending armies abroad, was at the time forced to truſt her protection at home to Engliſh garriſons. The Earl of Powis and the Lord Petre, who were deſtined for the command of armies, were, of all mankind, the leaſt qualified for military affairs [y]; and a tale affirming, that three private perſons in England were provided with treaſure to ſupport the expence of more than one hundred thouſand men, is too groſs for human faith.

He and Otes accuſe the Queen.

OTES and Bedloe were now perſuaded, that nothing was too improbable for the belief of the nation. Urged by their own vanity, or ſwayed by factious men, they proceeded at length to accuſe the Queen of being privy to the deſign againſt her huſband's life. The intelligence being carried to the commons, they broke forth into a new flame. They voted an addreſs for removing her and her whole family from Whitehall [z]. But though Charles was now furniſhed with an opportunity of ridding himſelf of a wife whom he never loved, he was ſhocked at ſuch an inſtance of glaring injuſtice. He knew that ſhe was incapable of ſuch an action; and his own neglect of her perſon rendered her an object of his pity, though not of his reſpect. He ſuſpected that the accuſation came through the ſuggeſtions of the popular party [a]. Otes, whom he before affected to cheriſh, he ſtrictly confined; refuſing acceſs to every perſon, without diſtinction, except the committees of parliament. The behaviour of Shafteſbury, and the more open conduct of Buckingham, upon a preceding occaſion, directed the ſuſpicions of the King to the quarter from which this new evidence aroſe. The firſt had urged him to own the Duke of Monmouth as his legitimate ſon; and the latter had propoſed to ſeize the Queen in one of the paſſages of the palace, and to tranſport her to America [b].

[y] James II. 1678. [z] Nov. 28. [a] James II. [b] Ibid.

THE

CHAP. V.

1678.

THE commons exhibited articles of impeachment before the lords, againſt the noblemen accuſed by Otes and Bedloe [d]. The courts of juſtice were employed in the mean time in trying inferior criminals. Staley, a popiſh banker, was condemned on the evidence of one Carſtairs, a profligate Scotſman; and the day after his execution, the noted Coleman was brought to the bar. To the evidence of the two informers was added that of his own papers. The firſt accuſed him of being privy to the conſpiracy againſt the life of the King; the latter proved beyond contradiction, that he had been buſy in wild projects to favour the introduction of popery. He was an enthuſiaſt in the Romiſh faith, and a man of very looſe morals. Being employed as an agent of France, in a project of influencing the commons againſt a war with that kingdom, he was ſuſpected by the court, and diſmiſſed from his office of ſecretary to the Ducheſs of York [e]. He diverted to his own uſe ſome conſiderable ſums [f], which he received from the French ambaſſador, for the purpoſe of corrupting members of parliament, and lived at a vaſt expence, his table being much frequented by the country party. But notwithſtanding his profligacy, he could not be induced, upon a promiſe of pardon [g], to make pretended diſcoveries; and he died with a conſiderable degree of ſpirit and compoſure.

Coleman and ſome

COLEMAN was no ſooner executed, than Father Ireland was brought to his trial. This Jeſuit was one of the fifty, who, as Otes had ſworn, ſigned, in the month of Auguſt, the great reſolve to murder the King. Grove and Pickering, who were accuſed as the intended perpetrators of the aſſaſſination, were alſo arraigned. Otes and Bedloe were the only witneſſes; but the criminals were already condemned by the prejudices of the people. Ireland proved, in vain, that he was in Staffordſhire during the whole

Jeſuits condemned and executed.

[d] Dec. 5. [e] L. Keeper North's Memoirs. [f] Journals. [g] Ibid.

CHAP. V. 1678.

month aſſigned by the oath of Otes for being preſent at the various conſults of the conſpirators. Otes produced a woman, who ſwore that ſhe ſaw him in London at the ſpecified time. Sentence of death was paſſed upon all the criminals. The judge, the jury, the populace were all parties. Scroggs, the chief juſtice, was a man as deſtitute of principle, as he was ignorant of law. He was raiſed by Danby, from being an obſcure perſon in his profeſſion, to the head of the firſt court of juſtice, to ſerve his own private deſigns. He adopted all the vehemence of his patron, in tracing the popiſh plot. He browbeat the evidence. He ſpoke of the truth of the charge as undoubted. He inſulted with peculiar inhumanity the condemned. His violence was received with applauſe by a prejudiced people; and the unfortunate men, proteſting to the laſt their innocence, were executed amid the ſhouts of a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators[h].

A ſupply voted on limited terms.

WHILST the popiſh plot engroſſed the deliberations of the commons, Charles was forced repeatedly to recall their attention to his own neceſſities[i]. Through their eagerneſs to obviate all dangers from foreigners, they ſeemed to forget their jealouſy of a ſtanding army at home. The King, however, having refuſed his aſſent to a bill, which tended to deprive him of the command of the militia, the houſe turned their thoughts to the raiſing of money for diſbanding the troops in England and beyond ſeas. Having found their arrears amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, they voted that ſum to be raiſed by a land-tax, within a twelvemonth, to commence on the twenty-fourth of November. A clauſe for credit was inſerted in the act: but ſuch was the jealouſy entertained of the King, that they ordered the money to be paid into the Chamber of London; and appointed three commiſſioners to ſuperintend the application of the ſupply, to the ſole uſe of

[h] Trials. [i] Nov. 25.

diſbanding

CHAP. V.

1678.

diſbanding the army [k]. The lords, more tender of the dignity of the crown, heſitated to give their concurrence to a regulation which threw diſhonour upon the King and his ſervants. The act remained in ſuſpence, till a prorogation freed Charles from diſgrace, while it deprived him of a ſupply.

The Earl of Danby.

In the midſt of theſe heats in parliament, a new ſubject of inquiry carried ſuddenly the attention of the commons to another quarter. Mountague, who had been ambaſſador for ſome years at Paris, had, either from private motives or from diſguſt, quitted his employment without leave [l]; and, obtaining a ſeat in parliament for the borough of Northampton, joined himſelf to the cabals of the popular party. Inflamed by diſappointed ambition, or gained by Lewis XIV. through the channel of his avarice, he had for ſome time broke with the Earl of Danby, whoſe councils were deemed oppoſite to the intereſts of France. The ſpirit exhibited by Charles, before and after the treaty of Nimeguen, was highly reſented by the French King. He was reſolved to be revenged on both the King and the miniſter. The connections formed by his ambaſſador at London with the popular party, in the preceding ſeſſion, furniſhed him with hopes of accompliſhing his deſign. But when he heſitated concerning the means, they were offered by Mountague, who, for a valuable conſideration, promiſed to ruin Danby and diſgrace his maſter [m]. The bargain being ſtruck, in the month of October, with Barillon, the French ambaſſador, a proper opportunity for executing the deſign only remained to be found.

accuſed before the commons.

During the embaſſy of Mountague, ſome of the King's negociations for money with the court of France had fallen under his care. Danby had committed himſelf, in ſeveral letters upon that

[k] Nov. 29.

[l] Rapin, vol. ii.

[m] Dalrymple's Append. p. 193.

ſubject;

CHAP. V.

1678.

ſubject; and Mountague, to ſerve the purpoſes of his party, and to earn the ſtipulated hire from Lewis, reſolved to expoſe the moſt exceptionable part of the correſpondence to the animadverſion of parliament. In various conſultations between the leaders of the popular party and the French ambaſſador [n], it was thought proper to poſtpone the attack till the army ſhould be diſbanded. The heats in parliament, in conſequence of the popiſh plot, retarded this meaſure; but an incident put an end to any further delay in Mountague's ſcheme. Jenkins, who ſtill remained in quality of ambaſſador at Nimeguen, informed the King by letter, that he had diſcovered that Mountague held private conferences with the Pope's nuncio, when he reſided in a public capacity abroad. Danby, who ſuſpected the deſign of Mountague, probably ſuggeſted this information to Jenkins [o]. A warrant was procured for ſeizing his papers. Prepared againſt a circumſtance which he had foreſeen, Mountague had concealed ſome of Danby's letters; and found in the violence of the latter a kind of excuſe for his own breach of faith.

and impea ed.

THE chancellor of the Exchequer, on the nineteenth of December, acquainted the commons, by the King's command, that his majeſty had found it neceſſary to ſeize Mountague's papers. Mountague informed the houſe, that notwithſtanding the forcible ſeizure of ſome of his papers, others that might tend to the ſafety of his Majeſty and the preſervation of the kingdom ſtill remained in his hands. He was heard with the utmoſt eagerneſs. A committee was diſpatched for the box in which the writings were contained. Two letters ſubſcribed by Danby were produced. The firſt was dated on the ſeventeenth of the preceding January, the ſecond on the twenty-fifth of March. The laſt contained inſtructions to demand three hundred thouſand pounds a-year, for three years,

[n] Dalrymple's Append. p. 198.

[o] Burnet, James II.

from

CHAP. V.

1678.

from the French King, in caſe the conditions of peace ſhould be accepted. Danby appeared to have foreſeen the danger of this negociation; and, to remove his fears, the King had ſubjoined, in his own hand, that it was by his expreſs orders the letter was written [p]. The houſe flew into an immediate flame. A queſtion was propoſed, That there is ſufficient matter of impeachment againſt the lord-treaſurer; and it was carried by a great majority [q]. The friends of Danby were abaſhed. His enemies were intemperate in their triumph. The Lord Cavendiſh and Mr. Williams were particularly recommended to form the articles, which were ſent up on the twenty-firſt of December to the houſe of lords.

Reflections.

THUS the ſtorm, which Danby endeavoured in vain to prevent, by encouraging the popiſh plot, broke at length on his own head. He was perplexed beyond meaſure. Charles himſelf was alarmed. His ſecret connexions with France, before only ſuſpected, were now aſcertained. Men thought that all along he had acted in concert with the French King. They deemed his profeſſions in favour of the allies a mere deception. They looked upon his preparations for war as means for procuring money from his ſubjects, or for eſtabliſhing over them an arbitrary power. Many who wiſhed to ſupport the crown, were aſhamed of the meanneſs of the Prince; and deſerted their principles to ſave their reputation. The articles againſt Danby were ſix in number. They conſiſted, beſides the letters, of various miſmanagements in his office. Some were frivolous, others ill founded. The charge of rapacity, though unſupported with glaring inſtances, ſeemed to be the leaſt unjuſt. Danby was poor, and he loved money; but his maſter was neither full of generoſity, nor abounding in wealth. The treaſurer, upon the whole, was a cautious miniſter; and leſs apt to furniſh his

[p] Journals, Dec. 19.

[q] 179 againſt 116.

CHAP. V. 1678.

enemies with dangerous charges than men of greater abilities an more integrity and virtue.

He recriminates on others, and defends himſelf.

To alleviate the charge againſt himſelf, by recriminating on Mountague, Danby ſent two letters written by the former to the commons. One of the letters expoſed the correſpondence between France and the popular party in parliament; the other tended to ſhew, that Danby was extremely hated in that kingdom, as the avowed enemy of its intereſts. The commons rejected both, without being read [r]. They ſent the articles of impeachment to the lords [s]. They deſired that the treaſurer ſhould be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed. They reſerved to themſelves the liberty of exhibiting a further charge [t]. When the impeachment was read in the upper houſe, Danby aroſe and ſpoke to every article. He ſhewed that Mountague, the informer againſt him, had himſelf promoted with ardour the money-negociations with France. He dwelt, with a degree of juſtice, on his diligence in tracing the popiſh plot. He cleared himſelf of the aſperſion of alienating the King's revenue to improper purpoſes. He obviated the charge of rapacity, by aſſuring the houſe, that his acquiſitions were more moderate than thoſe obtained by others in his office. He chiefly inſiſted upon his known averſion to the intereſts of France; and he declared, that he always eſteemed a connexion with that kingdom pernicious to his maſter and deſtructive to his country [u].

Parliament prorogued.

THE lords went immediately into debate upon the impeachment. A queſtion was propoſed, Whether the articles exhibited by the commons ſhould be received as an impeachment of high treaſon? The friends of the treaſurer affirmed, that the utmoſt

[r] Dec. 20. [s] Dec. 21. [t] Dec. 23. [u] Journals of the lords.

that

that could be ſaid in favour of the charge, was to ſuppoſe it true; and had it even been true, the crimes alleged fell not within the ſtatute of Edward III. To this argument the popular party replied, that the commons, who had exhibited the charge, were to be heard on two points; firſt on the proof, and then on the nature of the crime. They propoſed, therefore, that the charge ſhould be received; and that the houſe, according to the rules of parliament, ought to commit the accuſed perſon, and to appoint a ſhort day for his trial. The majority of the peers, upon a diviſion, were againſt the commitment of Danby. The King found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſupporting the miniſter, and he uſed all his influence. The commons however inſiſted, that Danby ſhould be ſequeſtered from parliament and committed. A violent conteſt was likely to ariſe; and Charles, perceiving no hopes of ending the diſpute by gentle means, prorogued the parliament [x] on the thirtieth of December.

Reflections on Mountague's conduct.

THE impeachment of the lord-treaſurer diverted, in ſome degree, the attention of the people from the popiſh plot. Men, who even profited by his breach of truſt, blamed Mountague for his conduct. Many aſcribed it to revenge, but ſcarce any to a love of the public good. The malice of his enemies reached not the meanneſs of his real motives. They ſcarce could imagine that he was purchaſed with the money of France to expoſe her ſecret negociations. Danby himſelf, when he wiſhed to prove the averſion of the French to his councils, little knew that they had ſtipulated to give more than twenty thouſand pounds [y] to his antagoniſt, for an information to accompliſh his ruin. Charles, though he blamed Mountague the moſt, had the leaſt reaſon. He had employed him to betray his country, yet he was ſurpriſed at his betraying himſelf. The looſe principles which made him fit for the King's mea-

[x] Journals, Dec 30. [y] Dalrymple's Append. p. 199.

CHAP. V. 1678.

ſures, ought to have prevented every aſtoniſhment at his breach of faith. Even Danby was blamed by his beſt friends. They could ſcarce reconcile his profeſſed averſion to the intereſts of France, to his having concurred in negociations which ſacrificed the public faith of his ſovereign to her views.

Prance's evidence

DURING theſe tranſactions in parliament, a new diſcovery was pretended to be made. Miles Prance, by trade a goldſmith, having had a difference about rent with one Wren, who lodged in his houſe, was accuſed by him as privy to the murder of Godfrey. Prance happened to lie out of his houſe two or three nights in the week immediately preceding that in which Godfrey was miſſed by his friends. Wren, either forgetting the difference of time, or actuated by revenge, uſed that circumſtance as a ground of accuſation. Had the time of Prance's abſence agreed with that of the murder, ſome colour of ſuſpicion might remain. Though he had taken the oaths to prevent his being baniſhed from London, he was known to have been a papiſt. He was alſo perſonally acquainted with Grove, Pickering, and Ireland, the three unfortunate Jeſuits, who had been lately condemned upon the evidence of Otes and Bedloe. Beſides, he had worked in his buſineſs, for the Queen's chapel, in Somerſet-houſe. Bedloe, the original evidence, was commanded to give ſome account of Prance. This he managed with addreſs. Having firſt obtained a ſight of the man at an eating-houſe near the lobby of the houſe of commons, he exclaimed, upon his being afterwards admitted into the room where Prance was examined, "that he was one of the rogues "whom he had ſeen ſtanding with a dark lanthorn near Godfrey's "body[z]".

concerning Godfrey's murder.

PRANCE denied all knowledge of the plot or murder. He was ſent to Newgate. He was loaded with irons. He was threatened.

[z] L'Eſtrange, Echard, Burnet, James II. Kennet.

He

CHAP. V.

1678.

He was ſoothed. He was enticed and inſtructed. The ſingle evidence of Bedloe was not ſufficient to condemn ſome wretched perſons, whoſe conviction was neceſſary to keep up the flame; and there was a reſolution formed, to convert Prance into the ſecond witneſs required by the law. Some leaders in both the houſes attended him, in committees, in Newgate. He at length confeſſed. He retracted again. He wavered from one tale to another, denying to-day what yeſterday he had ſworn. A pardon artfully obtained by the means of the Earl of Shafteſbury, fixed him in a circumſtantial evidence of the murder. He accuſed Green, Berry, and Hill, men of a low ſtation, of Godfrey's death. They were brought to their trial. They were condemned and executed. They denied their guilt with their laſt breath. The prejudices of the nation had extended themſelves to the ſeats of juſtice. The cries of humanity were drowned in the clamours of party and the terrors of the weak and ignorant. The contradictions, the abſurdities, the abſolute impoſſibilities conveyed in ſome parts of the evidence were overlooked. Men thought, that innocence was incompatible with the deluſions of popery. They even deemed a denial of a crime which was never committed, an argument of the laſt degree of obſtinacy and guilt[a].

1679. Diſtracted ſtate

THE year 1678 cloſed with proceedings which thoſe who love their country could wiſh to expunge from her annals. But the terrors of the people, wrought up to a degree of madneſs, by the joint influence of oppoſite parties, were far from being yet at an end. The intemperance of the commons in proſecuting the popiſh plot had communicated a flame to the nation, which blood only could extinguiſh. Thoſe who had no hopes of deriving benefit from confuſion, ſaw before them a gloomy proſpect. They dreaded a renewal of thoſe troubles which had, forty years before,

[a] Auctor. citat.

CHAP. V.

1679.

expoſed the nation to all the miſeries of deſpotiſm and public confuſion. Though the cry of the people was only directed againſt popery, the attacks of their repreſentatives ſeemed to point at the throne and the royal line. The conduct of the preſent commons was compared, with a degree of juſtice, to the behaviour of their predeceſſors, in the reign of Charles I. They had refuſed ſupplies. They had impeached the miniſter. They ſeemed inclined to circumſcribe the power, if not to entrench on what was called the inherent rights of the crown. They encouraged the jealouſies of the people. They promoted their fears. They adopted their prejudices, and improved their credulity with every art.

of the nation.

THE colour of the times was not unlike the beginning of the misfortunes of the preceding reign: but there was no ſimilarity between the parties that contended in the two periods. The leaders of the preſent commons were men of leſs ability, and more diſhoneſt than their predeceſſors. Charles II. poſſeſſed better parts, though leſs virtue than his father. Having, by his prepoſterous and even criminal councils, raiſed the ſtorm, which threatened now to fall upon himſelf and his family, he was found to be poſſeſſed of prudence, and in the event, of firmneſs ſufficient to direct it againſt the heads of his opponents. He gave line to their fury, till with ſtruggling they fatigued themſelves out of their ſtrength. He rendered them ſuſpected for their violence. He gained the people through the folly of his enemies and his own aſſumed moderation. The profligacy of a Buckingham, the unprincipled intrigues of a Shafteſbury, the vehemence of ſome weak, though perhaps well-meaning men, in whom virtue was ſoured into paſſion, threatened evils more obvious than thoſe they were meant to oppoſe. Beſides, the body of the people were from principle attached to monarchy. They had lately found, that a republic was another name for an abject tyranny, which even derived not a wretched alleviation from the antiquity of its forms.

When

When factious men carried matters too far, they were deſerted by the public opinion. The King, by being driven to extremity, found the way to ſuppreſs the cabals of a party, by means which almoſt deſtroyed the liberties of the ſubject. CHA. V. 1679.

Parliament diſſolved.

BUT theſe were conſequences which aroſe from the ſucceeding events. Charles, deſpairing of any good from the preſent parliament, determined to meet it no more. A proclamation for its diſſolution was publiſhed on the twenty-fifth of January [b], and at the ſame time writs were iſſued for aſſembling another, on the ſixth of March. The King could not in a worſe time appeal to the choice of his ſubjects. The whole body of the people believed the plot, and were incenſed againſt the papiſts. Though he himſelf was marked out as a victim, by the evidence which eſtabliſhed the exiſtence of the conſpiracy, men were accuſtomed to join the court with the church of Rome. The connection with France, but above all, the avowed popery of the Duke of York, rendered ſuſpected councils which he was ſuppoſed to lead. The elections, as might have been foreſeen, were made with all the prejudices which inflamed the times. The moſt violent in the former parliament were rechoſen. Others of the ſame principles were added to their number. The court exerted its influence in vain. The country-party prevailed almoſt every where; and the King ſaw, when it was too late, that the new repreſentatives were likely to become even more troubleſome and refractory than the old.

Duke of York withdraws.

THOUGH his own meaſures had alienated the affections of his ſubjects from the King, he aſcribed, with reaſon, the greateſt part of his misfortunes to his brother's religion. He conjured that infatuated Prince to conform to the eſtabliſhed church. He ſent to him [c] the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of

[b] Journals of the lords.

[c] Feb. 21. O. S.

Wincheſter,

CHAP. V. 1679.

Wincheſter, to perſuade him, if poſſible, to become again a proteſtant. Their arguments were loſt on his obſtinacy. He told them, that he could not alter his opinion; and that he diſdained to profeſs what he did not believe. Danby adviſed the King [d] to deſire him to withdraw beyond ſea, to appeaſe the people, and to ſatisfy the new parliament that popiſh councils no longer prevailed. This alſo the Duke declined, as he deemed that his retiring would be conſtrued into a confeſſion of guilt. The popiſh lords in the Tower conjured him to withdraw. They deputed to him the Counteſs of Powis for that purpoſe [e]; but he refuſed to liſten to her entreaties. The King at length inſiſted upon his departure. He wrote him a letter containing his requeſt, aſſuring him of his affection, and promiſing his invariable attention to his intereſts. The Duke, the moſt ſubmiſſive of all ſubjects, obeyed his brother's commands. He left London a few [f] days before the meeting of parliament; and having viſited his daughter and the Prince of Orange at the Hague [g], he fixed his reſidence at Bruſſels.

Charles diſavows the legitimacy of Monmouth.

To ſatisfy the world, as well as to place at eaſe the mind of his brother, that he was reſolved to adhere to the regular ſucceſſion to the crown, Charles ſubſcribed a paper, in the preſence of his council, on the third of March, that he never was married to any woman except the Queen. The ambition of the Duke of Monmouth was the ſource of this ſolemn certificate. Flattered by the popular party, and, from various cauſes, the favourite of the people, he had long entertained hopes of poſſeſſing the crown. Either he himſelf, or his pretended friends, had frequently circulated reports, that Charles had been actually married to his mother. Upon the removal of the Duke of York from the kingdom, and from the proſpect of his being excluded from the ſucceſſion

[d] James II. 1679. Burnet. [e] James II. 1679. [f] Feb. 25, O. S. [g] March 1.

to

CHAP. V. 1679.

to the throne, through the jealouſy of parliament, the legitimacy of Monmouth became again a principal topic of converſation. Notwithſtanding his great affection for Monmouth, Charles was highly offended at his preſumption. Monmouth, with a degree of folly ſuitable to his own circumſcribed talents, joined himſelf to the moſt violent opponents of the court. He even continued, after the firſt atteſtation, to encourage the belief of the lawfulneſs of his own birth. This circumſtance obliged Charles to renew his proteſtation, and make it particular, againſt Lucy Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother [h].

Ineffectual propoſals to France.

WHILE the nation was employed in chuſing repreſentatives, the King endeavoured to make himſelf independent of parliament, by drawing a new ſubſidy from France [i]. But Lewis preferred his connexion with the popular party to the friendſhip of a prince whoſe authority had ſo much declined. He was alſo informed, that the connexion between Charles and the Prince of Orange had acquired additional ſtrength. He was told by his ambaſſador in London, who was often ill informed, that the Prince had remitted conſiderable ſums to England, to ſupport the dignity and power of the crown [k]. He rejected, therefore, the propoſals of ſtrict union offered by Charles; and that Prince, urged by his neceſſities, was forced to meet a parliament whoſe violence he juſtly feared. The ſupply voted in the laſt winter had not paſſed into a law. Beſides, it was connected with ſuch ſevere and humiliating clauſes, that he ſcarce could regret its being loſt. The army was not yet diſbanded, and it neither could be retained nor diſmiſſed without money.

New parliament.

THE new parliament met at Weſtminſter, on the fixth of March; and the King opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, which ſeemed to ſuit the times. He met them, he ſaid, with the moſt

[h] Kennet, vol. iii. [i] Dalrymple's Append. p. 208. [k] Ibid.

earneſt

CHAP. V. 1679.

carneſt deſire of uniting the minds of his ſubjects to himſelf, and of reconciling them among themſelves. He was reſolved, he told them, that it ſhould be their faults, if the ſucceſs ſhould not be anſwerable to his deſires. He dwelt upon many great things, which he had done to accompliſh that end. He mentioned, among theſe, the excluſion of Papiſts from parliament, the execution of the plotters, and ſome of the murderers of Godfrey. He had diſbanded, he informed them, as many of the army as he could ſatisfy with reſpect to arrears. He declared his readineſs, upon their giving a ſupply, to diſmiſs the reſt. He reiterated his recommendation of union. He aſked money to pay the fleet, to make up the deficiency in the laſt poll-bill, to remove the anticipations upon his ſtanding revenue. He derived merit from removing his brother from his councils. He concluded with a wiſh to find them a healing parliament; and he aſſured them, that he expected from them to be defended from the machinations of thoſe worſt of men, who endeavoured to render himſelf and his government odious to his people[1].

Difference concerning a ſpeaker.

THE expected effect of this ſoothing ſpeech was blaſted by a ſudden difference between Charles and the lower houſe. Seymour, who had been ſpeaker in the laſt parliament, was choſen again to that office; but he was rejected by the King, when he was preſented in the uſual form. A prior quarrel with Danby was the ſource of this affront on Seymour. He had been privately in the pay of the crown, and he carried his gratitude to the court to a degree which merited and received cenſure. But the payment of the penſion ceaſed with his ſervices, and he, therefore, had herded of late with the popular party. The commons, returning to their houſe, fell into warm debates. Meres, propoſed by the court-party, was rejected with diſdain. They agreed that the choice of their own ſpeaker was a right inherent in the

[1] Journals of the Lords, March 6, 1679.

commons,

CHAP. V.

commons; that the preſenting him to the King for approbation was a matter of mere form. They preſented an addreſs on that ſubject; but it was anſwered by a prorogation. The affair was, at length, compromiſed. Seymour was, for the time, ſet aſide. The right of the houſe was, however, aſcertained. Serjeant Gregory, recommended by the Lord Ruſſel, was choſen ſpeaker, and inſtantly approved by the King [m]. 1679.

THE diſputes concerning a ſpeaker employed twelve days. On the eighteenth of March, the houſe of commons ſat upon buſineſs. Conſiſting chiefly of the ſame men, they adopted the meaſures of the former parliament with unabating vehemence and zeal. They appointed a committee to inſpect the journals of the laſt ſeſſion. They commanded them to draw up a ſtate of the matters then depending and undetermined, and to lay it immediately before the houſe [n]. A committee of ſecrecy was formed to inquire into the Popiſh plot. Tong, Otes, and Bedloe, were ſummoned to attend, and were heard. The commons reminded the lords of the impeachment of Danby. They ordered further articles to be exhibited againſt him. They demanded that he ſhould be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to ſafe cuſtody [o]. An addreſs was preſented to the King, to pay the five hundred pounds reward to Bedloe, and to commit him to the care of the Duke of Monmouth [p]. Another addreſs was preſented for a ſolemn day of humiliation, as in times of public calamity and danger. Proceedings.

BUT the proſecution of the Earl of Danby was the favourite object of the lower houſe. They reminded again the lords of his impeachment [q]. They demanded juſtice, in the name of the commons of England, at their bar. Charles, foreſeeing the violence Violence of the commons

[m] Kennet, Burnet, James II. [n] Mar. 19. [o] Mar. 20.
[p] Mar. 21. [q] Mar. 22.

CHAP. V. 1679.

of parliament, and determined to ſave his miniſter, had already paſſed his pardon under the great ſeal. To ſcreen the chancellor from the animadverſions of the commons, the King affixed the ſeal to the parchment with his own hand. It was contrived to be a ſtampt pardon by creation, that no memorial of it might remain in any public office, being only intended for an emergency. Upon the repeated meſſages of the commons againſt Danby, the King came to the houſe of lords, and avowed publickly the pardon. He declared, that he could not think Danby criminal, as he had acted by his orders; and he aſſured both houſes, that he was reſolved, if the preſent pardon was defective, to renew it again and again, till it ſhould be as complete as the law required. He, at the ſame time, informed them, that he was determined to diſmiſs the treaſurer from his preſence and all employments.

againſt Danby.

THE lords ſeemed to adhere at firſt to the pardon. The commons flew into a violent flame. They immediately voted an addreſs to the King. They repreſented the irregularity and illegality of the pardon [r]. They explained the dangerous conſequence of granting any pardon to perſons lying under an impeachment by the commons of England. The peers, to leſſen by flattering their zeal, ſent the uſher of the black rod to take Danby into cuſtody; but he was no where to be found [s]. The commons inſtantly brought in a bill to attaint him, in default of his ſurrendering by a certain day [t]. But when it was ſent up to the lords, they clogged it with amendments, and deſtroyed its deſign [u]. A diſpute was kindled between the two houſes. Conference followed conference. Altercation, rather than argument, prevailed. The peers were cool, but determined; the commons warm and obſtinate. The latter addreſſed the King to iſſue a proclamation for apprehending Danby; and that nobleman, dreading the conſe-

[r] Mar. 24. [s] Mar. 25. [t] April 4. [u] April 15.

quence

quence of theſe quarrels, ſurrendered himſelf to the black rod, and reſolved to plead the King's pardon [x].

Their vehemence concerning the plot.

THE vehemence of the commons, in ſupporting rather than tracing the Popiſh plot, was equal to their violence againſt Danby. They expelled and ſent to the Tower colonel Sackville, for diſbelieving the exiſtence of a plot. They renewed the vote of the laſt houſe of commons, aſſerting their own firm perſuaſion of the exiſtence of a conſpiracy. They, however, applied themſelves at laſt to the buſineſs of the nation, having ſuſpended, for a moment, their animoſities, their paſſions, and their fears. They examined the arrears due to the undiſbanded part of the army; and they voted two hundred and ſix thouſand pounds, for the expreſs purpoſe of paying off and diſmiſſing all the forces then in England, levied ſince the twenty-ninth of September, 1677 [y]. The ſupply was ordered to be raiſed by a ſix months tax on land, to commence at the termination of the tax then in being. The crown experienced from the preſent commons an inſtance of complaiſance, which the former had denied. Upon a queſtion, that the ſupply ſhould be paid into the exchequer, and not into the chamber of London, it was carried in favour of the firſt, by a great majority [z].

King chuſes a new council,

THE King, to ſooth the commons, made a ſhow of changing his meaſures. He acquainted both houſes, on the twenty-firſt of April, that he had eſtabliſhed a new privy-council, which was never to exceed the number of thirty. He had choſen, he informed them, perſons worthy and able to direct his affairs. He was reſolved, he told them, to receive their advice in all weighty and important concerns; and next to his great council, the parliament, which he was determined often to conſult, he declared his determination to be guided by the council of thirty. Several popular leaders in both houſes were admitted into this body.

[x] April 15. [y] April 16. [z] April 17.

CHAP. V.

1679.

Shafteſbury, by a ſtrange viciſſitude of fortune, was made preſident. The Earl of Eſſex, a man of better principles than abilities, being made firſt lord of the treaſury, when it was put in commiſſion upon the reſignation of the Earl of Danby, was, from his office, a member of this council. His brother, Sir Henry Capel, conſpicuous for the vehemence of his public ſpeaking againſt the court, was alſo of the number. The Lord Ruſſel was likewiſe a member. The Viſcount Halifax, a nobleman of conſiderable talents, was admitted into the council, together with the Earl of Saliſbury and the Viſcount Fauconberg, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the King's meaſures in the houſe of lords. Powle, an orator on the ſide of patriotiſm in the houſe of commons, and even Seymour, whom the King had rejected as ſpeaker, were of the new council. The reſt conſiſted of the principal officers of ſtate, or of ſuch lords and commons as had, from principle, adhered always to the crown.

which has no effect on the commons.

THE placing of Shafteſbury at the head of the council of thirty furniſhed a ſubject of ſpeculation and ſurpriſe. He owed his preſent elevation to the terrors of the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and the precautions of the Earl of Sunderland[a]. The latter, a man of intriguing policy and capacity, had lately ſucceeded Coventry, by purchaſe, as ſecretary of ſtate. To ſupport his influence, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the miſtreſs, and, through her, governed, in ſome degree, the affairs of his ſovereign. Afraid of the inquiring abilities of Shafteſbury, he wiſhed to make him a partner of meaſures which he expected privately to guide. Having terrified the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth with the idea of proſecutions and impeachments, ſhe overcame the averſion of Charles to Shafteſbury. The King himſelf entertained hopes, that by placing their moſt violent leaders in his ſervice, he might regain the affections of his parliament. He was, however, diſappointed.

[a] James II. 1679.

The

CHAP. V.

1679.

The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greateſt indifference and coldneſs. They believed the whole to be a juggle to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country-party to drop their purſuit of grievances, by diſarming with offices the violence of their leaders.

Propoſal of limitations.

REGARDLESS of the communication made by the King, the commons continued their deliberations with unabating zeal. They reſolved, without one diſſenting voice, "that the Duke of York's being a Papiſt, and the hopes of his coming, as ſuch, to the crown, had given the greateſt countenance and encouragement to the plots and deſigns againſt the King and the Proteſtant religion[b]." The Lord Ruſſel was ordered to carry to the houſe of peers this vote for their concurrence. This was plainly a preparatory ſtep to the eventual excluſion of the Duke from the throne. Charles took the advice of his new council upon this alarming vote. He laid before them the limitations, which he communicated, on the thirtieth of April, to the two houſes. He told his parliament, that he was ready to conſent to any law that, without altering the ſucceſſion to the crown in the right line, ſhould limit the authority of a Popiſh ſucceſſor to ſecure their religious and civil liberties. The limitations propoſed, in a manner, annihilated the power of the crown. A Popiſh ſucceſſor was to be deprived of the right of beſtowing ſpiritual promotions, and of either appointing or diſplacing privy-councillors or judges, without the authority and permiſſion of parliament. That aſſembly only was to poſſeſs the power, either by themſelves, or ſuch perſons as they ſhould chuſe, to appoint and remove lords-lieutenants of counties, and the officers of the navy. To prevent the want of a parliament upon the King's demiſe, it was ſettled, "that the parliament then in being might continue; or if there ſhould be no parliament in being, then that immediately preceding

[b] April 27.

[a] might

CHAP. V.

1679.

might reaſſemble and ſit, without any new ſummons and elections [c]."

Bill of excluſion.

THESE ample conceſſions were either received in ſilence, or treated with contempt. The fury of the commons was not to be ſatisfied with the moſt humiliating condeſcenſions. They truſted leaſt the King when he promiſed the moſt. A bill for the total excluſion of the Duke of York was introduced on the fifteenth of May [d]; and, on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, it was read a ſecond time, and, by a great majority, ordered to be committed. The commons, in the mean time, followed with vehemence their proſecution againſt Danby. They reſolved, that the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void. They came to a reſolution, that commoners who ſhould maintain its validity ſhould be accounted betrayers of the liberties of England. They reſolved to go up in a body, and demand juſtice at the bar of the lords. Several conferences were held between the two houſes concerning the manner of his trial. The Popiſh lords, notwithſtanding the prejudices of the times, were leſs an object of perſecution than the fallen miniſter. His manner had created to him many enemies. Several doubted his honeſty. Some were ſatisfied of his guilt. A day at laſt was fixed for his trial. He reſolved to plead his pardon. They were determined to prove its illegality. An inſtance of their violence on this ſubject appears on their votes. They ordered ſuch members of the houſe as were of the long robe to prepare themſelves with reaſons againſt the pardon pleaded by the Earl of Danby.

Reſolution gainſt the biſhops.

DURING the preparations in the two houſes for the trial of Danby and the Popiſh lords, a new ſubject of debate aroſe. It having been uſual with the biſhops to withdraw from judgments in capital caſes, the commons reſolved, "that the lords ſpiritual

[c] April 20. [d] May 15.

ought

CHAP. V. 1679.

ought not to have any vote in any proceedings againſt the lords in the Tower [e]." The cauſe of this reſolution requires to be explained. Danby, throughout his adminiſtration, had improved into an affection for his own perſon the influence which the crown had uſually with the church. The validity of the pardon was, in the firſt place, to be debated; and the commons were afraid that the lords ſpiritual would decide the caſe in favour of the crown, to ſave their political friend. Though the biſhops made a rule of retiring before judgment, they generally ſat and voted in motions preparatory to trials. The pardon, though a preliminary, was the hinge upon which the whole muſt turn. The commons, therefore, inſiſted upon excluding the biſhops. The lords were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature. Unſurmountable difficulties aroſe. The houſes adhered to their reſpective opinions. Charles took advantage of their quarrels. He prorogued the parliament, and put an end, for the time, to the bill of excluſion [f].

Habeas corpus act.

THOUGH the principal attention of the commons was turned toward the excluſion of the Duke of York and the proſecution of Danby, they paid ſome regard to other ſecurities of public liberty. They paſſed the *habeas corpus* act, a law which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes the freedom of the conſtitution of England. The perſonal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or reſtrain. The Engliſh nation accordingly had, very early and repeatedly, ſecured with public acts this valuable part of their rights as men. The great charter and many ſubſequent ſtatutes had provided, that no man ſhould be impriſoned by application or petition to the King, but by legal indictment or proceſs of the common law. The petition of right provided further ſecurities for this neceſſary freedom; and an act paſſed in the year

[e] May 17. [f] May 27.

CHAP. V.

1679.

1641 directed, that any perſon reſtrained of his liberty ſhould, on demand of his counſel, be brought before the court of King's-Bench or Common Pleas, who were to determine the juſtice or injuſtice of his commitment. The act paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament explained the manner of obtaining the writ of *habeas corpus*, with ſuch diſtinctneſs and preciſion as reflected honour on the patriotiſm and penetration of thoſe who carried it into a law. But ſomething ſtill was wanting to render this ſalutary act complete. The demanding of unreaſonable bail or ſureties for the appearance of the perſon under reſtraint might evade the law. It was, therefore, after the Revolution, declared by ſtatute, "that no exceſſive bail ſhould be required[t]."

Five Jeſuits condemned.

THE prorogation of the parliament was ſucceeded by the trial of five Jeſuits, for being concerned in the Popiſh plot. Charles, though he gave no credit to that ridiculous impoſture, continued to yield to the current of the times. The rage of the people had not yet abated; and it would be imprudent, if not impoſſible, to ſave the innocent, by the utmoſt exertion of his authority. He left the unfortunate culprits to the perjuries of Otes and Bedloe, to the intemperate violence of a weak and even profligate chief juſtice, and the prejudices and terrors of a credulous populace. One Dugdale, who had ſerved the Lord Aſton in the capacity of ſteward, appeared as a new evidence when the Jeſuits were arraigned. Carrying the appearance of a man of ſenſe and ſobriety, he acquired more credit than either Otes or Bedloe. But he was alſo an impoſtor, and his teſtimony appeared afterwards monſtrous and incredible. To invalidate the evidence of Otes, the priſoners proved, by ſixteen ſtudents from St. Omers, the moſt of them young men of family, that Otes was in that place at the very time he had ſworn he had been in treaſonable conſults with the Jeſuits in England. The teſtimony of Catholics had no weight,

[t] Firſt of W. and M.

either

either with the court or the jury. The witneſſes were, without doors, inſulted and beat by the mob. Within, they were reviled and brow-beat by Scroggs. The priſoners, as might have been expected, were condemned. They denied to the laſt their being guilty. They gained no credit, and they died unpitied [h]. CHAP. V. 1679.

THE day after the condemnation of the five Jeſuits, Langhorne, a Roman-Catholic lawyer, was tried at the Old-Bailey. Otes ſwore, that he had been privy to the conſultations for killing the King. Bedloe gave his teſtimony upon oath, that he had ſeen Langhorne regiſtering letters concerning the plot. Both joined in affirming, that he had in his cuſtody the papal patents for the lords in the Tower, together with a commiſſion to himſelf for the office of advocate-general of the army. The improbability of the evidence, the ſtrong proofs produced to invalidate the teſtimony of the informers, the arguments, the character of Langhorne, his vehement proteſtations of innocence, had no weight with the court and the jury. Inhumanity itſelf was added to injuſtice and prejudice. The priſoner was condemned, amid the acclamations of a crowded audience. The populace almoſt tore to pieces the witneſſes of the unhappy convict, upon their approach to the court. He was reprieved for a month, to make diſcoveries. The unfortunate man knew nothing of a plot that never exiſted; and he died, proteſting his innocence with his laſt breath. Trial of Langhorne.

THE reign of deluſion was not, however, deſtined to laſt long. The people, ſtaggered with the firm denial of ſo many dying men, began to reſume their natural humanity. Their eyes were gradually opened to the truth, and they wondered from whence their fears had come. They now called in queſtion many things, which, in the heat of their zeal, they had believed. They reflected on the infamous character of the informers, and they ſaw Sir G. Wakeman acquitted.

[h] Burnet, Kennet, Echard.

CHAP. V. 1679.

the improbability of the evidence. Their minds were, at length, prepared to perceive the truth, and to judge without prejudice. In this ſtate of opinion came on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician. The perjury of the witneſſes appeared in ſuch ſtriking colours, that he was acquitted. Even Corker and Marſhal, two prieſts, who were tried at the ſame time, eſcaped, notwithſtanding the public averſion to their profeſſion. The chief juſtice himſelf, who had exhibited an indecent warmth againſt former priſoners, ſeemed to change with the times. He became a kind of counſel for the culprits. He gave a favourable charge to the jury. Otes and Bedloe, with their uſual inſolence, accuſed him to his face of partiality. They even carried their accuſation to the King and council, where they had been treated with ſo much attention before [h].

Parliament diſſolved.

CHARLES, unwilling to meet his parliament, diſſolved it by proclamation on the twelfth of July. On the ſame day writs were iſſued for ſummoning another to aſſemble at Weſtminſter on the ſeventeenth of October. Before the King adopted this meaſure, he conſulted his council of thirty. Their opinions were various on the ſubject. Shafteſbury declared againſt the diſſolution, but he was over-ruled by Eſſex and Halifax. Eſſex, though he loved the freedom of his country, thought that the parliament had carried their reſolutions too far. Beſides, he blamed the violence of Shafteſbury, who, though nominally engaged for the people, ſeemed only anxious to gratify his own revenge againſt the royal line. Halifax was gained by Charles to join Eſſex in adviſing the ſame meaſure [i]. Thus ended a parliament, whoſe violence can ſcarce be excuſed by their beſt meaſures. Inſtead of endeavouring to bring back the heated minds of men to moderation, they added their own fervour to the prejudices of the populace. Their oppoſition to the meaſures of the court, their zeal for the

[h] Vid. their Memorial.

[i] Burnet.

Proteſtant

CHAP. V.

1679.

Proteſtant religion, their fears of the acceſſion of the Duke of York to the crown, and, above all, their improvement of the laws of *habeas corpus*, ſtamped, ſoon after, their meaſures with the reputation of patriotiſm. But ſince it is now known, that the principal leaders in both the houſes were in the pay of France, this age, at leaſt, may ceaſe to admire.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE hiſtory of Scotland, during this reign, labours under the want of importance, which attends a nation whoſe ſovereign reſides in another country. Enthuſiaſm on the ſide of an ignorant populace, and violence on the part of an imprudent government, fill the whole circle of Scotiſh affairs. Theſe, co-operating together, produced events in the preſent year, which require a prior detail of facts to be underſtood. Lauderdale, who ſecretly affected preſbytery, relaxed a part of his ſeverity againſt the Covenanters, in the year 1677. The preſumption of the conventiclers roſe in proportion to the indulgence of the ſtate. Preſent eaſe was loſt upon an unfortunate race of men, ſtill ſore from former injuries. Their preachers inflamed them into a kind of madneſs, in field-meetings, to which their hearers came all armed. They mixed treaſon with other exhortations in their diſcourſes; and the epiſcopal party found means to revive thoſe impolitic ſeverities which had been juſt laid aſide. In the month of November 1677, the council came to a reſolution to ſuppreſs with an army of Highlanders the diſturbances created by the Covenanters in the weſtern counties. The noblemen and gentlemen of the neareſt Highlands were ordered to aſſemble their vaſſals, in the end of the following January, at Stirling. Arms, ammunition, and ſtores, were ſent to that town; and every thing was prepared, as for a campaign againſt a foreign enemy [k].

[k] Woodrow, Burnet, &c.

CHAP. V.

1679. Perſecution and

THE Highlanders, to the number of ſix thouſand, joined the King's regular forces; and, on the ſecond of February 1678, marched weſtward from Stirling, and diſperſed themſelves in free quarters through Cunningham and Kyle. The unfortunate people made no reſiſtance to ſo great a force. Many exceſſes were committed. The country was, in a manner, ravaged without controul; but the council at length relenting, ordered the Highlanders to march back into their own country. Several of the nobility of the weſtern counties repaired to London, and complained of this outrage. Charles admitted them to an audience, in the preſence of the Dukes of York and Monmouth, and the Earl of Danby. He was ſhocked at their narration. He ſaid, "theſe were horrid things." He ordered them to commit the whole to paper. He, however, found it neceſſary to approve of the proceedings of the council; but he put a ſtop to their barbarous ſeverity. Before the end of the year, he altered his meaſures in Scotland; and had not the Popiſh plot interfered, he might have made ſome amends, by future lenity, for the rigour of former perſecutions [1].

deſigns of the Covenanters.

THE madneſs which infected the bulk of the Engliſh nation, with regard to the Popiſh plot, extended itſelf to the Scotiſh fanatics. A diſtruſt of government, on account of its apparent intentions, prevailed in England; but in Scotland a jealouſy of the court aroſe from actual injuries. The lower ſort, from a ſpiritual pride, were the natural enemies of kingly government. Intolerant in their principles, they abhorred every other ſyſtem of faith but their own; and, in their particular averſion to the church of Rome, they eaſily believed that its intereſts were abetted by a government, of whoſe rigour they had juſt cauſe to complain. The ſucceſs of the country-party in the Engliſh parliament

[1] Burnet.

raiſed

CHAP. V. 1679.

raiſed the ſpirits of the fanatics, and gave life to their hopes. Some of their principal leaders were probably animated to inſurrection by the heads of the republican party in England. The conventicles became more frequent and more numerous. Their preachers, with an inſolence ſcarce pardonable, where it is not deſpiſed, exhorted their hearers to pay no land-tax, to deny the legality of acts of parliament, to oppoſe the King's authority. Every field-meeting became, in ſome degree, an army. Men came provided with weapons, and ſeemed ready to ſupport by force their opinions, in civil as well as ſpiritual affairs. They, however, acted only on the defenſive, till time ſhould bring to maturity their more extenſive deſigns [m].

Murder of

THE enthuſiaſm of ſome of the party broke, at length, through the ſuſpenſe of the reſt. Sharpe, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, had perſecuted with rigour, if not with extreme violence, the Covenanters, ever ſince the Reſtoration. This prelate having been deputed by the Scotiſh clergy, in the year 1660, to General Monk, found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the court, even before the King's departure from Breda. When the reſolution of eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland was taken, he openly deſerted a party whom he had before betrayed. The dignity of Primate was the reward of his apoſtacy, and the fanatics added perſonal animoſity and enmity to the averſion which his rigours and impolitic zeal had raiſed. His life had been attempted ſeveral years before this period, by one Mitchel, a diſtempered enthuſiaſt. Mitchel had been executed for that crime in 1678, by means which threw odium and diſhonour on Sharpe. The Archbiſhop, by nature artful and diſingenuous, was vindictive in his temper, haughty, and inſufferably vain. He was more offended at the reproaches of the fanatics, than even at their doctrines; and, in every one of his meaſures, private revenge ſeemed

[m] Sidney's Letters, &c.

CHAP. V.

1679.

to predominate over his zeal for what he called the public good of religion. The moſt zealous among the covenanters conſidered him as an unrelenting perſecutor; and they reconciled to religion a deſign of removing him out of the world [n].

Archbiſhop Sharpe.

On the third of May, the primate, on his way to St. Andrews, was attacked by a party of theſe furious zealots. The moſt of his ſervants were abſent. His daughter only accompanied him in the coach. Having fired upon him in vain with their carabines, they diſpatched him with their ſwords. His murder was accompanied with circumſtances of the utmoſt barbarity. When he ſtretched forth his hand for mercy to one of the aſſaſſins whom he ſeemed to know, the inhuman villain almoſt cut it off with a ſtroke of his ſword. His daughter was wounded in ſeveral places, in endeavouring to cover her aged father from the murderers. They even mangled the dead body. They at length left the torn carcaſe, with every mark of indignity, on the highway. The errors, and even the crimes of his life were forgotten in the barbarity of his death. Men were ſhocked at an enthuſiaſm that gave the name of a religious action to the worſt of crimes. An univerſal joy followed the murder of Sharpe among the adherents of the covenant. The pulpits thundered forth the applauſe of the aſſaſſins; and even ſome, who approved not of the manner of the deed, expreſſed their gladneſs at the removal of the arch enemy of their religious forms [o].

Inſurrection in the Weſt.

The council, alarmed at the death of Sharpe, renewed their ſeverities againſt conventicles. The troops quartered in the weſtern counties received orders to diſperſe by force all field meetings, wherever they ſhould be found. The fanatics came armed and in great numbers to their places of worſhip. One Hamilton, and

[n] Woodrow, Burnet, Pub. Intell.

[o] Ibid.

CHAP. V.

1679.

a preacher of the name of Douglas, at the head of eighty armed men, came to Rutherglen, a village two miles from Glaſgow, and publiſhed, with great ſolemnity, a declaration. They judged the twenty-ninth of May, the anniverſary of the Reſtoration, the moſt proper day for their purpoſe. They made uſe of the bonfires kindled upon the occaſion, to burn the acts of parliament and thoſe of the council, which had eſtabliſhed prelacy and ſuppreſſed conventicles. Graham of Claverhouſe, famous afterwards under the title of Viſcount Dundee, attacked a conventicle on the thirty-firſt of May, but he was repulſed with loſs. The fanatics, fluſhed with their ſucceſs, marched to Glaſgow; but being beat back by the regular forces, they formed a kind of preaching-camp at Hamilton. The alarm ſpread in an inſtant over the country. The news was carried to London in three days. The King's troops retired from Glaſgow, and on the ſeventh of June they were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh[p].

Rout at Bothwell-bridge.

CHARLES, apprized of the inſurrection, diſpatched Monmouth, then commander in chief of all his forces, to Scotland. The Duke left London, with a few ſervants only, on the fifteenth of June; and on the nineteenth, he marched at the head of the army from Edinburgh. The inſurgents in the mean time were perplexed beyond meaſure. Few men of any rank had joined them; and the chief talent of their leaders was prayer. Diſcord, timidity, and confuſion prevailed. Some propoſed to lay their grievances before Monmouth. Others thwarted that meaſure, who had nothing themſelves to propoſe. The firſt however prevailed. They ſent commiſſioners to the Duke. He refuſed to treat till they ſhould lay down their arms. He gave them but half an hour to determine. The inſurgents lay beyond Bothwell-bridge, which

[p] Woodrow, Burnet, &c.

they

CHAP. V. 1679.

they had occupied with a ſtrong party. Upon the return of the commiſſioners their quarrels and debates were renewed. Monmouth in the mean time advanced. He forced the paſſage of the bridge. A rout, rather than a fight enſued. The fanatics poſſeſſed no conduct. They exhibited no valour. Their enthuſiaſm forſook them when peril came; and though they talked with familiarity of Heaven, they were afraid to die. Seven hundred were killed, twelve hundred taken. Scarce five of the King's forces were either killed or wounded [q].

Clemency of Monmouth.

MONMOUTH, by nature mild, and an enemy to cruelty, uſed his victory with humanity and moderation. He permitted not his troops to ravage the country, nor to burn the habitations of the inſurgents. Such of the lower ſort as promiſed good behaviour, were diſmiſſed without puniſhment. Some of the ſpiritual leaders of the rebels were carried to Edinburgh, and afterwards executed. The moderation of Monmouth ought not, however, to be altogether aſcribed to his generous diſpoſition. He abetted the opinions of the oppoſition in England. He endeavoured to become popular in Scotland, the affairs of which he was then deſtined to guide [r]. He however over-acted his part, and raiſed the jealouſy of the King. Charles was informed, that the Duke had behaved himſelf toward the Scotiſh fanatics as if he intended rather to place himſelf at their head than to repel their progreſs; and that he was more inclined to court their friendſhip than to puniſh their rebellion. Having quaſhed the inſurrection in the ſpace of a few days, Monmouth took leave of the council on the ſixth of July, and returned to London. He was received by the King with every mark of affection, and complimented with the title of Highneſs, an honour which flattered his pride and encouraged his ambition [s].

[q] Woodrow, Gazette. [r] James II. [s] James II. 1679.

CHAP. V.

1679. Affairs of Ireland.

WHILE England was haraſſed with a popiſh plot, and Scotland diſturbed with inſurrections, an unuſual tranquillity prevailed in Ireland. His country derived this happineſs from the prudent conduct of its chief governor, the Duke of Ormonde. That noble perſon having been declared Lord-lieutenant in the ſummer of 1677, received the ſword of ſtate from his predeceſſor, the Earl of Eſſex, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt. He applied himſelf immediately to the arrangement of the revenue. He inquired minutely into all its branches. He examined into the terms of the late farm. He made a new contract. He improved the finances to three hundred thouſand pounds a year. With this ſum he maintained an army of ten thouſand men; he equipped ſome frigates to guard the coaſt; he kept the forts of the kingdom in good repair. A ſurplus of forty-four thouſand pounds a-year was allowed for the ſupport of Tangier. In the year 1678 it was thought neceſſary to call a parliament, for laying a freſh duty upon exciſeable liquors, and to confirm by an act the decrees of the court of claims [a].

BUT when Ormonde had made ſome improvements, and was meditating more, intelligence of the popiſh plot from England threw the Iriſh into a general conſternation. The council met for the ſecurity of the kingdom. All officers were ordered to their reſpective ſtations. A proclamation was iſſued for diſarming the papiſts. The commiſſioners of array were ordered to prepare the militia for the field. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the Duke eſcaped not from cenſure. His life was threatened in Ireland. The enemies of his principles accuſed him in England. The Earl of Shafteſbury recommended the conſideration of Ireland to the lords. He repreſented the unguarded ſtate of Dublin. He threw reflections on Ormonde. He boaſted in public, that he

[a] Carte, Leland.

CHAP. V. 1679.

himſelf was poſſeſſed of proofs of an Iriſh plot. While the Duke was preparing to come to London, to vindicate himſelf from theſe aſperſions, the parliament was diſſolved. Charles, ſatisfied with his conduct, reſolved to continue him in the government. The diſcontents in England rendered it an object of the laſt importance to retain Ireland in faithful hands [t].

State of

THE diſſolution of his ſecond parliament raiſed the hopes of the friends of Charles, and depreſſed the minds of his enemies. In the temporary calm which ſucceeded this event, the nation began manifeſtly to divide itſelf into thoſe two parties whoſe conculſion had, ſome years before, laid the conſtitution in ruins. The zeal of the moſt violent on both ſides, roſe gradually into perſonal reſentment, enmity, and political fury. The diſpaſſionate and peaceable part of mankind foreſaw nothing but confuſion, diſtreſs, and public miſery from the preſent diſſenſions. No ſtrangers to the anarchy which had ſucceeded, in a late period, to the ſubverſion of monarchy, they adhered to the crown in their opinions. The body of the people, who had been inflamed by the popiſh plot, were now becoming more cool. The artful conduct of Charles, had prevented his being involved in the public jealouſy which was kindled againſt his brother. He had fallen down a ſtream which it was in vain to oppoſe; and retained the affections of the populace, by pretending to be impreſſed with their fears. His open, eaſy, and accommodating diſpoſition was calculated to keep the good opinion which his policy had acquired.

parties,

MANY who diſliked the meaſures of the court were offended at the violence of the popular leaders. The vehemence with which they proſecuted the popiſh plot, had degenerated from zeal into paſſion. They ſeemed in ſome inſtances more eager to puniſh the

[t] Carte's Ormonde.

accuſed

accuſed than to aſcertain their guilt. The diſcerning began to ſuſpect, that they carried forward their own private deſigns under the ſpecious veil of public good. The attempt to exclude the Duke of York from the throne was received with a degree of jealouſy, by ſeveral who feared his principles and deteſted his bigotry. To break the line of ſucceſſion, was eſteemed a great ſtep toward the abolition of monarchy. The benefit of making the Prince himſelf derive his right, as well as his authority, from the laws, was neither underſtood nor ſeen. Men formed their judgment of the future from the events of paſt times. Diſputed claims to the throne, had involved their fathers in all the miſeries of a long civil war, and they were afraid to entail the like miſfortunes upon their poſterity. CHAP. V. 1679.

THOUGH theſe opinions were as yet only cheriſhed in ſecret, they eſcaped not the penetrating eye of the King. He endeavoured to encourage them by his moderation, and at the ſame time with an appearance of ſpirit. Though indolent by nature, and in a great meaſure deſtitute of ambition, he was reſolved not to ſacrifice what HE deemed to be the rights of the crown, to a precarious offer of preſent eaſe. He found, that in proportion to the growth of violence on the ſide of his opponents, the number of his friends increaſed. The Cavaliers were ready, from their principles, to give him a ſupport to which he had no title from his former gratitude. The commons, by an injudicious attack on the biſhops, threw in a great degree the eſtabliſhed clergy in the ſcale of the crown. The proteſtant ſectaries had entered with vehemence into all the views of the popular party. Some of their leaders abetted other religious principles more than thoſe of the church of England. The hierarchy remembered their misfortunes in paſt times; and they were afraid of the future. They had formerly fallen with monarchy, and, without its ſupport, they now deſpaired to be able to ſtand. They dreaded the abolition of and of

CHAP. V. 1679.

prelacy, ſhould the King be obliged to yield to the violence of his opponents. Charles wrought upon their apprehenſions, and gained their favour. This powerful acquiſition of ſtrength, contributed greatly to the victory which he ſoon after gained.

political opinions.

BUT though ſeveral of the popular party turned their whole deſigns againſt monarchy, the views of others who joined them were only extended to public freedom. Afraid of the political principles, as well as of the religious bigotry, of the Duke of York, they had taken advantage of the preſent current againſt popery to exclude him from the ſucceſſion. They foreſaw that no limitations impoſed by a predeceſſor, would be ſufficient to defeat the influence which the lineal heir ſhould acquire upon his aſcending the throne. They feared every thing to themſelves from the Duke's reſentment. The ſtern obſtinacy of his character, raiſed their terrors for their country. They had advanced too far not to go farther ſtill. They were determined to proceed in an avowed and vigorous oppoſition. They even hoped to gain the royaliſts to their opinion, through their zeal againſt popery. They expected at length to obtain, from the indolence of the King, his conſent to a temporary breach on the ſucceſſion. Beſides, the expediency of the thing appeared to them as obvious, as that the meaſure was well timed. A Prince who ſhould owe his crown to the ſuffrages of the people, would be naturally more careful not to encroach on their freedom, than one who derived his whole right from his anceſtors.

The King falls ſick.

MANY who were ſenſible of the juſtneſs of this poſition, were wavering in their opinions, and perplexed with doubts. They ſaw no certainty of ſafety to their religion and liberties, ſhould the crown deſcend to the Duke of York. They could form no expectations, that either that Prince, or a great part of the nation, would tamely ſubmit to his total excluſion. Their only hopes reſted

CHAP. V.

1679.

reſted upon the event of the King's ſurviving the Duke. But theſe hopes ſeemed to vaniſh, upon the former's falling ſuddenly ill. In the end of Auguſt, Charles was ſeized with ſevere fits of a tertian ague. A general conſternation ſpread inſtantly through the kingdom. The anxiety of the people for his recovery roſe in proportion to their fears for themſelves. All the horrors of a civil war came at once on their minds. The enemies of the Duke of York were ſuppoſed to be ready to proceed to extremities, for their own ſafety. The friends of monarchy were determined to preſerve the ſucceſſion to the crown in the right line. The iſſue of the conteſt muſt have proved fatal to the nation. Should the firſt prevail, the return of confuſion and anarchy was juſtly feared; and deſpotiſm muſt have been the conſequence of the ſucceſs of the latter.

The Duke of York returns.

THE Duke of York, who had reſided during the ſummer at Bruſſels, received letters from the Earl of Feverſham and others, that the King was in danger [u]. Eſſex, Halifax, and Sunderland were then at the head of affairs. Their averſion to the Earl of Shafteſbury had induced them to favour the Duke. Sunderland wrote to him privately to haſten his return. He accordingly left Bruſſels on the eighth of September, accompanied by the Earl of Peterborrow and by Churchill. He paſſed in a French ſhallop from Calais to Dover. He rode poſt with Churchill to London, without being known; lodged privately for the night at Sir Allan Apſley's, in St. James's Square, and next morning arrived at Windſor, before the King awaked. He found his brother almoſt reſtored to health, by the uſe of the Jeſuits bark. Charles received him with every mark of affection. He however told him, that neither the ſituation of his affairs, nor the inclinations of the miniſtry, rendered it proper for him to remain in England. To gra-

[u] James II. 1679.

tify

CHAP. V. 1679.

tify the Duke for this ſeeming ſeverity, and to remove his ſuſpicions concerning Monmouth, the King diſmiſſed the latter from all his employments, and commanded him to retire beyond ſea [x].

Monmouth diſgraced.

THE behaviour of Monmouth during the King's illneſs was, however, the chief cauſe of his diſgrace. Inſtead of expreſſing concern for his danger, he avowedly followed ſchemes to mount his throne. A dupe to the arts of Shafteſbury, and beyond meaſure ambitious, through exceſs of vanity, he hoped to gain, by the favour of the people, what he had deſpaired to obtain through the affection of his father. Charles was more offended at his want of gratitude to himſelf, than at his attachment to thoſe who oppoſed his meaſures. He commanded Monmouth into his preſence. He ſtript him of the office of general. He ordered him immediately to depart the kingdom, and wait his pleaſure. Monmouth heard theſe orders with heat. He told the King, that as he was not thought worthy of commanding the army, he would no longer remain captain of the guards. He, however, came next morning with more ſubmiſſion. He declared himſelf ready to obey in every thing the King; and he actually ſet out that very evening [y] from London. The affection of Charles was conſpicuous in the midſt of this ſeverity. In a conference with Monmouth before his departure, it was reſolved that the Duke of York ſhould alſo quit the kingdom without delay [z].

The Duke of York retires to Scotland.

WHEN the Duke of York was preparing to depart, Secretary Coventry propoſed that he ſhould retire to Scotland, rather than beyond ſea. The King and Sunderland agreed to the meaſure; Eſſex readily aſſented, and Halifax yielded, after ſome heſitation. This reſolution, however, eſcaped not the penetrating eyes of Shafteſbury, and the other leaders of the country-party. They were alarmed at a circumſtance which ſeemed calculated to throw

[x] James II. 1679. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid.

the

CHAP. V. 1679.

the weight of the Scotiſh nation in the ſcale of their greateſt foe. The Duke took leave of his brother on the twenty-fifth of September, and, by the way of Holland, joined his family at Bruſſels. He wrote, according to a prior concert, from that place, on his arrival, to aſk the King's leave to retire to Scotland; and to carry the Ladies Anne and Iſabella, who had been lately permitted to viſit the Dutcheſs, to ſee their ſiſter the Princeſs of Orange. The yachts were ſent to bring him from Holland. Some frigates were ordered to carry himſelf and his family to Scotland. Upon his arrival in the Downs, he returned to London. The ſeaſon of the year was improper for a voyage by ſea. The Ducheſs was ſo ill that ſhe vomited blood. His two daughters were indiſpoſed. A week after his arrival at London, he began his journey northward. The crowds that attended his departure mortified his enemies, and flattered his own hopes [a]. The fate of Monmouth was different. When he was deſerted by the King, he was forſaken by his friends. Lord Brandon only, of all thoſe who paid their court to him when in favour, was his companion in diſgrace [b].

Monmouth returns.

THE day after the Duke of York's departure for Scotland, Monmouth made his public appearance in London. Though he ſeemed to have been deſerted in his diſgrace, his return was announced with public demonſtrations of joy. He ſent to Charles; but the affection of that Prince had given way to his pride. He declared that he would not admit him into his preſence, and he adhered to that reſolution. He commanded him inſtantly to depart. Monmouth's folly was the cauſe of this ſeverity. When he made a merit of yielding to the King's pleaſure in quitting the kingdom, he continued his correſpondence with the country-party. He held a private meeting with Mountague, and other diſaffected perſons, on the evening of his departure. His very

[a] James II. North.

[b] James II. 1679.

CHAP. V. 1679.

words were carried to the King. He informed his friends, that the cauſe of his diſgrace was his adviſing Charles to make up matters with parliament; and, above all, his being firm to the Proteſtant religion, the doctrines of which, he affirmed, were by no means favoured by the King. Many of his friends, ſeveral of the nobility, even the Dutcheſs of Monmouth, ſolicited the King in his favour in vain. He peremptorily ordered him to be gone. Rouſed from his natural indolence by the violence of oppoſition, Charles began to aſſume that firmneſs, which ſoon after levelled all the deſigns of his enemies [c].

Refuſed admittance to the King.

MONMOUTH, as his laſt reſource, ſent a letter to the King by the Lord Fauconberg. It was returned unopened. He was ſtript that inſtant of all his employments. The Duke of Albemarle was made captain of the guards. The Earl of Mulgrave was appointed governor of Hull, and lord-lieutenant of the Eaſt-riding of the county of York. Shrewſbury was placed in the lieutenancy of Staffordſhire. The office of maſter of the horſe was taken from Monmouth, but not given away. Armſtrong, who had been aſſiduous in all his ſchemes, was deprived of his commiſſion; but a thouſand pounds, which he had paid for it, were refunded. His implicit ſubmiſſion to all the propoſals of Shafteſbury brought upon Monmouth this freſh diſgrace. He returned at his deſire. He liſtened to a new ſcheme for proving the marriage of his mother with the King. Shafteſbury amuſed him with ſuch tales, to favour his own deſigns. Having been turned out of the office of preſident of the council, he added his rage for a recent injury to his old and ſettled reſentment. He was diſappointed in the meeting of parliament, which the King, againſt the advice of the council, had prorogued for three months, with an inſinuation that it ſhould not meet in leſs than a year. Theſe meaſures the popular party aſcribed to the influence of the Duke

[c] James II.

of

of York; and reſentment, as well as policy, induced them to exalt his rival [d].

Secret deſigns of the Prince of Orange.

DURING the conteſt in the mind of the King, between his affection for a ſon whom he loved, and a brother whoſe rights he revered, the nation conſidered the two Dukes as the only rivals for the throne. There was, however, another Prince, who had long extended his views, with undeviating perſeverance and attention, to the ſame ſplendid object. Though the excluſioniſts, to ſoften the oppoſition of the King to their ſchemes, flattered Monmouth, they held ſecret connexions with the Prince of Orange. Sir William Temple encouraged his expectations [e]. Sidney propoſed to manage his negociations in England [f]. They aſſured him, that ſhould the King, by any means, be thrown into the hands of parliament, there was a probability of his being forced to reſign the crown [g]. The Prince, buoyed up by theſe aſſurances, and placing great confidence in his own ſecret intrigues in England, hoped that the parliament would invite him to the vacant throne; and he was reſolved to obey their call [h].

His engagements with Monmouth.

WHEN the Prince was in this diſpoſition of mind, the Duke of Monmouth arrived at the Hague. He was very coldly received in public by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange [i]. He, however, obtained a private conference with the former, and had the addreſs to reconcile him, in appearance, to his views. He informed the Prince, that the King had ſent him from England, not from any diſlike to his conduct, but to form a pretence for removing the Duke of York from the kingdom. He aſſured him, that he never had ſet up any pretenſions to the crown; and that his only object was the ſafety of his own perſon, and the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion. The Prince told him, that unleſs he

[d] James II. 1679. [e] D'Avaux, 1679. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.
[h] Ibid. [i] Ibid.

CHAP. V. 1679.

relinquiſhed all ſchemes of ambition, and every deſign on the throne, he himſelf muſt not only not be his friend, but oppoſe him with all his influence and power. Monmouth agreed to the propoſals of the Prince with the moſt ſolemn promiſes and aſſurances; and they entered into mutual engagements to aid one another in their reſpective ſchemes[k]. Such were the beginnings of a connexion which afterwards actually brought Monmouth to the block, and paved the way to the throne for the Prince of Orange.

The King's firmneſs.

THOUGH the Duke of York laid it down as a maxim in his politics, never to gain an avowed enemy, there is no reaſon to aſcribe to his councils the new and more ſpirited conduct of Charles. Pliant in his character, and immoderately fond of eaſe, he had, during near twenty years of his reign, changed his meaſures and his ſervants, when the opinions of the nation ſeemed to change. He had hitherto derived nothing but misfortune from this accommodating principle, as it marked his councils with an appearance of unſteadineſs, in the eyes of the people. He encouraged ſome of his enemies, by his ſuppoſed timidity of mind. The Earl of Shafteſbury had, at two different times, when in the higheſt offices of the ſtate, herded with thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures which he himſelf ought to guide. The conduct of that lord, upon the firſt diſgrace of Monmouth, convinced Charles, that no benefit could reſult from his continuance in office. He knew that both he and his party hoped every thing from parliament. He, therefore, aſſumed at once that firmneſs of conduct which he followed during the reſt of his reign. He told his council, on the fifteenth of October, that he was reſolved to prorogue his parliament for a whole year; and, that very evening, he diſmiſſed Shafteſbury from the office of preſident. No meaſure, in his ſituation, could be more prudent. He ſaw a party riſing

[k] D'Avaux, 1679.

gradually in his favour throughout the nation; and he secured their attachment, by shewing that he himself could be firm. CHAP. V. 1679.

THE encouragement given by parliament, and the public credulity, had rendered the office of informer profitable, and, in some degree, honourable, in the eyes of profligate men. One Dangerfield, whose wickedness had just reached the border of every capital felony, now aspired to the prize which Otes and Bedloe had obtained. This infamous person had been transported for larceny, pilloried for perjury, fined for frauds, and outlawed for flying from justice. To sum up his character, he had been the bosom-friend of Bedloe, and his companion upon the highway. When he could not obtain the money of others, he passed fictitious coin of his own. He was, in short, guilty of every base enormity; and as hardened by habit against punishment, as he was insensible of shame. His total want of veracity was his most harmless vice; for his excessive impudence and folly deprived of all credit his lies. Being handsome in his person, he was harboured by one Mrs. Cellier, a Roman-Catholic midwife; a woman of vivacity, and of an ungovernable passion for men. Having formed the outlines of a pretended plot by the Presbyterians against the government, he was introduced by Cellier to the Countess of Powis, who, by the means of the Earl of Peterborow, procured for him access to the Duke of York, and then to the King [1]. Dangerfield.

THE improbability of Dangerfield's tale, his clumsy artifice of concealing ill-forged papers, in order to be found, his profligate character, and his being seized by an officer of justice for counterfeiting the current coin, threw a total discredit on his information. No warrant could legally be issued on his evidence. He was left to the law, and confined to Newgate. To extricate him- The Meal-tub plot.

[1] Ralph, Burnet.

CHAP. V. 1679.

ſelf from his perilous ſituation, he became the author of a new Popiſh plot, as ſuiting beſt with the prejudices and credulity of the people. He wrote a circumſtantial narrative of his being tempted by the Earl of Caſtlemaine, the Lady Powis, and ſome other Catholics, to aſſaſſinate the King, and to murder the Earl of Shafteſbury. He even accuſed Mrs. Cellier, his patroneſs and boſom-friend; and, from the place where ſome papers were found in her lodgings, this fictitious conſpiracy was denominated the Meal-tub Plot. This change in Dangerfield's evidence was abetted by Shafteſbury, and it alarmed, in ſome degree, the timid and credulous part of the nation. Charles, however, taught by the bad conſequences of the former plot, reſolved to nip this in the bud. He took advantage of the legal invalidity of Dangerfield's evidence, as a perſon that had been pilloried. All inquiry was ſtopt; and this plot vaniſhed, together with the fears of the nation[m].

Remarkable burning of a Pope.

THE popular party, during the interval of parliament, endeavoured to continue the ferment among the people till the next ſeſſion. Shafteſbury, with all his fertile invention, laboured to accompliſh a point ſo neceſſary to his deſigns. At the head of a ſociety of deſperate and profligate perſons, called the Green-ribbon Club, he projected a public ſhow, to impreſs the minds of the populace with horror and fear for the Popiſh plot. On the ſeventeenth of November, the anniverſary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation-day, it had been uſual in the city of London to burn a pope, with his inſeparable companion the devil. This ceremony was performed in the preſent year with uncommon ſolemnity and expence. In the front of a long proceſſion, the principal figure was a dead body carried on horſeback before a Jeſuit, repreſenting that of Godfrey, as he was ſuppoſed to be conveyed by the aſſaſſins to Primroſe-hill. Before the body walked a bellman,

[m] Burnet, Ralph, James II. &c.

crying

CHAP. V. 1679.

crying out with a loud but melancholy voice, "Remember Juſtice Godfrey." In a vaſt bonfire within Temple-Bar, the figure of the Pope, which had cloſed the proceſſion, was burnt, amid the acclamations of the populace; and the night illuminated with magnificent fireworks, and diſturbed with other demonſtrations of joy [n].

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

BUT the impreſſion made upon an ignorant populace by this ſight, was not worth its expence to Shafteſbury and the Green-ribbon Club. Sober men, who loved their country, were perſuaded that it could not be ſerved by ſuch paltry means. Though they entertained ſome apprehenſions of the preſent government, they were averſe from exchanging it for the anarchy of a mob. They perceived that reſentment, more than the love of public liberty, actuated the moſt vehement of the public leaders. Their violence threw a total diſcredit on their profeſſions. Indignation againſt their conduct attached many to the crown; and, fortunately for Charles, ſeveral perſons, who liked not his meaſures, thought it their own intereſt to ſupport his authority. Shafteſbury, however, was not diſcouraged. He held a ſecret correſpondence with the Prince of Orange, whom he flattered with the hopes of an almoſt immediate poſſeſſion of the throne. In concert with that able, intriguing, and ambitious Prince, he formed a project, in conjunction with nine other peers, to petition [o] the King to permit the parliament, which had been prorogued to the twenty ſixth of January, to ſit at the time appointed. The ſcheme was to throw Charles into the hands of parliament, and eventually to deprive him of his throne. Thus far the views of the Prince and of Shafteſbury were one. But while the firſt wiſhed to transfer the crown to his own head, the latter looked forward to a republic, in which he himſelf might exerciſe an unlimited authority, under the ſpecious name of public-freedom.

[n] Vid. An Account, &c.

[o] D'Avaux, 1679.

Petitions

CHAP. V. 1679.

Petitions of the ſame import with that of Shafteſbury and his aſſociates were encouraged throughout the kingdom. Some were prepared, and others preſented. Charles affected to receive them with a mixture of indignation and contempt. He publiſhed a proclamation againſt theſe tumultuous, and, as he called them, unlawful proceedings. He commanded the lord-mayor of London to ſuppreſs ſuch petitions as were formed in that city, and to puniſh as vagrants the perſons who went about to ſolicit ſubſcriptions [p]. The Prince of Orange was not, however, of a diſpoſition to be terrified from his ſchemes by partial diſappointments. He continued to make a tool of Monmouth and his party [q]. He was at the bottom of all the diſturbances in England [r], while he affected to be on the beſt terms with the King. To proſecute with more advantage his ſchemes, he propoſed to Charles to come to England, under a pretence of mediating between that Prince and the popular party. The King, perhaps ſuſpecting his deſigns, thanked him without accepting his offer [s].

Eſſex reſigns,

SOME reſignations in the principal departments of the ſtate, had encouraged the popular party in their meaſures to haraſs the crown. The Earl of Eſſex, under pretence of the Duke of York's breach of promiſe to follow his advice, quitted the office of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, on the nineteenth of November. The Earl of Halifax, feigning indiſpoſition, retired from the council; and Sir William Temple, though he had entered into the views of the Prince of Orange [t], had long preferred the quiet pleaſures of the country to the tumult and hurry of public affairs. The new council, from whom the nation had expected ſo much, had been for ſome time virtually diſſolved. Charles took his moſt important reſolutions without aſking their advice, or he confined his communications to two or three of their number. The factions which prevailed in the nation had ſubſiſted in the council.

[p] James II. Proclamation, &c. [q] D'Avaux, 1679. [r] Ibid.
[s] Ibid. [t] Ibid.

Shafteſbury,

Shafteſbury, followed by Monmouth, avowedly abetted the popular cauſe. Eſſex, Halifax, and Sunderland, adhered to the intereſts of the crown. The places of the two firſt were ſupplied, in the confidence of the King, by men of better parts, though not of ſuch ſplendid name. Lawrence Hyde, the ſecond ſon of the famous Earl of Clarendon, became, by the reſignation of Eſſex, firſt in the commiſſion for executing the office of lord treaſurer; and Sidney Godolphin, though not admitted a member of the council till the fourth of the following February, had been, ſince the fall of Danby, a principal adviſer in the ſecret affairs of ſtate[u]. CHAP. V. 1679.

but joins not the oppoſition.

BUT though Eſſex reſigned his office, he entered not into the violent meaſures of the popular party. He ſuſpected the patriotiſm of Shafteſbury. He loved freedom, but deteſted confuſion. Beſides, the intemperate rage of Shafteſbury had fixed on Eſſex a part of the blame of diſappointing the bill of excluſion, by a prorogation. His threats upon that head had been conveyed to Eſſex; and ſome aſcribe to his terror the advice which he gave to the King, when ſick, to recall the Duke of York. To avoid the ſuſpicion of his joining with Shafteſbury, he continued, after his reſignation as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, a member of the council[x]; but he ſeldom attended, and he never was truſted with the ſecret of affairs. Petitions were, in the mean time, promoted with great aſſiduity and eagerneſs. The majority of the common-council of London were gained by the management of the popular party. They preſented a remonſtrance in favour of the meeting of parliament[y]. Charles received them with the utmoſt coldneſs. He reprimanded ſeverely the perſons who brought the remonſtrance. He commanded his chancellor to anſwer it in terms expreſſive of his higheſt diſpleaſure. 1680.

[u] James II. [x] Public Intell. Nov. 17, 1679. [y] Jan. 13, 1680.

THOUGH

CHAP. V.

1680. Parliament prorogued.

THOUGH the twenty-ſixth of January was the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, the King's reſolution to prevent their ſitting was univerſally known. He, however, thought proper, in perſon, to give the reaſons of his conduct. He informed them, in a ſpeech from the throne, that he had declared in council his intention of putting off their meeting to a time ſo remote as November. This reſolution, he told them, was formed on grounds, which were as yet by no means removed, with regard to the internal ſtate of the kingdom. But, as a prorogation ſo long might diſcourage his allies, already threatened with danger, he acquainted them, that, for that SINGLE reaſon, he thought fit to appoint a day for their meeting in April. He adviſed them, however, not to flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſitting, while the nation is inflamed with diſtractions and jealouſies by the arts of profligate and deſigning men. "I am reſolved," he ſaid, "that after your day of meeting in April, there SHALL be a prorogation, unleſs the condition of our allies ſhould require our immediate aſſiſtance." Having finiſhed this determined ſpeech, he commanded the chancellor to prorogue the parliament to the fifteenth of April [z].

Some members of the council reſign.

THE firmneſs exhibited by the King encouraged the court-party, and exaſperated thoſe who oppoſed the crown. Some members of the council of thirty, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the bill of excluſion, perceiving the fixed determination of Charles to ſupport his brother, aſked permiſſion to reſign. Theſe were the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle. The King, contrary to his uſual good-humour, granted their requeſt with peeviſhneſs and ſymptoms of contempt. He ſeemed henceforward to have changed, in ſome degree, his character. Soured by oppoſition, and rouſed, by the preſſure of danger, from his indolence, he became ſullen and untractable. The facility of his

[z] Journals of the lords, Jan. 26, 1680.

temper

temper was ſucceeded by obſtinacy; and a line of reſolution paſſed through all his conduct, in a degree that ſurpriſed thoſe who affected to know him the beſt. But his appetite for pleaſure, which rendered him formerly averſe from trouble, had diminiſhed as his years increaſed. His judgment roſe as his paſſions declined. Experience had taught him, that conceſſions produced nothing but new demands. Things were driven too far to be mended by expedients; and he was therefore reſolved to bring the matter to a deciſion, by meeting the enemy half way.

Secret intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

THIS firmneſs deprived the popular party, and even the Prince of Orange, of almoſt every hope of ruining the King by the means of his parliament. The Prince, ever eager and perſevering in his ſchemes for mounting the throne, expected, perhaps from his want of knowing the ſtate of parties in England, an inſurrection, which he was determined to ſupport [a]. He, in the mean time, urged the popular party to offer petitions, to rouſe, by the buſtle and confuſion of oppoſition, the terrors of the people for themſelves, and their indignation againſt the King. But when he pretended to rely entirely on the leaders of the faction without, he extended, with much addreſs, his intrigues to the members of the cabinet. He gained Godolphin and Hyde to his views [b]. He procured the influence of the Earl of Sunderland to his intereſt with ſtill greater facility. The Duke of York himſelf ſeemed to favour, either through inadvertence or ignorance of his ſecret deſigns, the ambition of the Prince of Orange [c]. He promoted his influence with the King. He was even at the bottom of a new Proteſtant league, from which his nephew derived every advantage to his ſchemes and reputation [d].

He gains Sunderland.

BUT of all the intrigues of the Prince of Orange for mounting the throne deſtined for his father-in-law, that which became ulti-

[a] D'Avaux, Jan. 1680. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid.

CHAP. V. 1680.

mately of moſt advantage to his views, was his gaining the Earl of Sunderland. This lord, though he afterwards was the great favourite and ſole adviſer of King James, had been invariably the enemy of the Duke of York [e]. Notwithſtanding his abilities, he was implicitly under the guidance of his wife [f]. She was under the influence of Sidney, and Sidney was devoted to the Prince of Orange [g]. Through this obvious and unfailing channel the Prince aſſailed Sunderland. He added advantages to the Earl himſelf to the inſtances of a favourite wife and HER friend. A penſion at preſent, and great promiſes in future, were the price of Sunderland's expected ſervices. He adhered to his bargain, it muſt be confeſſed, with fidelity and perſeverance. He found means, under the maſk of friendſhip and attachment, to ruin the rival of the Prince in the channel of ambition; and, by a line of conduct more able than honourable, paved his way to the throne.

Petitioners, Abhorrers, Whigs, and Tories.

DURING theſe ſecret intrigues for his crown, the King of England turned himſelf with ſome vigour to his more public opponents. The ſame arts which were uſed by its enemies againſt the court, were adopted by Charles to counteract their deſigns. THEY aſſiduouſly procured ſubſcriptions to petitions for the ſitting of parliament; HE encouraged addreſſes, expreſſive of an entire ſubmiſſion to the prerogative of the crown. The eagerneſs of the two parties, into which the nation was divided, carried their virulence againſt each other into names of reproach. The adherents of the King, in their addreſſes, expreſſed their abhorrence of the ſeditious manner in which the petitions were procured; and their opponents gave them, from this circumſtance, the name of ABHORRERS. The latter thought the appellation of PETITIONERS a ſufficient retaliation on their enemies. Though theſe epithets ſunk ſoon after into oblivion, this year began the names of WHIG and TORY, which have invariably diſtinguiſhed

[e] D'Avaux, April 1680. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

the

the two political parties that have ever ſince divided between them the nation. It is remarkable, that theſe ridiculous appellations derived their origin from Scotland and Ireland. The fanatical conventiclers of the firſt kingdom had been diſtinguiſhed by the name of Whigs, and the Popiſh rabble of the latter country were called Tories. The court-party found a ſimilitude between the Petitioners and the Scotiſh covenanters; and the oppoſers of the crown compared the principles of the Abhorrers to thoſe of the wild Iriſh.

The firſt encouraged by the King.

THOUGH the addreſſes againſt petitions were abetted with little ſecrecy by the King, they contributed to ſtrengthen his influence in the nation. Wythens, one of the members for the city of Weſtminſter, procured the firſt addreſs; and Charles, to ſhew his approbation of his conduct, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, at a time that he treated the Petitioners with haughtineſs, ſeverity, and contempt. The ſpirit of addreſſing ſoon ſpread from Weſtminſter to the country. In Norfolk, the grand jury, inſtead of preſenting a petition, preſented thoſe by whom ſubſcriptions were promoted. In the county of Somerſet, the ſame attachment to the crown appeared. The addreſs of Norfolk thanked the King for recalling the Duke of York. Several corporations expreſſed their abhorrence of any breach on the right line of ſucceſſion to the throne. Encouraged by the favourable change in the minds of the people, Charles determined to permit his brother to return [h].

The Duke of York returns.

ON the twenty-eighth of January, the King acquainted his council, that he had commanded the Duke of York to come back to England, having found no effect from his abſence that could juſtify its being longer continued. He told them, as they had lately ſeen, and were likely to ſee again, queſtions ſtarted of ſo

[h] James II. Kennet, Burnet, Ralph, Hume, &c.

CHAP. V.

1680.

high a nature, and to him particularly of ſo great concern, it was agreeable both to reaſon and juſtice that he ſhould be preſent at the next ſeſſion of parliament. He informed them, that though it ſhould be always his care to preſerve to the Duke his right, yet that he thought it might be for his own ſatisfaction, as well as conducive to his intereſt, to be near, if any debate ſhould again ariſe. He aſſured them, in the mean time, that he promiſed to himſelf a compliance from his brother in all things that ſhould be thought neceſſary for the general quiet and ſecurity of the kingdom, and that none ſhould have reaſon to be alarmed at his return, or to apprehend that his being near the throne could have any bad influence upon the conduct of public affairs. Having thus announced his reſolution to the council, he wrote to the Duke of York; and that Prince, having embarked at Leith, arrived at Privy-ſtairs on the twenty-fourth of February [i].

His conduct in Scotland.

THE Duke, during his reſidence in Scotland, behaved with the degree of prudence which ſuited the untoward ſituation of his affairs. Having retired into that kingdom in a private capacity, he carefully avoided to interfere in public affairs. He heard the complaints of factions, without becoming a party in their quarrels. He behaved himſelf with dignity, without any portion of that ſtatelineſs, which was, in his proſperity, one of the defects in his character. Perſecuted in England, he thought it neceſſary to gain the Scotiſh nation. He told the privy-council, when he took leave at his departure, "that he would acquaint the King that he had in Scotland a brave and loyal nobility and gentry, a regular and wiſe privy-council, and the courts of judicature filled with learned and upright judges: That the diſaffected party were not ſo conſiderable as the faction in England affirmed; and that the animoſities between particular families in the Highlands being removed, they were now firm and united in his Majeſty's

[i] James II. 1680.

intereſt."

intereſt." The chancellor anſwered the Duke by aſſuring him, that they were highly ſenſible of the honour of his preſence, the advantages of his conduct, and the benefit of his advice. He aſſured him, that the Scotiſh nation was entirely devoted to the King, and attached to the intereſt of his Royal Highneſs [k]. CHAP. V. 1680.

THE preſence of the Duke in England damped not the ſpirit of his adverſaries. Shafteſbury, with his uſual activity, flew through his party, and animated them with an ardour equal to his own. He had gone already too far ever to be forgiven; and he was reſolved to haraſs, if he could not ſubdue. Gained by his arts, or fired by his zeal, ſome men of patriotic principles joined him, with more vehemence than prudence. In the month of March, ſix lords, Shafteſbury, Huntingdon, Gray, Cavendiſh, Brandon, Ruſſel, and nine gentlemen, delivered to the grand jury at Weſtminſter an information againſt the Duke of York, for being a Popiſh recuſant. When they came to the court, they found the jury on their way to the King's Bench, carrying a petition in favour of the ſitting of parliament. The foreman having delivered the petition, the chief juſtice ordered it to be read. The court aſked them, whether they had all their preſentments ready? They replied, that a ſhort time would finiſh all. The court, apprized of Shafteſbury's deſign, told them, that they had ſpent their time in things not within their province, and totally neglected things which they ought to have done. They were immediately diſcharged. Their petition was offered to be returned. They, however, refuſed it, affirming that they had done their duty; and ſo left it with the court [l]. An attempt to preſent him as a recuſant.

WHILE Shafteſbury and the popular party perſecuted the Duke of York, Monmouth, by their advice, was endeavouring to pave his own way to the crown. He made a progreſs through different Duke of Monmouth makes a progreſs.

[k] James II. 1680. [l] Ibid.

parts

CHAP. V.

1680.

parts of the kingdom, with a magnificent train and equipage. Handſome in his perſon, and captivating in his manners, and beſides, being created an object of public attention, from his almoſt avowed pretenſions to the throne, the whole country flocked around him to pay their reſpects. He was every where conſidered as a candidate for the crown; and men were flattered by his ſeeming to ſolicit it through their favour. His claims to legitimacy were again revived. A report was propagated, that the King had been married, or at leaſt contracted to his mother; and that Coſens, late Biſhop of Durham, had placed a writing, contained in a certain BLACK BOX, in the hands of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, which proved the fact to the ſatisfaction of many perſons of diſtinction and name. Charles called Gerrard before the council [m]. He denied all knowledge of the writing and the *box*. The King, ſoon after, in the moſt ſolemn manner, again declared to the world, that he never was either married or contracted to Mrs. Walters, or any perſon whatſoever except the Queen [n].

Popular ſheriffs choſen.

THOUGH the popular party had not altogether ſucceeded in gaining the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, they, in the courſe of the preſent year, obtained a majority of the livery. Their conduct being likely to ſubject them to the animadverſions of the law, they thought it neceſſary to guide its operations. The ſheriffs, choſen annually at Guildhall, return the juries for the city of London and the county of Middleſex. Their office, being attended with great trouble and expence, had always been deemed a hardſhip rather than an object of ambition. The ſheriffs had been uſually put in nomination by the Lord Mayor, and invariably approved by the common hall. When the election came on, the livery rejected the perſons nominated by the Lord Mayor. He adjourned the common hall, and made a

[m] April 16, 1680. [n] June 8, 1680.

ſecond

CHAP. V. 1680.

ſecond nomination on the fifteenth of July. The livery continued obſtinate. A poll, for the firſt time, was demanded. The city was all in a ferment. After a conteſt of five weeks, the popular party prevailed. Bethel and Corniſh, men devoted to the councils of Shafteſbury, were choſen, though the King exerted his perſonal influence, as well as the weight of the crown, on the other ſide [o].

Another attempt to preſent the Duke of York.

DURING theſe heats in the city, the Earl of Shafteſbury came to Weſtminſter, and made a remarkable ſpeech to the grand jury. He enlarged on the dangers of popery. He openly attacked the character of the Duke of York. He offered an indictment againſt him, for recuſancy. He produced witneſſes to prove his hearing maſs. He deſired them to reflect, how unſafe it was, that a perſon of his delinquency ſhould continue in the management of the poſt-office; and ſo become maſter of the ſecrets of individuals as well as thoſe of the kingdom. He at the ſame time ſpoke much againſt the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He repreſented her dangerous influence, her attachment to popery, her intrigues with France. He, upon the whole, deſired that they would declare her a common nuiſance. The accuſation of the Dutcheſs was only calculated to gain her to the party through the channel of her fears. She accordingly made her peace with Monmouth, and became reconciled to Shafteſbury. She added an animoſity againſt the Duke of York to the terrors which ſhe entertained of his enemies. The Dutcheſs of York had not ſhewn her any reſpect; and the Duke himſelf ſeemed to approve of his wife's ſtately conduct [p].

Prince of Orange foments diſturbances.

THE combuſtions in the city of London eſcaped not the vigilance of the Prince of Orange, who kept his eyes perpetually fixed on the crown of England. Under the pretence of keeping

[o] Ralph, Kennet, Burnet. [p] James II.

up

CHAP. V. 1680.

up an appearance of friendſhip with the Duke of York, he diſpatched Van Lewen, with open aſſurances of his regard for the intereſts of that Prince; but in fact, to carry on negociations with his enemies [q]. With every art he added fuel to the flame which raged in the kingdom. He hoped, that at length an opportunity might offer, to juſtify an open avowal of his deſigns. Judging of the nation in general by the noiſe of particular men, he ſtill looked forward to an inſurrection; and he formed hopes, that ſhould his ſervice be either accepted by the inſurgents, or by the King, he could become with eaſe maſter of the kingdom. But the negociations of the Prince were not confined to Van Lewen. He at the ſame time held a connexion with the moſt abandoned and loweſt perſons of the party, through the means of one Frymans, a profligate and deſperate villain [r], whom he had employed in England ſix years before in the ſame diſhonourable ſervice [s].

Policy of the King.

THE whole ſummer of the year 1680 was employed in the counteracting ſchemes of the different parties. The parliament was in the mean time prorogued from time to time. But the King thought it prudent to acquaint the Lord Mayor of London and the judges, that he was determined to meet it in the month of November [t]. The judges, on their different circuits, carried this intelligence to the people; which put an end to petitions that were no longer thought neceſſary. Every art was uſed, in the mean time, to reconcile the minds of the nation to the meaſures of government. The King affected the greateſt zeal againſt popery. The laws were executed with preciſion, if not with great rigour, againſt popiſh recuſants. Charles endeavoured to acquire popularity to his conduct in foreign affairs. Though he had made in the preceding year advances to France, he had broken off the treaty upon a ſlight pretence. He formed an alliance with Spain.

[q] D'Avaux, June, 1680. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid. 1679. [t] James II.

He

He offered to enter into a ſtrict connexion with Holland. The Dutch, either terrified by the power of France, or ſwayed by the Prince of Orange, who began to derive hopes of gratifying his own ambition through the troubles in England, declined his offers. They even, with ſome degree of preſumption, as their conduct was termed by the King, interfered with the domeſtic affairs of the kingdom. They ſolicited Charles to call his parliament. Their ambaſſador openly abetted the popular party; a circumſtance which confirmed him in the reſolution of not yielding to their requeſt [u]. This conduct in their ambaſſador was not, however, authoriſed fully by the States. The Prince of Orange, undeviating in the proſecution of his own views, had perſuaded the miniſter of the republic, to go beyond his inſtructions from his maſters [x].

The Duke retires.

THOUGH the King was perſuaded that the majority of the new houſe of commons were determined to oppoſe the meaſures of the crown, he thought proper to try by one other experiment to compoſe the minds of his ſubjects. The parliament had been prorogued on the twenty-third of Auguſt, to the twenty-firſt of October; and he reſolved to permit it to enter on that day on buſineſs. To prepare for its meeting, he thought it prudent to command his brother to retire. On the ninth of October, Hyde informed the Duke, that the Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin judged it neceſſary that he ſhould retire abroad. Eſſex and Halifax, who had in ſome degree returned to favour, joined in the ſame opinion. The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth was employed by the latter noblemen to perſuade the King into the meaſure. An incident, which happened ſome months before, rendered her a zealous inſtrument againſt the intereſts of the Duke of York. Charles had been attacked in the preceding May by ſome ſlight fits of an ague; and ſhe, upon that occaſion, inſiſted with the Duke to give her

[u] Kennet. Burnet. James II.

[x] D'Avaux, 1680.

CHAP. V.

1680.

assurances of an ample provision in case of the King's demise. The Duke waved her importunities, by representing to her the indecency of his entering into engagements upon his brother's life. She was highly offended at his refusal. She came from Windsor to London. She opened a correspondence with Monmouth and Shaftesbury, through the means of the Lord Howard of Escric; and soon after, when she was presented as a common nuisance, before the grand jury, she avowedly joined the popular party, and promoted their measures [y].

to Scotland.

But neither the solicitations of his favourite mistress, nor the advice of his cabinet council, could induce Charles to command his brother to quit the Island. He began to consider his own interest as inseparably connected with that of the Duke of York; and he deemed his expulsion as perhaps a prelude to his own. He knew that the fears entertained of his successor were a good security to his own safety. He however signified to his brother, that his affairs required his absence; and he advised him to repair to Scotland, where he had been treated with so much distinction and respect before. Some of the Duke's friends in council proposed that a pardon for him should pass the great seal, as Shaftesbury threatened an impeachment. Charles gave his opinion, that the commons would proceed by bill, and not by impeachment. He was averse to a prior pardon, as irregular; at the same time assuring the Duke, that in case of their proceeding to extremities, he would dissolve the parliament. He wrote to his council in Scotland, that he had ordered his brother to repair thither, to look after the affairs of that kingdom. The Duke of York accordingly left London on the twentieth of October. Relying on his brother's assurances, he embarked in the river with his family, the King himself accompanying him as far as Leigh [z].

[y] James II. 1680.

[z] James II. 1680.

On

CHAP. V.

1680.

On the twenty-firſt of October the parliament met at Weſtminſter; and the King opened the ſeſſion with a plauſible and judicious ſpeech. He excuſed with a degree of art the ſeveral prorogations, by informing them, that he had filled that interval of time, in concerting meaſures with Spain and Holland, for mutual ſuccour and defence. He told them, that he was ready to concur with them, to their ſatisfaction, in any meaſure to ſecure the proteſtant religion; and to agree to any new remedies that might be propoſed, conſiſtent with the preſervation of the ſucceſſion to the crown in its due and legal courſe of deſcent. He deſired them to purſue the further examination of the popiſh plot. He requeſted, that the lords in the Tower ſhould be brought to their trial. He repreſented to them the inſupportable expence of Tangier, long cloſely beſieged by the Moors. He recommended in the moſt earneſt terms union at home, as abſolutely neceſſary to ſuſtain the importance of the nation abroad. He appealed to the world, that the conſequences reſulting from diviſion had not proceeded from his conduct. He told them, by way of compliment, that he expected every benefit to the nation and every eaſe to himſelf, from their great prudence, and their known affection to his perſon [a].

Parliament meets.

This ſpeech was more calculated to gain the nation than to mollify the ſentiments of parliament. The people were manifeſtly divided in their opinions; but the majority of their repreſentatives had already pledged themſelves in the great queſtions which had been agitated againſt the court. The commons diſplayed all the violence of their predeceſſors in proſecuting the popiſh plot. They addreſſed the King for a pardon to all ſuch perſons as ſhould within four months give any evidence of any treaſon or conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government [b]. They reſolved

Violence of the commons.

[a] Journals of the lords.

[b] Journals, Oct. 25.

CHAP. V. 1680.

to proceed effectually to ſuppreſs popery, and to prevent a popiſh ſucceſſor [c]. Dangerfield, the infamous author of the meal-tub-plot, was examined with care, and treated with diſtinction. They began to animadvert upon ſuch perſons as had promoted the late addreſſes. They voted, that it was the undoubted right of the ſubjects of England to petition the King for the ſitting of parliament and the redreſſing of grievances. They reſolved, that to traduce ſuch petitioning is to betray the liberty of the people, to contribute to ſubvert the ancient conſtitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. A committee was appointed to inquire concerning perſons that had offended in this caſe againſt the rights of the ſubject [d]. Jefferies, recorder of London, was accuſed. Sir Francis Wythens, member for Weſtminſter, was expelled. North, chief juſtice of the common-pleas, was attacked [e].

Intrigues of the Prince of of Orange abroad.

THE violence of the commons was regarded with an eye of ſatisfaction by the Prince of Orange, who had long extended all his attention and intrigues to the affairs of England. He had the addreſs to perſuade the King, that he wiſhed for nothing more than a perfect reconcilement between that prince and his parliament [f]. But he at the ſame time continued his connexion with the popular party, and increaſed the ferment in the kingdom. The Prince confined not his ſecret negociations to Britain. He formed a ſcheme of ſtrengthening himſelf independent of the States, for an eventual expedition into England. He endeavoured to render the family of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh dependent on himſelf, by propoſing a marriage between the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh [g] and his wife's ſiſter, the Princeſs Anne. He propoſed to name that Prince his ſucceſſor in all his own honours and preferments; and as he had no expectations of iſſue himſelf, he hoped to flatter the houſe of Lunenburgh into his views, from a near

[c] Oct. 26. [d] Oct 27. [e] Oct. 28.
[f] D'Avaux, Nov. 1680. [g] Geo. I.

proſpect

proſpect of the crown of England [h]. A ſettled averſion to the Prince of Naſſau-Friezland, his neareſt male-heir, had perhaps rendered the Prince of Orange at the time ſincere in his offers to the family of Lunenburgh, at leaſt with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion of his offices in Holland.

He is unſucceſsful in England.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſchemes formed by the Prince abroad, as well as in England, the times were not yet ſufficiently prepared for the execution of his purpoſe. Van Lewen, after having remained ſeveral months in London, found himſelf [i] unable to ſpirit up the faction into an actual inſurrection. The Prince had not the good fortune to be deemed ſincere in his profeſſions in favour of the popular party [k]. They formed their judgment of his conduct as the nephew of the King, and the ſon-in-law of the Duke of York; and they imagined, notwithſtanding the bold aſſertions of his agents, that he himſelf was actually in the intereſt of the court of England. He was therefore far from being popular [l]. But when he was in a manner deſerted by the enemies of government, his views were favoured by a part of the miniſtry. Sunderland [m] promiſed him every thing, from the certainty of the excluſion of the Duke of York. Though the Prince found his ſecret friends too ſanguine, he purſued his own deſigns. He wrote to the King to agree upon any terms with his parliament, even though they ſhould diveſt the crown of all its prerogatives; and this he did with the greater certainty of ſucceſs, as he was aſſured by Sidney, that Charles would be forced to agree to the excluſion, and a penſion for the Duke of York [n].

Bill of excluſion.

THE commons, in their zeal for the Popiſh plot, animadverted ſeverely upon thoſe who preſumed to give it no credit. Sir Robert Canne was expelled for declaring that there was no Popiſh conſpiracy.

[h] D'Avaux, Nov. 1680. [i] Ibid. [k] Ibid.
[l] D'Avaux, 1680. James II. 1681. [m] D'Avaux, 1680. [n] Ibid.

Doctor

CHAP. V. 1680.

Doctor Tong was recommended to the King for preferment [o], as being the firſt who gave evidence of the plot. One Franciſco Ferria, together with a new witneſs whoſe name was Dugdale, and the noted Prance, were examined [p], and their evidence committed to writing. On the ſecond of November, they renewed a vote of the former houſe, in laying the whole blame of the Popiſh plot on the religion of the Duke of York [q]. All theſe reſolutions were only preparatory ſteps toward the excluſion, the favourite object of the popular party. Notwithſtanding the vehemence of the commons, the bill ſeemed to languiſh in paſſing through the houſe. But though ſeveral members diſtinguiſhed themſelves in favour of the Duke of York, the ſlow progreſs of the bill proceeded more from an artifice of the popular party, than from the arguments of the adherents of the crown. The common-council of London, led by Shafteſbury, endeavoured, by an addreſs, to prepare the lords in its favour. On the eleventh of November, the bill of excluſion was paſſed by the commons, and carried by the Lord Ruſſel to the peers. A great body of the members, who attended Ruſſel, ſhouted by way of triumph when the bill was received [r].

Rejected by the lords.

THE lords, however, ſeemed not to be guided by the ſame ſpirit which animated the commons. It even became a queſtion, whether the bill ſhould be at all committed; and this inſtance of reſpect to the lower houſe was only carried by two votes. When the matter came to a debate, ſeveral lords diſtinguiſhed themſelves on both ſides. Shafteſbury ſeemed to be unanſwerable in his arguments for the bill, till the Earl of Halifax oppoſed him on the part of the Duke. The latter nobleman bore the whole weight of the argument. He anſwered Shafteſbury, Eſſex, and Sunderland. He ſpoke at leaſt ſixteen times [s], for having prepared himſelf for the occaſion, the court-party left the whole debate to his abilities.

[o] Oct. 30. [p] Nov. 1. [q] Nov. 2. [r] James II. 1680. [s] Ibid.

When

CHAP. V

1680.

When the houſe divided, the bill was rejected by a great majority. Fourteen biſhops, of ſeventeen that were preſent, were obſerved to have voted againſt the excluſion. Halifax, to convince the world that his conduct proceeded from no partiality for the Duke, moved, the next day, for a bill to baniſh him for ever from the King's preſence. Shafteſbury and his party turned the motion into ridicule; the friends of the Duke were ſilent, and the affair was dropt. Shafteſbury, in the courſe of the debate, obſerved, that ſince they were determined not to exclude the Duke, he ſaw no means of ſafety for the nation, but by the King's divorcing the Queen, and marrying a Proteſtant wife. The Earls of Saliſbury and Eſſex, together with the Lord Howard of Eſcric, ſeconded this motion. Halifax and others oppoſed it; and the whole fell, without effect, to the ground. The Duke of Monmouth excuſed his voting for the excluſion by his concern for the King's life, which, he affirmed, the Duke of York deſigned to take away. Halifax was ſevere upon this imprudent ſpeech [t].

Halifax's expedient.

THE bill propoſed by Halifax, though it preſerved the ſucceſſion, annihilated the power of the crown. The Duke of York was to have been baniſhed, during the King's life, five hundred miles from England. He was to forfeit his revenue, if he came nearer; and his life, if he returned to any part of his Majeſty's dominions. In this clauſe, the independence of Scotland, which kingdom had certainly a right, if ſhe choſe, to entertain the heir of her crown, was either neglected or forgotten, through the vivacity of Halifax. Whoever ſhould receive the Duke, either in England or Ireland, was to be declared guilty of treaſon, even after his acceſſion to the nominal poſſeſſion of the throne. The whole government was to have been veſted in a council of forty-one members. All foreign treaties and negociations were to be concluded or tranſacted by commiſſioners choſen out of their own number by the council. Ireland was to be governed by the ſame council.

[t] James II. 1680.

CHAP. V. 1680.

They were to fill up vacancies in offices, and to remove perſons at pleaſure from their employments. This part of their power was ſubjected to the control and diſallowance of parliament, which, when ſitting, was to exerciſe all the authority veſted in the council, during the interval of ſeſſions. It is difficult to ſay why Shafteſbury rejected an expedient which ſeemed to anſwer all his own views. Sidney, and other men of republican principles, juſtly termed the propoſed bill "a gentle way of dropping the government into a commonwealth [n]."

Reſentment of the commons.

THE rejecting the bill of excluſion threw the commons into the utmoſt fury. An addreſs was inſtantly voted to remove for ever the Earl of Halifax from the King's preſence and councils [x]. This meaſure was deemed imprudent in the houſe, and unconſtitutional in itſelf. It was animadverting upon the freedom of debate, without which public aſſemblies meet in vain. They ſeemed themſelves to be ſenſible of their error, though their paſſions overcame, in this inſtance, their reaſon. The cauſe which they aſſigned for their addreſs was Halifax's adviſing the late frequent prorogations of parliament. Though no friend of the Duke, he had certainly taken an active part againſt the bill, before it was ſent up to the lords. He procured a meſſage to the commons, to deſtroy a report propagated by the popular party, that the King had conſented to the bill. To this circumſtance the favourers of the excluſion were no ſtrangers. Beſides, Halifax had always affected to adopt their principles; and they perſecuted him with virulence, as a betrayer of his political friends. Charles, in anſwer to their addreſs, acquainted the houſe, that he found not ſufficient ground to induce him to remove Halifax either from his councils or preſence; but he promiſed to protect none of his ſervants in the commiſſion of any real crime [y].

They perſecute the Abhorrers.

THOUGH the houſe of commons had ſufficient reaſon to be alarmed at the proſpect of a Popiſh ſucceſſor in the throne, they

[n] James II. 1680. [x] Nov. 17. [y] Nov. 26.

permitted

CHAP. V. 1680.

permitted violence to diſgrace, in other inſtances, their patriotiſm. Their animadverſions upon the Abhorrers was, in fact, a breach upon that privilege which they meant to ſecure, by aſſerting the right of petitioning in the ſubject. If ſome men were intitled to complain of grievances, others had an equal claim to the privilege of approving of the meaſures of the crown. But reaſon had long ſince yielded to paſſion. Parties were inflamed againſt one another to a degree that precluded forgiveneſs. Beſides, the moſt active among the Abhorrers were as unprincipled as the worſt of the country party. Jefferys, the recorder of London, began even then to diſplay thoſe vehement qualities which rendered him afterwards odious. The houſe voted, that by traducing and obſtructing petitioning, he betrayed the rights of the ſubject [z]; and they addreſſed the King to remove him from the office of chief juſtice of Cheſter, which he then enjoyed [a].

Impeach the judges.

THEY turned their attention from the Abhorrers to the courts of juſtice. Scroggs, chief juſtice of the King's Bench, had, in an irregular manner, diſmiſſed the grand jury, who had prepared a preſentment againſt the Duke of York, as a Popiſh recuſant. As a preparatory ſtep to his impeachment, they voted, that the diſcharging of a grand jury before the end of the term was arbitrary, illegal, and ſubverſive of public juſtice; a manifeſt violation of the oath of a judge, and ruinous to the laws of the kingdom [b]. They reſolved, that the court of King's Bench favoured Papiſts, and perſons popiſhly inclined; and upon theſe grounds, they voted, without one diſſenting voice, that Scroggs ſhould be impeached [c]. Their rigour deſcended from the court of King's Bench to that of the Common Pleas. Sir Francis North, who preſided on that bench with reputation, fell under the diſpleaſure of the popular party, for being concerned in framing the proclamation againſt petitioning [d]. That paper, however, was ſo cau-

[z] Nov. 13. [a] Nov. 19. [b] Nov. 23. [c] Dec. 23. [d] Nov. 14.

CHAP. V.

1680.

tiouſly worded, that ſufficient grounds were not found for proſecuting the chief juſtice with effect. The commons proceeded in their perſecutions of all thoſe who were deemed the moſt intimate friends of the Duke of York [e]. They impeached Seymour for a pretended miſapplication of a ſupply for the navy. They expelled Sir Robert Peyton for correſponding with the Duke of York. Peyton ſuffered for his apoſtacy from the party, more than for the alleged crime. He had been a principal name at the Green-ribbon club; and, either through conviction or from views of intereſt, had deſerted his old friends [f].

Proſecute the Viſcount Stafford.

THE violence of the commons was leaſt excuſable in their vehement proſecution of the Popiſh plot. After the paſſions of the people were cooled, their repreſentatives flew into a new flame. Their diſappointment with regard to the bill of excluſion carried their reſentment into acts of abſurdity, puerility, and injuſtice. On the tenth of November, they had reſolved to proceed againſt the lords in the Tower [g], and to begin with the Viſcount Stafford; but he was not brought to his trial till the thirtieth of the ſame month. Their firſt deſign was to begin with the Lord Arundel of Wardour; but the evidence againſt him was not ſufficiently full. The age, the limited capacity, the natural timidity of Stafford rendered him an eaſy victim to a violent party, who were determined to be ſatisfied with nothing but blood. The Earl of Nottingham, as Lord High Steward, preſided at Stafford's trial. This nobleman, to abilities in his profeſſion, joined a credulity, which proved fatal to the unfortunate criminal. His charge to the peers contained expreſſions of his thorough conviction of the reality of the Popiſh plot; a circumſtance which greatly ſtrengthened the teſtimony of very exceptionable witneſſes.

[e] James II. 1680. [f] Ralph. [g] Nov. 10.

CHAP. V.

1680.

He is tried,

BEFORE Stafford was brought to the bar, the biſhops waved their claim of being preſent at his trial[h]. A committee of the commons, conſiſting of the moſt able members, were appointed to manage the impeachment. Otes, Dugdale, and a new evidence, one Turberville, were the witneſſes. Otes ſwore that he had ſeen ſeveral letters, ſigned Stafford, to the Jeſuits, expreſſing his aſſiduity and zeal in promoting the Popiſh plot. He gave in evidence, that, in his own preſence, his Lordſhip had received a commiſſion to be paymaſter-general of the Pope's army in England. He affirmed, that Stafford was privy to a deſign on the King's life, and that he was the perſon who urged Grove to the commiſſion of the aſſaſſination. Turberville ſwore, that he had been, five years before, engaged by his Lordſhip to commit the ſame crime. Dugdale's evidence contained, that he had an expreſs offer from Stafford of five hundred pounds for diſpatching the King; and that, as a further inducement, he promiſed to him a free pardon for all his ſins, and alſo to be ſainted for ſuch a meritorious deed[i].

condemned,

THE improbability of the evidence, the profligate character of the witneſſes, the age, the former life, even the infirmities of the priſoner, might have acquitted him at any other period; but the paſſions of mankind were rouſed againſt the unfortunate lord by the addreſs, abilities, and eloquence of Sir William[j] Jones, Sir Francis Winington, and Serjeant Maynard, who managed the impeachment, in the name of the commons of England. The innocence of Stafford was ſupported by none of thoſe talents which were conſpicuous in his opponents. Though he ſtood on the beſt ground, he made but a feeble defence[k]. He, however, invalidated ſome particulars, and threw diſcredit on others. He proved his being at Bath and its neighbourhood on the very day which Dugdale ſwore he employed in a great conſult of Papiſts in

[h] Dec. 29. [i] Vid. Trial. [k] James II.

CHAP. V. 1680.

Staffordſhire. He made it apparent, by good witneſſes, that ſo far from employing Turberville, he had never ſeen him; and he inſiſted upon the profligate manners and former perjuries of Otes, as ſufficient reaſon to deprive of all faith his preſent evidence. His efforts, however, were all in vain. The populace were outrageous, his proſecutors violent, and his judges either prejudiced or timid. He was found guilty by a great majority[l]; and, on the ſeventeenth of December, he received ſentence to be hanged and quartered, with the other circumſtances of ſeverity which accompany the puniſhment of treaſon.

and

THE peers interceded with the King to remit the more ignominious part of the ſentence of Stafford; and that circumſtance furniſhed a freſh opportunity of malice to his enemies. The popular ſheriffs, Bethel and Corniſh, preſented a petition to the commons, expreſſing a doubt whether the King was legally inveſted with power to alter the ſentence. This behaviour was as deſtitute of prudence as it was void of humanity. Should the power of the crown to change the manner of execution be diſputed, the King, in defence of his prerogative, might be induced to ſave the criminal's life. The leaders of the party in the houſe poſſeſſed more wiſdom. They procured a vote, in anſwer to the ſheriffs, that the commons were CONTENT "that the late Viſcount Stafford ſhould be executed by ſevering his head from his body only." Many efforts were in the mean time made to induce the unfortunate priſoner to confeſs the treaſon for which he was condemned. Reports of his having actually confeſſed were propagated by the popular party. He was brought before the peers. He acknowledged that he had been concerned in ſome ſchemes for obtaining, in a legal way, a mitigation of the penal laws againſt Catholics; and that he knew of no other treaſon[m].

[l] 55 againſt 31.

[m] Publ. of the Times.

To

CHAP. V.

To add to the misfortunes of Stafford, his neareſt relations were among his greateſt enemies. His kinſmen, the Earls of Carliſle and Suffolk, and the Lord Howard of Eſcric, had voted him guilty; and they uſed afterwards unjuſtifiable means to induce him to make diſcoveries. They aſked leave of the houſe of lords to viſit him in his priſon, under pretence of carrying the Biſhop of London and Dr. Burnet to converſe with him upon matters concerning his ſoul. The lords would not permit them to ſee him, without a perſon appointed by the houſe to record whatever ſhould be ſaid. Their deſign was to procure ſome diſcoveries againſt the Duke of York[n]; but the jealouſy of the lords, in ordering them to be attended, diſappointed that project. Stafford's behaviour under condemnation, and at the place of execution, was decent and undiſturbed. His reiterated and earneſt aſſeverations of his innocence on the ſcaffold, changed in his favour the minds of the populace. His venerable years, his fortitude in the laſt extremity, his apparent ſincerity, touched all with pity, and melted many into tears. A ſilent aſſent to his proteſtations was obſerved over the vaſt multitude of ſpectators; whilſt ſome expreſſed with faultering voices, their firm belief of all that he ſaid. The executioner himſelf ſeemed to ſhare in the ſympathy of the people. He twice ſuſpended the blow, after raiſing the fatal ax; and, when, at a third effort, he ſevered the head from the body, an univerſal groan was heard on all ſides[o]. 1680. executed.

THOUGH the condemnation of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the commons, it diminiſhed not their violence. In their eagerneſs for the bill of excluſion, no common victim was ſufficient to appeaſe their fury for being diſappointed in their views. In conſidering of ways and means to ſecure the kingdom againſt Popery and arbitrary power, they formed a bill for diſarming the Papiſts, and removing them twenty miles from London[p]. To Violence of the popular party.

[n] James II. 1680. [o] Burnet, &c. Dec. 29. [p] Dec. 13.

call

CHAP. V. 1680.

call their attention to his wants, the King put them again in mind of his alliance with Spain and Holland, and the neceſſity of placing him in a condition to ſerve his allies, by an immediate ſupply. Inſtead of conſidering his ſpeech, they brought in, on the ſame day, a bill for an aſſociation to prevent the Duke of York, or any Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the crown[q]. Having adjourned but four days for the Chriſtmas holidays, they met again on the thirtieth of December. They began their deliberations with an extraordinary inſtance of ſelf-denial. They reſolved, that no member ſhould accept any office or place of profit from the crown, without the expreſs leave of the houſe. To ſhut up every channel of influence, they prohibited all members, under the penalty of expulſion, to receive even the promiſe of any place of profit or truſt[r]. Theſe reſolutions bore certainly the appearance of patriotiſm; but they were ſcarce neceſſary, in the preſent poverty of the crown.

Their deſigns on the city of London.

DURING theſe tranſactions in parliament, the leaders of the popular party endeavoured to get the total poſſeſſion of the city of London. The lord-mayor, his wife, the two ſheriffs, and the ſword-bearer, had each a right, once a-year, to recommend one freeman of London. This privilege they generally ſold[s]. But the ſheriffs, Bethel and Corniſh, reſolved to convert it to the ſervice of their party. Bethel propoſed the Duke of Buckingham. The court of aldermen, though at firſt they inconſiderately approved of this noble freeman, refuſed afterwards to make a precedent, which might throw the real citizens entirely out of the magiſtracy of London. Had Bethel's recommendation ſucceeded, Corniſh was to have propoſed the Earl of Shafteſbury. They were both to have been choſen common-council-men, on St. Thomas's day. Next year they were to ſerve as ſheriffs, become aldermen when vacancies ſhould happen, and ſo riſe to the office of

[q] Dec. 15. [r] Dec. 30. [s] James II. 1680.

mayor.

mayor [r]. Though the populace of London were clamorous and factious, Charles preſerved in his intereſt the majority of the aldermen; and the merchants favoured the Duke of York, on account of his indefatigable attention to their commerce [s]. 1680.

On the fourth of January, the King ſent to the commons, by Sir William Temple, a meſſage calculated to ſooth their vehemence, and, if poſſible, to gain their favour. He expreſſed his ſorrow that their minds were ſo much fixed on the bill of excluſion, as to deem all other remedies for ſuppreſſing Popery ineffectual. He told them, however, that he himſelf was confirmed in his opinion againſt the bill, as it had been rejected by the houſe of lords. He therefore recommended to them the conſideration of other means for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion; and he promiſed his concurrence, whenever ſuch means ſhould be preſented to him in a parliamentary way. He begged that, in the mean time, they would conſider the preſent ſtate of Europe, and enable him to preſerve Tangier, and ſecure his alliances abroad and the peace of the nation at home [t]. This ſoothing meſſage had not the leaſt effect on the commons. They voted, that there was no ſafety for religion, and none for the King's life, but by the excluſion of the Duke of York; and that to rely on any other remedies or means, without a bill to that effect, was not only inſufficient in itſelf, but dangerous to the kingdom [u]. 1681. Votes of the commons.

This determined reſolution was followed by ſeveral votes of the ſame peremptory and alarming kind. They reſolved, that till a bill to exclude the Duke of York ſhould paſs, the commons could grant no ſupply to his Majeſty, without danger to his perſon, peril to religion, and a breach of their own faith to their conſtituents. They voted, that all perſons who adviſed the King in his meſſage to the houſe were promoters of Popery, and ene-

[r] James II. 1680. [s] Ibid. [t] Jan 4, 1681. [u] Jan. 7.

mies

CHAP. V. 1681.

mies to the King and kingdom. They declared it their opinion, that the Earl of Halifax was one of thoſe perſons. They voted an addreſs for the removal of the Lord Hyde, the Marquis of Worceſter, the Earls of Halifax and Feverſham from the King's preſence and councils. They reſolved, that whoever ſhould thereafter advance any money on the cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth-money; or whoever ſhould accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the King's revenue, ſhould be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of parliament, and become reſponſible for his conduct at their bar. Intelligence of theſe violent reſolutions being brought to the King, he determined to prorogue the parliament [x].

Parliament prorogued.

WHEN the houſe met on Monday, the tenth of January, they were informed of the King's deſign. They reſolved, that whoever adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue his parliament, for any other purpoſe than to paſs the bill of excluſion, was a betrayer of the King, an enemy to the proteſtant religion, and to the kingdom of England, a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France. They voted, that the city of London was burnt in the year 1666 by the papiſts. They reſolved, that it was the opinion of the houſe, that the Duke of Monmouth was removed from all his places by the influence of the Duke of York; and they ordered an addreſs to reſtore him to all his offices. They at the ſame time voted, that the proſecution of proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws was a grievance to the ſubject, a weakening of the proteſtant intereſt, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. When the houſe was proceeding to other votes of the ſame kind, the uſher of the black rod arrived; and the parliament was prorogued to the thirtieth of January [y].

[x] Jan. 7.

[y] Journals, Jan. 10.

THE

CHAP. V.

1681.

THE fury of the commons, it muſt be confeſſed, was in ſome reſpects unjuſtifiable. But they voted ſeveral reſolutions, and paſſed a few laws extremely favourable to public freedom. Their ſelf-denying vote, though perhaps impracticable, was highly ſuitable to the independence of parliament. The bill for rendering the judges independent, tended to keep pure the current of public juſtice. The act for repealing the ſtatute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, for giving eaſe to proteſtant diſſenters, bore the appearance of a liberality in matters of religion that ſeldom diſtinguiſhes popular aſſemblies. But this bill owed its exiſtence more to the averſion of the popular party to the papiſts, than their lenity to proteſtant non-conformiſts. Shafteſbury freely owned, in the houſe of lords, that he wiſhed all diſſenters who ſhould ſubſcribe the teſt, might be exempted from taking the oath of allegiance. A great debate aroſe on the ſubject, and all the biſhops oppoſed the bill. It was carried in a committee of the whole houſe, that the oath of allegiance ſhould remain on the fanatics as well as on the Roman catholics. The oppoſition, after this amendment, became indifferent about the bill. The King, however, thought it too favourable to ſectaries. Though he had endeavoured, by his prerogative, to grant to them an irregular indulgence, ſome years before, he was unwilling to ſecure them by an act of the legiſlature. The violence with which the preſbyterians joined the principles of the excluſioniſts, had given him much offence. Beſides, the eſtabliſhed church had exhibited, in ſome late inſtances, proofs of attachment which deſerved to be cheriſhed. He reſolved to defeat the act. But the means which he uſed were neither ſpirited nor prudent; for he ordered the clerk of the crown to withdraw the bill, hoping to avoid, by that ſubterfuge, the odium of refuſing his aſſent.

Obſervations.

THE Prince of Orange, apprized of the loſs of the bill of excluſion in the houſe of lords, reſolved to make his laſt effort to

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

CHAP. V.

1681.

ruin the Duke of York [z]. The penſionary Fagel, his ready ſervant in all his ſchemes, propoſed to the States to requeſt the King of England not to prorogue his parliament. This overture was however rejected, becauſe the deputies of Friezeland and Groninghen refuſed their conſent. Fagel, however, perſuaded the States to ſignify, by way of memorial, to Sidney, the Engliſh reſident, that as they intereſted themſelves greatly in the welfare of his Britannic Majeſty, they begged him to conſider, without pretending to offer their advice, whether the continuation of his parliament might not tend to his own happineſs and the intereſt of his allies. The States agreed: but the penſionary went beyond his commiſſion. He framed the memorial which was ſent to England, and made a great noiſe in that kingdom. Sidney tranſmitted it to Sunderland: and that lord diſperſed copies before he performed the duty of his office, by delivering it to the King [a]. Ten copies were at the ſame time ſent to different members of the houſe of commons. Charles, however, was not to be ſwayed from his purpoſe. He complained to the States of their interference with matters beyond their ſphere; and when they queſtioned Fagel, he diſavowed in the moſt ſolemn manner the memorial which he himſelf had written [b].

Diſſolution of parliament.

THE King, perceiving that nothing favourable could be expected from the houſe of commons, diſſolved the parliament on the eighteenth of January [c]. Though he knew that the electing boroughs had been ſecured by the country party, he hoped to terrify his enemies into more compliance, by ſhewing his determination to oppoſe their views. The violence of the lower houſe had increaſed the number of his friends among the people. Men began to conſider their reſolutions as the prelude of actual hoſtilities againſt the crown. Many dreaded the immediate renewal of

[z] D'Avaux, 1680. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Journals of the lords.

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CHAP. V. 1681.

the miſeries of the late civil war. The King himſelf ſeemed not to be entirely free from apprehenſions of the ſame kind. He ordered the new parliament to aſſemble at Oxford, on the twenty-firſt of March. He choſe this place of meeting, to deprive the oppoſing party of the force and influence which they might otherwiſe derive from the neighbourhood of the great and factious city of London. The party themſelves were ſenſible of the juſtice of the King's fears. Sixteen peers preſented a petition [d] againſt the ſitting of the parliament at Oxford. They conſiſted of the moſt violent excluſioniſts; and the King was confirmed in his reſolution by the reaſons which they advanced to alter his deſign.

Firmneſs of Charles.

AN inſtance of firmneſs in the meaſures of Charles, raiſed the ſpirits of his friends and depreſſed his enemies. When he declared in council, that he was reſolved to meet the new parliament at Oxford, the Earl of Saliſbury ſpoke firſt. He ſaid, "that he was ſorry to hear of ſuch a reſolution; but that ſince his Majeſty had forbidden the lords to give any advice, he thought himſelf unfit to ſerve at that board. He therefore requeſted the King to diſpenſe with his attendance." Charles, with a ſmile of ſcorn, replied, "With all my heart, my Lord, I am ready to grant ſo reaſonable a requeſt." Eſſex, Fauconberg, and Sir Robert Carr, ſpoke vehemently againſt the diſſolution. Eſſex called it a deſperate and pernicious council, fatal in its conſequences to the people, and dangerous to monarchy. The Earl of Angleſea ſpoke alſo againſt the diſſolution; but, according to his uſual cuſtom [e], he ended without giving an opinion. The reſt were ſilent. The reſult was, that Eſſex, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple were commanded, on the twenty-fourth of January, to appear no more at the board. The Earl of Conway, for whom Seymour promiſed to anſwer, ſucceeded Sunderland as ſecretary of ſtate.

[d] Kennet, vol. iii. James II.

[e] James II. 1681.

CHAP. V. 1681.

The Earls of Chesterfield, Ailesbury, and Oxford, all adherents of the Duke of York, were sworn into the vacancies at the council-board[f]. The Prince of Orange was highly chagrined at the dissolution of parliament. He was much disconcerted by the removal of Sunderland, who had betrayed to him all the secrets of the cabinet[g]. He however persisted in his project, and still believed that the King would be forced to abandon the Duke of York[h].

His views.

THE elections, as might have been foreseen, went every where in favour of the popular party. One hundred new members were chosen[i], all more hostile, if possible, to the court than their predecessors. In the last parliament, after the bill of exclusion had passed the commons, little opposition was made to the most extravagant propositions of the country party. Charles exerted all his influence in the house of lords. Besides, he stood in reserve, with his own power of putting an end to their violence by a dissolution. He scarce could expect any thing from the new parliament but the opportunity which the place of their sitting offered for dismissing them for ever with safety. These were his views in assembling them at Oxford. But the exclusionists hoped at last, from his necessities and love of ease, that he would yield to their vehemence. They filled therefore the whole kingdom with tumult and noise. They confirmed their friends with a certainty of victory. They intimidated their enemies, by appealing to the known unsteadiness of the King.

Negociation with France.

WHEN the Duke of York heard, in Scotland, of the dissolution, he dispatched Churchill to the King with proposals. He earnestly entreated him not to permit the new parliament to sit till the popular heats should abate. He pressed him not to engage

[f] James II. 1681. [g] D'Avaux, 1681. [h] Ibid. [i] James II. 1681.

in

CHAP. V. 1681.

in any alliance with Spain and Holland, as the commons would forſake him in his diſtreſs, in caſe of a war. He adviſed him by no means to break with France, the only country that could enable him to ſubſiſt. He told him, that France dreaded a commonwealth in England; that Spain and Holland deſired ſuch a change in her government. He inſinuated that the Prince of Orange, gained by the popular party, complained of the prorogation, and much more of the diſſolution of parliament; and he aſſured him, from the beſt authority, that the Prince was zealous for the bill of excluſion. Charles agreed to a treaty with France; but he left it entirely to the management of the Duke of York. He ordered his brother to conſent to no article that might preclude him from calling a parliament, or that ſeemed to leave Holland or Flanders open to a French invaſion. He inſtructed him to preſs that the firſt payment of the ſubſidy might be more conſiderable than the ſucceeding and the laſt. He thought it improper to make any motion in perſon in the treaty, for fear of diſappointing his views by an appearance of eagerneſs. But the French were ſlow in the negociation; and the King reſolved to meet the new parliament on the appointed day [k].

Fitz-Harris's

WHILE Charles formed ſome hopes of his being relieved from his diſtreſs by France, ſhe was framing ſchemes for rendering him ſtill more uneaſy at home. The more profligate part of the oppoſition in parliament were in her pay; and her ambaſſador at London employed her money in procuring malicious libels, to alienate the affections of his people from the King [l]. The French ambaſſador received, for this purpoſe, into his ſervice one Fitz-Harris, an Iriſhman and a Roman catholic [m]. This man, being the ſon of Sir Edward Fitz-Harris, a conſpicuous royaliſt, had found means, ſome time before, to be admitted to the King, who gave him two hundred

[k] James II. 1681. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid.

and

CHAP. V. 1681.

and fifty pounds to extricate him from his neceſſities. This being only a temporary relief, he hearkened with eagerneſs to the propoſals of the ambaſſador of France. Being himſelf unable to write for the public, he applied to one Everard, a Scotſman, who had been an informer, and a partizan to the popular party, to frame the libel. Everard, afraid of a deſign to trepan himſelf, placed ſecretly as witneſſes, Sir William Waller, a noted juſtice of the peace, and two other perſons, behind the hangings, to hear what paſſed between him and Fitz-Harris. The latter was apprehended and committed to priſon; and the libel, partly written by himſelf, and partly by Everard, was found in his pocket, and was ſecured as a proof to convict him before a court of law. It conſiſted of ſevere reflections on the Popery and arbitrary principles of Charles and his family; and concluded with a formal advice to the people to depoſe the King, and to provide for themſelves [n].

libel.

FITZ-HARRIS, in the poſſeſſion of the officers of juſtice, ſaw no ſafety but in throwing himſelf in the arms of the popular party. He ſent for Corniſh, one of the ſheriffs, and informed him, that he was employed by the court to write the libel, to render odious the excluſioniſts. The intention, he told him, was to ſend copies of the paper to the leaders of the oppoſition, and then to arreſt them, as conſpiring againſt the King. To enſure the favour of the public, he alſo became a diſcoverer of the great Popiſh plot. Corniſh having informed Charles of this circumſtance, the two ſecretaries were ſent to examine Fitz-Harris. He ſaid, that Montecuculi, who had been envoy in England from the court of Modena, had offered him ten thouſand pounds for murdering the King. He refuſed he ſaid the offer; but he told him, that the King's death might be procured by poiſon, at the Dutcheſs of Mazarine's houſe. He accuſed the Duke of York of being privy to the whole deſign. He affirmed, that an army from France and Flanders

[n] Publications of the times.

was

was to ſupport that prince; and that many parliament-men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the bill of excluſion, were to be boiled to death, to make a kind of oil*, to anoint him and the ſucceeding Kings of England at their coronation. The King ſaw the deſign of this incoherent nonſenſe; and, being apprehenſive that parliament would apply for a pardon for Fitz-Harris, he iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer for his trial; but the parliament met before it was carried into execution.

Its effect on the Duke of York.

INCREDIBLE, however, as the tale of Fitz-Harris appeared, it intimidated thoſe who wiſhed to favour the Duke of York. That Prince, upon the oath of the noted Otes, who ſwore, that he had ſeen him receiving the ſacrament according to the rites of the Romiſh church, was preſented for recuſancy at the Old Bailey. An informality in the mode of proceeding furniſhed the Duke with a pretence to appear after proclamation; but that was neither ſafe nor practicable. The affair was therefore removed by a writ of *certiorari* into the court of King's-Bench. This being afterwards thought inſufficient, the Duke ſolicited for a *noli proſequi*; which, upon the diſcovery made by Fitz-Harris, was refuſed. That miſguided Prince ſaw now the diſmal effects of his own folly and obſtinacy growing every day. The popular party no longer talked of the bill of excluſion as ſufficient. They reſolved at their meetings, that, to render it effectual, it muſt be attended with an act of aſſociation. Nothing could, however, overcome his bigotry. Charles, who had ſo often conjured him to conform to the eſtabliſhed church, renewed applications of the ſame kind in vain. He was neither to be won by entreaty, nor terrified by danger.

Preparations of the King.

CHARLES made no ſecret of his own fixed reſolution to yield in nothing to the country party. He publickly told the ambaſ-

* St. Ampoule. James II.

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CHAP. V. 1681.

ſadors of Spain and Holland, that it was in conſequence of his promiſe to them that he permitted his parliament to meet at all [p]. He declared at the ſame time, that he was determined to diſſolve and not to prorogue them, ſhould they reſume their former violent meaſures. He accordingly began deliberately to prepare for extremities. The greateſt part of the Earl of Oxford's regiment were quartered on the road, to ſecure his return. Another body of his guards were ordered to patrole along the way. The oppoſition of his family rendered colonel Ruſſel ſuſpected. His regiment was offered to the Earl of Thanet. The Duke of York recommended the Earl of Mulgrave to the ſame command. The firſt declined to pay for his commiſſion to Ruſſel. The King himſelf refuſed the latter, from a prepoſſeſſion againſt his manner. The Earl of Craven, though then ſuperannuated, was left in the chief command [q]. Having made theſe arrangements, Charles left Windſor on the fourteenth of March. He was received on the confines of the county by the high ſheriff; and at Wheatley by Lord Norris, the lord-lieutenant, and conducted with great pomp to Oxford. The univerſity expreſſed their loyalty in addreſſes and feſtivity; and the King was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, that he ordered the particulars to be publiſhed, as an example of fidelity to the reſt of the kingdom. The popular party came with equal pomp, and ſcarce with leſs hoſtile preparations, to Oxford. Numerous bands of retainers in arms attended their leaders to parliament. Great multitudes, in particular, followed the four members for the city of London [r]. The conteſt, however, would have been unequal, had things come to extremities. When a military force is once eſtabliſhed in a country, the liberty of the people depends either on the humanity or happy timidity of the Prince.

Parliament meets at Oxford.

ON Monday, the twenty-firſt of March, the parliament was opened at Oxford with a ſpeech from the throne. Charles, hav-

[p] James II. [q] Ibid. [r] Kennet, et Auct. citat.

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CHAP. V. 1681.

ing determined to act with firmneſs, expreſſed himſelf in an authoritative tone. The unwarrantable proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons, he told them, were the cauſe of the late diſſolution. He aſſured them, that as he ſhould uſe no arbitrary government himſelf, he was reſolved not to ſuffer tyranny in others. He complained, that the former parliament had rejected his offer of limitation, refuſed to ſupport his alliances, and to preſerve Tangier. He informed them, that it was his intereſt, as well as his inclination, to preſerve the liberty of the ſubject; as the crown is in peril, when public freedom is threatened with danger. He argued his love of parliaments, by his meeting one ſo ſoon, after the former had diſtreſſed him with its heats. He expreſſed his hopes, that the bad ſucceſs of the late violent proceedings might diſpoſe them to a better temper. He declared his fixed reſolution to adhere to the rights of ſucceſſion. He deſired them to remember, that without the ſafety and dignity of monarchy, neither religion nor property can be preſerved. He recommended union at home, as the only means to recover the importance of the nation abroad; and he concluded with adviſing them to adapt the rules and meaſures of their votes to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, which neither ought nor can be changed, except by an act paſſed by the three eſtates of parliament [s].

Proceedings of the commons.

THE commons, returning to their houſe, choſe for their ſpeaker Williams, who had ſerved in the ſame capacity in the preceding parliament [t]. On the twenty-fourth of March, they reſolved to conſider of means for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion and the King's perſon [u]. Though the laſt parliament ſeemed to have forgot the Earl of Danby, the preſent houſe of commons reſumed the proſecution againſt him with ardour. They ſent a meſſage to the lords, to appoint a day to give judgment againſt Danby [x]. But the caſe

[s] Journals of the lords, Mar. 21, 1681. [t] Mar. 21.
[u] Mar. 24. [x] Mar. 25.

CHAP. V. 1681.

of Fitz-Harris ſeemed to command a ſtill greater ſhare of their attention. His evidence in writing was laid before the houſe, and recorded in their votes. Though incredible in many particulars, it ſeemed to be artfully connected with the tranſactions of the times. Some ſurmiſes were certainly juſt; and, upon the whole, Fitz-Harris appeared to have heard, as a matter of converſation among the enthuſiaſtic prieſts, ſome circumſtances which he related. The commons knew, that the crown was bent upon the conviction of the criminal. To ſave him from the animadverſions of the courts of common law, they voted his impeachment; and to add indignity to their violence, they ordered Secretary Jenkins to carry the impeachment to the lords [y].

Quarrel between the houſes.

THE houſe of lords, where the King poſſeſſed a great majority, refuſed to proceed on the impeachment of Fitz-Harris; having produced a precedent from the reign of Edward III. to ſupport the juſtice of their conduct. But this precedent was neither applicable nor ſuitable to the common-ſenſe of mankind. Their refuſal of an impeachment from the commons could be only juſtified by the violence of its intention. The lower-houſe immediately voted, that the conduct of the lords was a denial of public juſtice, a violation of the conſtitution of parliaments, an obſtruction to the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, and of great danger to his Majeſty's perſon and the Proteſtant religion. They reſolved, that for any other inferior court to proceed againſt Fitz-Harris, or any other perſon lying under an impeachment of the commons of England, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament. In the fury which aroſe concerning Fitz-Harris, they proceeded to other buſineſs. They reſolved to bring in a bill to baniſh all the Papiſts of England, that poſſeſſed one hundred pounds a-year, from his Majeſty's dominions, by their name. They revived the bill of excluſion, and ordered it to be read for the firſt time the next day [z].

[y] Mar. 25.

[z] Mar. 26.

BEFORE

CHAP. V.

1681.

BEFORE the meeting of parliament, the Earl of Halifax, and ſome others of the principal ſervants of the crown, amuſed the King with an expedient to prevent the bill of excluſion. They offered to propoſe to the commons to make the Prince and Princeſs of Orange protectors, during the life of the Duke of York. The vivacity of Halifax fixed on the word protectors, inſtead of regents, to amuſe the republican party. Charles was willing to agree to any meaſure that might gain the commons, without breaking the line of ſucceſſion. He was offended at the abſurd bigotry of his brother; and he wiſhed to puniſh him, in any way conſiſtent with the right of his family to the crown. But when the expedient was propoſed, it was rejected with diſdain. The commons were ſenſible that no regent could poſſeſs equal influence with a nominal King. To baniſh a monarch, whoſe title was recognized, was deemed at once abſurd and impracticable. They brought in therefore a bill for a total excluſion; and they intended to follow it with an act of aſſociation, to render it effectual[a].

An expedient rejected.

CHARLES, having foreſeen the violence of the commons, had taken his reſolution to diſſolve the parliament. He perceived that a great part of the nation ſeemed already to think that they had driven things too far. He was reſolved to prevent, at all events, a breach upon the ſucceſſion; and he ſaw that he was to be ſupported, ſhould his conduct aſſume the appearance of ſpirit. The bill of excluſion was introduced on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of March. When the two houſes were met, on Monday the twenty-eighth, the King put on his robes privately, and was conveyed in a ſedan-chair to the houſe of lords. He drew the curtains as he went, to conceal the crown, which he carried on his knee. The lords ſuſpected nothing, as he was wont to come daily to hear their debates. When he arrived, he ſuddenly mounted the throne;

The parliament diſſolved.

[a] Mar. 26.

CHAP. V.

1681.

and placing the crown on his head, ordered the uſher of the black-rod to ſummon the commons. Silence and aſtoniſhment prevailed around. His very ſervants ſeemed ſurpriſed at a conduct which they might have foreſeen. The commons, in the mean time, arrived. The King told them, "that diviſions, which began ſo ill, could not end in good." He then commanded the chancellor to declare the parliament diſſolved [b].

Conſternation of the popular party.

A CLAP of thunder burſting ſuddenly upon them could not more aſtoniſh the popular party, than this abrupt diſſolution of parliament. Prepared for no other mode of reſiſtance, they gave at once all their hopes to the wind. They found that they had built too much on the eaſineſs of Charles; and that they had miſtaken his forbearing policy for timidity. The fabric of oppoſition, which they had been rearing for ſeveral years, melted at once into air. A melancholy ſilence followed their vehement eloquence; and all their ſpirit took its flight with their good fortune. Fears for themſelves ſucceeded to their violence againſt the crown. They had loſt the field to a prince whom they, with every art, had offended and diſtreſſed; and they dreaded that he would uſe his victory with rigour; and they were not deceived. They haſtened each to his own home, as if terrified at the place where they had loſt their political conſequence. All the roads were in an inſtant covered with carriages and horſes. The King himſelf, as if afraid of ſome attempt of their deſpair, haſtened in his coach to Windſor, attended by his guards, and the next day he came to Whitehall.

[b] Journals. James II. Kennet. Burnet.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Reflections on the conduct of parliament.——King's declaration.——Addreſſes from all quarters.——City of London reprimanded.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Fitz-Harris and Plunket executed.——Caſe and trial of College.——Affairs of Scotland.——Succeſſion recognized.——A new teſt.——Trial of Argyle.——Conduct of the Duke of York.——Foreign affairs.——Prince of Orange in England.——Conference with the King.——Shafteſbury acquitted.——Paſſive obedience.——State of the times.——Of foreign affairs.——Return of the Duke of York.——He narrowly eſcapes ſhipwreck.——The King poſſeſſes himſelf of London.——Affairs at court.——Monmouth's progreſs.——Legal ſeverities.——Deaths and promotions.——Quo warranto.——City of London ſubmits.——Corporations reſign their charters.——Riſe and progreſs of a conſpiracy.——Ryehouſe plot.——Conſpirators ſeized.——Trial, condemnation, death, and character of Ruſſel.——Death of Eſſex.——Marriage of the Lady Anne.——Oxford declaration.——Trial, execution, and character of Sidney.——Monmouth's confeſſion and diſgrace.——Conduct and intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——Hampden fined.——Proſecutions and executions.——Duke of York lord admiral.——Affairs of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——State of foreign affairs.——Domeſtic affairs.——Death of the King.——His behaviour in his laſt moments.——Reflections on his private life and character.

THOUGH the conduct of Charles might be reprehenſible, and the religion of his brother dangerous, they ſcarce furniſh an excuſe for the violence of parliament. The commons, led aſtray by their zeal, exerciſed a deſpotiſm as capricious and illegal

CHAP. V.

1681. March. Reflections on the

CHAP. VI.

1681.

illegal as that which they affected to apprehend from the crown. Their arbitrary reſolutions often interrupted the courſe of juſtice, encroached wantonly on perſonal freedom, and ſuſpended in ſome caſes the laws. Their claims of privilege were ſtretched to the utmoſt extent of their views and paſſions. To their moſt ſalutary reſolves they annexed a petulance that ſeemed more calculated to diſtreſs the ſovereign, than to relieve the nation. In calling the clamours of the populace to aid their deliberations, they terrified the ſober part of mankind into a diſlike of their conduct. In their contempt of all expedients, they loſt the character of moderation; and, by driving the Prince to extremities, they awakened the pity of his ſubjects, and united the majority of them in his cauſe. Their inſiſting upon the excluſion of the Duke of York, though perhaps in itſelf no very improper meaſure, loſt all pretence to prudence, when they knew that the King was reſolved to prevent it, by means which would in a moment annihilate their own power.

conduct of parliament.

THE conſequences of their conduct proved almoſt fatal to the freedom which they affected to defend. The King having obtained a victory, with the approbation of his people, uſed it with an addreſs which removed all checks from his power. The church, thrown into his ſcale by the attachment of the commons to ſectaries, ſecured his influence with the nation. The laws, explained by time-ſerving judges, became an inſtrument of oppreſſion, more than the means of juſtice. The opinions of mankind ſeemed to alter with their condition. The jealouſies of the crown ceaſed when the King acquired the power of doing harm; and men ſeemed anxious to exchange the trouble of being free, for the tranquillity of deſpotiſm. But the fatal diſcredit into which parliament had fallen ſprung from the violence of leaders, who had other views than the public good. Many had been gained by France, for the ſole purpoſe of feeding the flame of diſſenſion in

a kingdom, whoſe force was the chief obſtacle to her own views. Others wiſhed to gratify their ambition in the midſt of anarchy and confuſion. Some hoped to raiſe an ideal fabric of a republic on the ruins of monarchy, without conſidering the unfitneſs of the materials of which it was to have been framed. The beſt meaning, who unfortunately are too often the moſt weak, were rouſed into enthuſiaſm by the profeſſions of deſigning men. The madneſs frequently incident to an aſſembled multitude infected the commons in general; and hurried the members, in a collective body, into acts which, ſingly, they might wiſh to avoid.

CHAP. VI. 1681.

THE King had long perceived, that the obſtinacy of the commons was too deeply rooted to be removed. He ſaw that delay would render them leſs excuſable, without diminiſhing their extravagance. His laſt parliament he aſſembled for the purpoſe of diſſolving them with an appearance of ſpirit. He ſcarce had made a ſecret of his intention, notwithſtanding the ſurpriſe with which the diſſolution was received. The limitations which he propoſed were intended only to convince the people of the unreaſonableneſs of their repreſentatives. He had engaged to the Prince of Orange not to circumſcribe the power of a crown which he was one day likely to wear[c]. Sincerity was none of the virtues of Charles; and art was even neceſſary, in his preſent condition. His conduct after the diſſolution was full of policy, and ſuited to the ſtate of the times. He prepared a declaration, as an appeal to the people from parliament. When the declaration was preſented to the council, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury propoſed that it ſhould be read in all the churches and chapels in England[d]. A mode of publication, which was likely to give it ſolemnity and weight, was willingly adopted. The clergy added arguments of their own to thoſe contained in the declaration. In their diſcourſes they propagated principles ſubverſive of public freedom, and ſeemed to

The King iſſues

[c] Dalrymple's Append. [d] Contin. of Baker. Kennet, vol. iii.

connect

CHAP. VI. 1681.

connect the safety of the established religion with an unlimited power in the crown.

a declaration. April.

THE declaration was well conceived, and, though artful, appeared modest and just. The King represented the violence of the two last parliaments in affairs which regarded the nation, and their unsuitable returns to himself. He complained, that they had converted their addresses into remonstrances; that their arbitrary orders had deprived men of their liberty, in matters that had no relation to privilege. He specified some of their strange and illegal votes, which declared persons enemies to the King and kingdom, without any order or process of law. He affirmed, that instead of giving him assistance with supplies, they endeavoured to expose him to danger, by preventing money from being lent on the branches of the established revenue. He mentioned, that by their votes, prohibiting the prosecution of Dissenters, they had assumed the power of suspending laws. He placed their conduct with regard to the exclusion in the most unfavourable light. He, however, declared, that no irregularities in former parliaments would induce him to abstain from convening these assemblies hereafter. He in the mean time assured his people, that he was resolved to have frequent parliaments, to use his utmost endeavours to extirpate Popery, to redress the grievances of his subjects, and in all things to govern according to the laws of the kingdom [e].

Addresses from all quarters.

THE opposition, weakened by their dispersion, lost all their spirit with their power. Some able answers, however, appeared against the King's declaration; but they made little impression on a people whose opinions had changed. The adherents of the court carried their arguments to the press. Men of genius, though little encouraged by the monarch, aided his councils with their

[e] Vid. Declaration, April 8, 1681.

talents. Sir William Jones, a man of abilities, who had reſigned the office of attorney-general to join the country party, defended the late parliaments, as much as their conduct would admit of defence. He expoſed with ſucceſs the meaſures of Charles; but no ſufficient excuſe could be made for the imprudent vehemence of his own friends. To complete the victory of the crown, the people were encouraged to approve publickly of the diſſolution of parliament. Addreſſes poured from every quarter of the kingdom. This ſpecies of flattery was begun by the juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex[f]; and from them it ſpread to almoſt all the legal ſocieties in the nation. Even apprentices, watermen, and mariners, joined in the univerſal cry in favour of the crown. Men in general ſeemed to congratulate the King on his eſcape from parliaments, and to be impatient to throw the burden of public freedom at the foot of the throne.

CHAP. VI. 1681.

The majority of the corporation of London ſtill remained firm to the country party. The principal officers and the common-council had been choſen when the public opinion was turned with moſt violence againſt the crown. When application was made by ſome citizens for an addreſs, others carried, by a majority in the common-hall, a vote for a petition. Charles commanded the Earl of Nottingham, as Chancellor, to return an anſwer at once contemptuous and ſevere. He reprimanded them for interfering in affairs of ſtate, being things totally beyond their ſphere. He averred, that the meaneſt village in England had an equal right with them to meddle in matters of government. He deſired them to conſider, that the common-council of London was by no means the common-council of the nation. He, however, informed them, that his Majeſty looked not upon their petition as proceeding from the unanimous conſent of the city of London; that it was carried only by fourteen votes in the whole; and that

City of London reprimanded. May.

[f] April 18.

CHAP. VI. 1681.

it was againſt the ſenſe of the greater part of the court of aldermen. He complained of their preſuming to doubt his declaration, "that there ſhould be frequent parliaments;" and he concluded with adviſing them "to ſtudy to be quiet, to do their own buſineſs, to leave to his Majeſty the protection and care of a city whoſe proſperity could only riſe from the tranquillity of his government [g]."

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

WHILE the King was preparing, with a degree of ſpirit, to diſcomfit the popular faction, the Prince of Orange was buſy in forming projects of ambition upon their expected ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding the repulſe given to the Dutch memorial, he adopted other ſchemes to favour his views on the throne. He came to a reſolution with his party to propoſe a new expedient to the King of England. The projected marriage between the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh and the Princeſs Anne had not hitherto been laid aſide in the ſecret councils of the Prince. He, therefore, intended to demand, in conjunction with the oppoſition in parliament, that in caſe Charles ſhould die before the Duke of York, the latter ſhould be only titular King, and reſide in the dominions of the Duke of Hanover; and that his ſons-in-law, the Prince himſelf, and the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, ſhould be declared regents of the kingdom. This project, however, was dropt, as abſurd, upon mature conſideration; and the Prince turned his attention to another ſcheme, which ultimately crowned his deſigns with ſucceſs. He concerted with the Earl of Sunderland to make a ſhow of deſerting his intereſt, to inſinuate himſelf into the intimacy of the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and, by her means, into the good graces of his maſter, that he might have an opportunity of betraying the councils of that Prince, and defeat the ſucceſſion of the Duke of York to the throne of England [h].

[g] May 19.

[h] D'Avaux, April 1681.

THE

CHAP. VI

1681. June. Fitz Harris condemned,

THE trial of Fitz-Harris, after ſome doubts whether his counſel would ſubmit to the juriſdiction of a court of common law [l], came on in the beginning of June [k]. His conviction being deemed a matter of the laſt importance to the crown, ſome extraordinary preparations were made. The lord chief juſtice Scroggs lay himſelf under an impeachment in parliament; and it was thought improper that one delinquent ſhould ſit in judgment upon another of the ſame kind. He was diſmiſſed from his office with a penſion. Pemberton, a man of boldneſs, and better abilities than character, ſucceeded Scroggs. Theſe precautions were, however, unneceſſary. Though the principal witneſs, Sir William Waller, was himſelf a violent party-man; though Johnſon, the foreman of the jury, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a partiſan of Shafteſbury, and an adherent of Monmouth; though the ſheriffs had choſen the reſt of the jury, on account of their popular principles; the fact was too clear to admit of his eſcape. The only plea was his being employed by the King in ſecret ſervices. The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, being examined, ſwore that ſhe begged ſome charity for him from the King, but that ſhe was privy to none of his concerns. Her woman, Mrs. Wall, was alſo called. She declared, that Fitz-Harris received one hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds for perſuading ſome eminent perſons in oppoſition to ſupport the intereſt of the King [l].

and executed.

FITZ-HARRIS, being condemned for treaſon, endeavoured to ſave his life by ſoothing the King. He ſent a meſſage, that ſhould his ſentence be changed to perpetual impriſonment, he would openly name thoſe who induced him to accuſe the Queen, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Danby [m]. He was examined before the council. He affirmed, that the two ſheriffs, Bethel and Corniſh, together with Treby the recorder, had prevailed with him to invent the fictions concerning the Popiſh plot. He was,

[l] James II. 1681. [k] June 9. [l] James II. 1681. [m] Ibid.

CHAP. VI. 1681.

however, too profligate to gain any credit to his evidence. He accuſed the Lord Howard of Eſcric of being concerned in the libel for which he was condemned. His wife and maid confirmed this part of the teſtimony; and Howard was immediately ſent to the Tower. But, notwithſtanding diſcoveries which could not but pleaſe the King, Fitz-Harris was too obnoxious to be pardoned. He, however, continued to the laſt to adhere to the falſehood of his accuſation; and he declared at the place of execution, "that he renounced the mercy of Almighty God, if his confeſſion was not true[n]."

Plunket condemned.

THOUGH Fitz-Harris died unpitied, the fate of another ſuppoſed criminal of the ſame faith was lamented by the unprejudiced few. Shafteſbury, to enlarge the ſcale of the popular plot, had encouraged and ſupported informers, who endeavoured to eſtabliſh a belief of an Iriſh conſpiracy of the ſame kind. Some profligate prieſts, who wiſhed to gain the reward offered in England for perjury, had ſome time before accuſed Oliver Plunket, the Popiſh titular biſhop of Armagh, who called himſelf primate of all Ireland. Plunket was a man remarkable for the ſimplicity of his manners, quiet in his diſpoſition, and altogether an enemy to turbulence and intrigue. He was, however, brought to England to take his trial. The witneſſes, as uſual, were incredible in their evidence. They ſwore, that he had engaged to the Pope to raiſe ſixty thouſand Iriſh to join an army of French invaders to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion. The Iriſh clergy, they affirmed, were to ſupport with their contributions this deſign. Plunket, in his defence, could only urge the improbability of this tale. He ſhewed that the Iriſh clergy were ſo poor, that he himſelf, who was called their primate, lived in a thatched hut upon ſixty pounds a-year. He inſiſted upon the obvious falſehood, that a body of men labouring under ſuch poverty could furniſh money

[n] Vid. his Confeſſion.

for the ſupport of a great army. The evidence, however, was poſitive. Plunket was condemned; and the King, though informed of his innocence, durſt not pardon ſo ſignal a Papiſt[o].

Tranſactions in the city.

WHILE the reſt of the nation ſignified their approbation of the preſent meaſures in addreſſes, the corporation of London ſeemed to adhere to their former principles. On the twenty-fourth of June, the two ſheriffs were choſen from the popular party; and the common-hall voted their aſſent to the matter of the petition, for which the city had been reprimanded by the King. The addreſs of Shafteſbury was the chief cauſe of this obſtinacy. Having employed agents of the inferior ſort of people to keep up the flame, he contrived to carry the election of ſheriffs; a neceſſary precaution, when his enemies ſeemed determined to execute their vengeance through the channel of the law. Too artful himſelf to commit obvious treaſon, the court reſolved to puniſh his adherents. Two of his moſt active managers, College and Rouſe, were apprehended by a warrant from the council. The firſt was a tradeſman of ſome character, but a fanatic: and the latter had been employed in conducting and ſupporting the evidence for an Iriſh plot; the moſt fooliſh, and to his party the moſt fatal, of all that nobleman's political ſchemes [p].

July. College tried.

COLLEGE, as having been the moſt active in the ſchemes of Shafteſbury, ought to be the firſt object of puniſhment, in the judgment of the court. On the eighth of July, a bill was preferred againſt him; but the jury returned it indorſed with an ignoramus. The intemperate joy of the party upon this occaſion increaſed the reſentment of the adherents of the crown. Though the bill in Middleſex was fruſtrated, College was ſtill liable to another in the county of Oxford. A part of the treaſon of which he was accuſed lay in the latter county; and the King might

[o] Contin. of Baker.

[p] Kennet, Ralph, et Auct. citat.

legally

CHAP. VI. 1681.

legally proſecute in either, as ſuited his pleaſure. The aſſizes at Oxford were at hand. The priſoner was ſent to that place. The indictment was preferred to the ordinary grand jury, and a bill was found. But it was thought neither juſt nor politic to try him during the ſame aſſizes. On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, a ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer was iſſued to the Lord Norris, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxford, the lord chief juſtice North, and the puiſne judges, Jones, Raymond, and Levinz, for the trial of College. The activity of the priſoner in the ſervice of his party had raiſed him to a degree of importance, to which his ſituation in life had otherwiſe no claim [q].

and condemned.

DUGDALE, Turberville, and Smith, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their evidence for the Popiſh plot, were now the principal witneſſes againſt College. Having left the popular party when their power declined, they offered their ſervice to the court, and they were readily received. A ſpirit of retaliation, which overcame all the principles of juſtice, had, to the diſgrace of the age, ſeized the adherents of the crown. Though they ſaw with indignation the perjuries of thoſe villains, when employed by their enemies, they now availed themſelves of their teſtimony to favour their revenge. The chief charge againſt College was, that, in his zeal for the excluſioniſts, he had appeared at Oxford, during the ſitting of parliament, armed with ſword and piſtol; and that he had expreſſed himſelf to ſome of the witneſſes as being engaged in a conſpiracy to ſeize the perſon of the King [r]. College, who was a man of capacity and firmneſs, defended himſelf with courage, and an appearance of innocence. Though warm in his zeal for a party, and active in accompliſhing their deſigns in the city of London, he ſeems never to have extended his thoughts to actual treaſon. It is remarkable, that College, in the caſe of the Viſcount Stafford, had much inſiſted on the ho-

[q] Publications of the year.

[r] Grey's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot.

neſty of Dugdale; yet the apparent perjury of that evidence bore now the hardeſt on himſelf. Notwithſtanding his defence, he was found guilty; and his ſentence was heard with ſhouts of applauſe by a great concourſe of ſpectators. The ſpirit of party ſeemed to have obliterated from the minds of the people all feeling for thoſe who differed from them in political opinions [s].

Affairs of Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great and ſudden change in favour of the crown in England, Charles thought it prudent to command the Duke of York to remain in Scotland. The politic conduct of that Prince, during his former reſidence in the latter kingdom, had gained the good opinion of the Scots, and ſecured their attachment. The violence of his enemies, and that pity which follows misfortune in the higher ſpheres of life, were, however, more favourable to his intereſt than his own conduct. The attention paid to him in Scotland prevented not his impatience to return to court, when he heard of the diſſolution of parliament. He applied by letter to Charles. He ſent Churchill, his favourite, to London. He employed all the influence of his friends. The latter contented themſelves with requeſting that he himſelf might be permitted to reſide at Audley, or any other houſe belonging to the King; and that the Dutcheſs, who was in a bad ſtate of health, might retire either to Bath or Tunbridge. Hyde and Jenkins, of all the miniſtry, wiſhed only for his return. The reſt, with the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, oppoſed it, and prevailed [t].

Right of ſucceſſion recognized.

THE Duke himſelf, ſuſpecting that permiſſion for his return could not be obtained, gave another charge to Churchill, which was not to be communicated till the firſt requeſt was refuſed. This was a deſire to call a parliament in Scotland, where, from the complexion of opinions, the Duke flattered himſelf with the hopes of a ſolemn act to recognize the rights of ſucceſſion, which

[s] Publications of the times.

[t] James II. 1681.

had

CHAP. VI. 1681.

had been invaded in England. Charles readily agreed; and thinking it unfit that any other ſhould repreſent his perſon when his brother was preſent, appointed the Duke his commiſſioner to the new parliament. The proclamation and letter to the privy-council of Scotland were not, however, diſpatched from London till the end of July. When the parliament met at Edinburgh, the Duke found that he had formed a juſt judgment of their attachment to the indefeaſible rights of monarchy. An act was immediately paſſed, "that no difference of religion, no act of the legiſlature made or to be made, could alter or divert the right of ſucceſſion, or lineal deſcent of the crown." It was declared high treaſon in any one of the ſubjects of Scotland, by writing or acting, by word or deed, to endeavour the alteration or ſuſpenſion of the right of ſucceſſion. This act paſſed without one diſſenting voice; and when the Duke gave the royal aſſent, he declared that "he would heartily concur with the parliament in the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion [u]."

Proceedings of parliament.

THE parliament proceeded next to continue the exciſe, and to vote a ſupply for the ſupport of the army. Great frauds had been committed, by farming that revenue to contractors; for the whole amount of what came into the treaſury exceeded not ſixty thouſand pounds a-year [x]. The Duke, with his uſual œconomy, began to leſſen the expence, and concert meaſures for augmenting the receipts. He ſtruck off the penſions of the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, and Seaforth, who had each ſeven hundred pounds a-year, to anſwer for the Highlanders, and to make good the depredations committed upon the inhabitants of the low country [y]. The Duke of York, in the mean time, made exceptions to the management of the Lord Regiſter, to oppreſſion committed by Argyle, by means of his too extenſive juriſdictions in the Highlands, and to the conduct of the preſident of the ſeſſion.

[u] James II. [x] James II. 1681. [y] Ibid.

Lauderdale

Lauderdale was highly offended at this attack on his own adherents; and he endeavoured to perſuade the King, that thoſe whom his brother perſecuted were the moſt devoted to his ſervice[z]. CHAP. VI. 1681.

THE moſt remarkable act of the Scotiſh parliament was their paſſing a new teſt, which all perſons in the ſervice of government were obliged to take. This teſt, with a formal renunciation of the famous covenant, and a ſolemn affirmation of the King's ſupremacy, contained a reſolution of paſſive obedience, and of diſclaiming all alterations in the government of church and ſtate. To theſe articles, after they were introduced in parliament, ſome members, who had the courage to exhibit even a diſtant ſhew of patriotiſm, annexed a clauſe of adherence to the Proteſtant faith. Though this was virtually contained in the article for maintaining the eſtabliſhed church, it was readily granted, that the bill might paſs with more eaſe and unanimity. The teſt being ill conceived, and, if poſſible, worſe expreſſed, contained many glaring contradictions and groſs abſurdities. Several perſons ſcrupled to take it, without an explanation; and the Duke himſelf ſeemed to conſider it as too ſevere[a]. The Earl of Argyle, as privy-counſellor, took the teſt, in the Duke's preſence, with an explanation of which his Royal Highneſs approved[b]. A new teſt.

ARGYLE, a few days after, was ſuddenly ſeized and committed to priſon. He was indicted for leaſing-making, perjury, and high treaſon. Some writers affirm, that the Duke was offended with the Earl for ſome expreſſions which he uſed in the debate in parliament, concerning a clauſe in the teſt-act for exempting princes of the blood from taking the oath. The fact is improbable, as the Lord Belhaven was, for words of the ſame import, committed priſoner by the parliament to the caſtle of Edinburgh; and it is not likely, that, in their preſent temper, Argyle condemned.

[z] James II. 1681. [a] James II. [b] James II.

CHAP. VI. 1681.

they would paſs over in the Earl the fault for which they puniſhed the Lord. Beſides, the Duke himſelf aſſigns no ſuch motive for the proſecution of Argyle. He affirms, that there was not the leaſt deſign formed againſt either his life or fortune; but only to procure the forfeiture of ſome juriſdictions and ſuperiorities, which his predeceſſors had unjuſtly obtained, and he himſelf tyrannically exerciſed [b]. As a proof of this aſſertion, the Duke and the Dutcheſs of York entreated the King, by letters [c], to favour the Lord Lorne, who was permitted to come to court, after the condemnation, forfeiture, and eſcape of the Earl, his father. The intention, however good, by no means juſtified the meaſure; for the moſt cruel and dangerous oppreſſions are thoſe which come under the form of juſtice and law.

The Duke importuned in vain to conform.

THE unlimited loyalty of the Scotiſh parliament animated Charles with the hopes of putting for ever an end to the political misfortunes of his family. The current in England was ſo ſtrong in favour of monarchy, that ſcarce any thing remained to render the crown deſpotic, but the return of the heir-apparent to the eſtabliſhed religion. He reſolved, therefore, to make another attempt on the bigotry of his brother. He diſpatched Hyde to that infatuated Prince, and he arrived at Edinburgh on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt. He ordered Hyde to tell him, that unleſs he reſolved to conform entirely and go to church, no leave for his returning to England muſt ever be expected. "Tell him, Hyde," ſaid the King, "that unleſs he conforms, I neither will nor can ſupport him, though I have hitherto done it at the riſk of my life and crown. Let him conſider from what his folly has done already, what hereafter it will do. He will ruin himſelf, and me, and his family, for ever." Hyde executed his commiſſion with faithfulneſs and zeal. Three whole days he laid before him the preſent diſmal ſtate of affairs, and the melancholy proſpect of the

[b] James II. 1681. [c] Ibid.

future.

future. He, however, could not prevail. He at length ſhewed to the Duke a note in the King's own hand, containing theſe words: "If you will go to church, without doing more, you ſhall have leave to come to me when the parliament is adjourned [c]." CHAP. VI. 1681.

Conduct of the Duke of York.

THE Duke of York, upon the whole, though deemed ſevere in his diſpoſition, relaxed conſiderably the rigour of the government which he found in Scotland. He gained the eſteem of the nobility and gentry by the civility of his behaviour; and he won the affections of the inferior ſort, by his attention to the marks of reſpect which they paid. To diminiſh the jealouſy entertained concerning his religion, he always attended public prayers before the parliament [d]. Though the conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale pleaſed him, when ſeen at a diſtance [e], he loſt all reſpect for his perſon, when he took a nearer view of the oppreſſions of his government and the rapacity of his family. His high, monarchical principles, however, carried him too far. He ſuppreſſed a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Lord Salton, though he ſaw, and even in ſome degree puniſhed his guilt. This part of his conduct proceeded from his opinion of the danger of ſubmitting the ſervants of the crown to the animadverſions of a popular aſſembly. His treatment of the fanatics partook more of rigour than any other part of his public conduct; but there is no juſt ground for believing that he was preſent at the tortures of criminals. That miſguided Prince has been as unfortunate in his hiſtorians, as he has been inexcuſable in many parts of his conduct. Some writers, with a prepoſterous folly, have loaded him with falſehoods; as if any thing but their expediency were neceſſary to juſtify the meaſures which drove him from the throne.

Foreign affairs.

THE ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth, encouraged by the diſſenſions in England, began again to threaten Europe with a war.

[c] James II. 1681. [d] James II. [e] James II. 1681.

CHAP. VI. 1681.

To give the colour of juſtice to his conduct, he formed at Metz a court, which he called the Sovereign Chamber, to eſtabliſh a kind of claim to the territories which he meant to ſeize. This iniquitous tribunal declared [f], that the greateſt part of the dutchy of Luxembourg was a dependence on the biſhoprick of Metz, which had been ceded by treaty to the crown of France. On the ſide of Flanders, he made a peremptory demand of the county of Chinei; and he laid claim to Straſbourg, as the capital of Alſace; which country had been ceded to the crown of France by the treaties of Munſter and Nimeguen. To enable him to poſſeſs in tranquillity what he demanded under the form of juſtice, Lewis liſtened to the applications of Charles, whom his neceſſities and the violence of parliament had forced to propoſe a new ſecret treaty. The eagerneſs of the King of France to gain the friendſhip of a prince, who, on account of domeſtic diſſenſions, was ſcarce capable of giving him trouble, induced him to conclude, on the twenty-ſixth of March, a verbal agreement to pay to the King of England a ſubſidy. The terms were fifty thouſand pounds, payable every three months, for three years; the firſt payment to be made at the end of June. The conditions on the ſide of Charles were only friendſhip; on that of France, a promiſe to diſturb neither Flanders nor Holland [g].

Encroachments of France.

LEWIS, however, deemed it no infraction on the verbal treaty to ſeize Straſbourg, to block up Luxembourg, and to force the ceſſion of the county of Chinei. When he made the firſt motion to accompliſh theſe ends, the Spaniards were incenſed, and the Dutch alarmed. The ambition of the Prince of Orange added its own force to the terrors and reſentment of Spain and Holland. While he was in appearance on the beſt terms with his uncle, he concerted with the Spaniards, that a declaration ſhould be preſented by their own ambaſſador at London, ſignifying that his

[f] April 12, 1680.

[g] James II. 1681.

nation

CHAP. VI. 1681.

nation would break all commerce with England, till the King ſhould reconcile himſelf to his parliament[h]. The States were induced to join in this extraordinary remonſtrance. Both inveighed againſt the diſſolution of the two laſt parliaments; and, in a manner ſcarce decent to an independent Prince, inſiſted with the King to yield thoſe points from which his quarrel with the commons had ſprung. The part which the Prince acted upon this occaſion was no ſecret to either of his uncles. They knew that his ambition had been violently inflamed by the near proſpect of the Engliſh throne, furniſhed to him by the excluſion of the Duke of York. The Prince aſſured himſelf, that ſhould Charles be induced to take an active part againſt France, he muſt become dependent on parliament, and grant all that they deſired. The ſupply promiſed by Lewis enabled the King of England to diſmiſs his violent commons, and to reject what HE deemed the inſolent demands of his allies. The Prince of Orange, however, though it was removed to a greater diſtance, loſt not his view of the object. He continued his perſonal applications to Charles to cloſe with his parliament, and to deſert the eventual ſucceſſion of his brother to the throne[i].

The Prince of Orange in England.

WHILE the Prince urged his uncle upon that ſubject, an event happened, which made a temporary breach in their friendſhip. The former raiſed Sidney to the command of the regiments of Britiſh ſubjects in the ſervice of the States, in oppoſition to the nomination of the King, who had been uſually indulged with the recommendation of an officer to that employment. Charles being highly offended at this mark of diſreſpect, the Prince referred at length Sidney's affair to his pleaſure. The matter was at length compromiſed, by the King's giving to Sidney a conſiderable ſum of money. In his turn, Sidney promiſed to undeceive the Prince of Orange with regard to the meaſures which he wiſhed to be fol-

[h] D'Avaux, December 1681.

[i] James II. 1681.

lowed

CHAP. VI. 1681.

lowed in England; and, for that purpoſe, he repaired to the Hague. On the ninth of July, he returned with a letter from the Prince, informing the King of his deſign to come to England, and requeſting a yacht for his paſſage. On the twenty-ſixth of July, the Prince accordingly arrived at Windſor, and was immediately admitted by Charles to a long conference. Seymour, Hyde, and the Earl of Conway, were preſent. The Prince publickly declared, that unleſs the King could aſſiſt his allies, Flanders and Holland muſt be loſt; and that he plainly perceived, that no aid could be given without his calling a parliament [k].

His conference with the King.

WHEN the Prince had finiſhed, the King aſked, "whether a parliament meeting on no better hopes of agreement than the laſt, would contribute to the ſupport of his allies?" He deſired him to conſider their demands, and to give fairly his opinion, whether theſe demands ſhould be granted. He aſked him, whether he would adviſe the excluſion? He replied, that he abhorred the thought. He inquired, whether the Prince would propoſe limitations? "The crown muſt not be tied," replied the Prince. "Ought I to place," reſumed the King, "the militia, the navy, the ſea-ports, the judges, out of my own power?" "I ſhall never adviſe that meaſure," ſaid the Prince. "Shall all the miniſters and officers," ſaid the King, "ſuſpected to be the Duke of York's creatures, be removed, and CONFIDING men, TRUE PROTESTANTS, be raiſed to their place?" The Prince ſaid, "he diſclaimed it all." "Theſe," reſumed the King, "were ſubſtantially the demands of the two laſt parliaments; and, if a parliament is neceſſary, I deſire you to propoſe ſomewhat toward a better agreement." The Prince replied, "that he knew only things as they were mentioned abroad, but that he underſtood not their real condition at home." Being preſſed to propoſe ſome plan, he deſired time to give his anſwer. The King continued

[k] James II. 1681.

to

CHAP. VI. 1681.

to urge him to propoſe ſome expedient. He told him, that he had already called ſeveral parliaments, partly to aid his allies; "but inſtead of aſſiſting me," he continued, "the very treaties which I made for the preſervation of Europe were ſuſpected to have been for the ſupport of Popery at home. Nay, ſo far were the commons from giving a penny for aiding my foreign friends, that they would not give a farthing to preſerve Tangier [l]."

Propoſals by the popular party.

THE Prince had various motives for undertaking his journey to England. He was urged by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he was called by the leaders of the popular party, he was encouraged by ſome of the ſervants of the crown, eſpecially the chancellor. When he perceived that Charles was determined not to yield to parliament in any one of their demands, he propoſed, in the name of the country party, that, ſhould they be permitted to meet, they would think no more either of the excluſion or limitations. This requeſt they frequently conveyed to the King, even after the departure of the Prince. He durſt not truſt to their promiſes. He, however, aſſured the Prince, and formally acquainted the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that ſhould the French King actually invade Flanders, or break the peace, he would call a parliament; "though," he told them, "that parliament would do nothing for his allies abroad, till they ſhould obtain what they deſired at home." In that caſe, he aſſured the Prince, he would inſtantly diſſolve them again. Cambridge was the place at which he reſolved to meet this eventual parliament; having determined that they ſhould no longer turn upon him that powerful engine of party, the city of London. He, in the mean time, ſent a memorial to the King of France, that unleſs he ſuffered proviſions to be carried to Luxembourg, "he muſt call a parliament." Fifty waggons were permitted to enter that city [m]. France offered to quit all her other pretenſions, ſhould Luxembourg be delivered into her hands.

[l] Seymour's letter to the Duke of York. James II. 1681.

[m] James II. paſſim.

This

CHAP. VI. 1681.

This propoſal became the foundation of a treaty, which extricated Charles from the difficulties under which he lay [n].

Departure of the Prince of Orange.

THOUGH the profeſſions of Charles to his allies were deemed excuſes for his own conduct, he appears to have been ſerious in his declaration to the French King. The Duke of York himſelf, who formed the private treaty, ſeems to have forgot his own danger in his reſentment againſt the conduct of Lewis. In the diary which he wrote at the time, he declares, "if France ſhall proceed as ſhe has done, the thing will be unſupportable. A parliament muſt be called, as the French ambaſſador has been told." The Prince of Orange, however, gave not entire credit to the King. The object of his journey was, if poſſible, to oblige him to call a parliament, by the conſideration of either foreign or domeſtic affairs. He uſed his utmoſt ſkill, induſtry, and art, for that purpoſe. But Charles reſiſted them all. The Prince, ten days after his arrival, took his leave, with an appearance of friendſhip; though he was, in ſecret, diſſatisfied. "We parted very good friends," ſays Charles in a letter to his brother, "though different in opinion, in many things. It is plain, that great art has been uſed to miſinform him; and, you know, it is not an eaſy matter to convert him, though he was as well baited as poſſible. He had very little to ſay on particulars. He made me great profeſſions at parting; and, though he does not live to be convinced, I believe, in the main, when he has thought well on what was ſaid, he cannot be in the ſame mind as when he came [o]."

Shaftesbury

DURING theſe tranſactions with regard to foreign affairs, the King's party were gaining ground at home. The city of London was, in ſome degree, gained by the court; and Sir John Moore, a man averſe from the principles of the excluſioniſts, was, on the twenty-ninth of September, choſen lord-mayor. The ſheriffs,

[n] Dalrymple's Append.

[o] James II. 1681.

Pilkington

CHAP. VI.

1681.

Pilkington and Shute, however, continued their adherence to the popular party, and balanced with well-choſen juries the enormous influence of the crown in the courts of law. The Lord Howard of Eſcric, who had been committed to the Tower in June, was acquitted by the grand jury. The Earl of Shafteſbury had lain in the ſame priſon ſince the ſecond of July, upon the accuſation of Smith, Turberville, and others, whom he himſelf had long abetted as evidences againſt the Papiſts. On the twenty-ſixth of November, an indictment was preſented againſt him before the grand jury at the Old Bailey. The ſheriffs, who were deeply engaged in his party, made choice of perſons devoted to the ſame principles. Eight witneſſes were examined; and they concurred in proving againſt him many extravagant ſpeeches, very ſuitable to his vehement character. They were, however, men of ſuch infamous lives, that it is extremely doubtful whether any violence of temper could induce him to utter treaſon in their preſence [p].

acquitted.

ANOTHER circumſtance ſeemed, at firſt ſight, to bear harder on Shafteſbury than the evidence of his own iniquitous retainers. When his papers were ſeized, there was found in his cabinet the draught of an aſſociation to oppoſe the Duke of York's ſucceſſion to the crown. But it was neither written by him, nor any where marked with his hand. His opponents, beſides, had neglected to comprehend it in the indictment. Theſe were reaſons ſufficient for acquitting him, were even the jury leſs favourable. The bill was returned indorſed with an ignoramus. The whole court echoed to the ſhouts of the ſpectators. The news ſpreading through the city, bonfires were kindled on the ſtreets, and the windows were illuminated. The triumph of the party continued during the night; but it was the laſt victory which they gained. Shafteſbury, during his confinement in the Tower, loſt much of his former ſpirit. He applied to the King for leave to tranſport

[p] Kennet, Burnet, James II.

CHAP. VI.

1681.

himſelf to Carolina [q], where he promiſed to remain for the reſt of his life. Charles, willing to puniſh his arch-enemy, refuſed his requeſt; and the event diſappointed his views. Four days after the bill againſt him was rejected by the grand jury, Shafteſbury and Howard found bail in the King's Bench, and they were diſcharged from confinement.

Paſſive obedience.

THE eſcape of Shafteſbury, by elevating the country party, exaſperated the adherents of the crown. The conteſt now had ceaſed to be equal. The diſſolution of parliament had diſperſed, and even ſubdued the leaders of the firſt; the latter acquired daily ſtrength through the unremitting influence of a permanent head. To gratify the church for their firm adherence to the King, the laws againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, as well as Roman Catholics, were executed with rigour. Preſbyterians on account of their firm adherence to the excluſioniſts, were deemed rebels and republicans. It was dangerous to overlook the Papiſts, for fear of awakening the jealouſy of the nation againſt the favour of the court to that ſect. The aſſociation, found among Shafteſbury's papers, furniſhed another opportunity for the royaliſts to pay their reſpects to the throne. Every county and almoſt every town, tranſmitted addreſſes in the moſt abject ſtrain. The doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were revived. The bench and the pulpit contended with one another in warmth and zeal for an unlimited power in the crown. Parliaments were reviled, as dangerous and licentious aſſemblies of the vulgar; and the ſole happineſs of the nation was placed in a ſilent obedience

1682. to the dictates of the Prince. The people ſeemed even willing, without the form of a parliament, to tax themſelves for the ſupport of the crown. Many liberally offered to contribute money to their utmoſt ability, when his Majeſty's occaſions ſhould demand a ſupply [r].

[q] James II.

[r] Addreſſes of Durham and Glouceſter, &c.

CHAP. VI.

1682.

A JUDGMENT may be formed of the violence of the commons, by the eagerneſs which their proceedings had raiſed among their conſtituents in favour of the crown. Men, without having their paſſions much inflamed, could not have ſubmitted with ſuch indifference to an unlimited power in the crown. Had the adherents of the prerogative, however, continued to enjoy in tranquillity the benefits reſulting from their beloved deſpotiſm, they might have awakened pity, without kindling indignation. But they themſelves ran into thoſe very extremes which had raiſed their reſentment againſt others. The idea of retaliation, which ſuggeſts itſelf to thoſe in whom politics degenerate into paſſion, prevailed in the minds of all. The ſubornations, the perjuries, the ſame tampering with witneſſes, the packing of juries, which had been the engines of the popular party againſt the unfortunate Papiſts, were now turned with redoubled fury upon themſelves. The royaliſts thought their opponents ſo much covered with guilt, that injuſtice itſelf became juſt in their puniſhment. The moſt dreadful miſery that can befal a nation prevailed. The laws intended to protect mankind became inſtruments of deſtruction. The maſſacres attending on war, the aſſaſſinations practiſed by tyrants, are temporary, and may be ſoon forgot. But when the channels of public juſtice are corrupted, when juſtice itſelf is converted into the means of revenge, political miſery is arrived at its height.

Reflections on the

THERE is, however, a degree of injuſtice in laying the whole blame of the misfortunes of the times on the King. As he was forced to join in the ſeverities againſt the Papiſts, he found himſelf alſo obliged to fall down with the current, when it changed. He had before temporized with his enemies, and it now was neceſſary to gratify his friends. Beſides, princes, like other men, are ſubject to human paſſions. He had been traduced in his character, inſulted in his perſon, vilified in his family. His au-

State of the times.

CHAP. VI. 1682.

thority as a King had been deſpiſed, his veracity queſtioned as a man. The reſpect due to his political function was forgot; even the decency, which his good-breeding as a gentleman ought to command, was neglected or abuſed. Though Charles was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours, there is not perhaps virtue ſufficient in human nature entirely to forgive inſults carried to ſuch extremes. To give its full ſcope to the vehemence of his friends, was to be thoroughly revenged on his enemies. Thoſe who have accuſed him of too much ſeverity have done him more honour than his character deſerved, by expecting from HIM that moderation which is ſought for in vain in the moſt virtuous of his political opponents.

State of foreign affairs.

THE year 1682 ſcarce preſents any thing but a continuation of thoſe legal ſeverities which diſgraced the preceding year. The taking of Straſbourg in the month of September, the coutinuation of the blockade of Luxembourg, the other claims and expected encroachments of France, continued the fears of Europe. The Spaniards made many fruitleſs applications to the King of England; they applied in vain to the Dutch. The Emperor, overawed and threatened by the Ottomans, haraſſed by a rebellion in Hungary, deſerted by ſome of the German princes, deſtitute of reſources, and feeble in his own councils, could neither aſſiſt his allies, nor protect himſelf. The States, urged by the Prince of Orange, and the Spaniards, forced by their neceſſities, made repeated applications to Charles for the calling of a parliament. Even ſome of his own miniſters joined in the ſolicitations of foreign ambaſſadors. He, however, was neither to be convinced by argument, nor gained by entreaty. He foreſaw that he could expect nothing from the commons but a reiteration of their former demands; and he was extremely unwilling to give freſh force to a party upon the point of being totally ſubdued. Beſides, he found that the Dutch, attached to their own commerce, and partly gained

gained by the intrigues of France, wiſhed to make England a principal in the war. They had inſiſted upon his taking the firſt ſtep; which he abſolutely refuſed; though he gave inſtructions to his ambaſſador at Paris to join in all the remonſtrances of the States. 1682.

Return of the Duke of York.

THOUGH every thing ran in the channel of unlimited obedience in England, the King permitted the Duke of York to remain in Scotland. The Duke's letters, his ſolicitations through his friends, could not procure permiſſion for his return. He, however, derived, from the avarice of the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, what he could not obtain from his brother's affection. The King, diſpleaſed with the connexion which the Dutcheſs had formed with the popular party, ſignified to her his diſpleaſure in ſevere terms. He recommended to her, under the pretence of health, to make a journey to the waters of Bourbon. She managed matters ſo well, that ſhe prevailed with the King to propoſe to the Duke of York to ſettle upon her a rent-charge of five thouſand pounds a-year out of the poſt-office; the King promiſing to give an equivalent out of ſome fund of the hereditary revenue. The Duke though he knew that the tranſaction could not be rendered valid without an act of parliament, graſped at the propoſal, as the only means of his return. He promiſed to ſign any paper the attorney-general ſhould prepare; but he expreſſed his doubts, whether the thing [t] could be legally done while he remained in Scotland. The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth uſed all her influence; and the Duke was permitted to meet the King at Newmarket, in the firſt week in March.

the Duke of York.

HALIFAX was much in the King's confidence, though he was no friend to the Duke of York. He preſſed for his immediate return to Scotland; but Charles, to ſatisfy the Dutcheſs of Portſ-

[t] James II. 1682.

mouth,

CHAP. VI. 1682.

mouth, furniſhed him with a pretence of coming to London. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a deed, to be ſigned by the Duke of York; but, at the end of two days, he informed the King, that no ſettlement could be made without an act of parliament. It is remarkable, that the noted Jefferys was the lawyer who ſuggeſted the expedient to the King. The Duke excuſes his own want of ſincerity, in not undeceiving his brother, by his having loſt all other hopes of being ever permitted to return from what he calls an honourable exile. He remained two months with the King. During that time he fortified his intereſt ſo well, that he was permitted to go to Scotland for the Dutcheſs and his family; and, after his return, to fix his reſidence in London. He even gained the conſent of Halifax, by promiſing not to interfere openly in public affairs, till the opinions of mankind ſhould be more ſettled, after the late change. His reception from the people convinced the Duke, that their prejudices againſt him had vaniſhed. He was received by the univerſity of Cambridge with the utmoſt marks of affection and reſpect; and he was publickly entertained by ſeveral ſocieties in London [u].

Narrowly eſcapes

On the third of May, the Duke of York left Windſor, and took his paſſage for Scotland in the Glouceſter frigate, with three other frigates and the Mary yacht in company. Through the unſkilfulneſs, or, as ſome thought, the treachery of Captain Ayres, the pilot, he was in danger of being loſt at ſea. The intention of the pilot was to follow the track of the coalliers, between the ſand-banks and the coaſt, near Yarmouth. The officers ordered him to go out to ſea. He perſiſted to tack, fancying that he ſtill had time to go within the banks. The officers, at laſt, thinking themſelves far enough out at ſea, permitted him to tack. They thought they could clear the banks; but they were deceived. The ſhip ſtruck on the Lemon and Ore. She ſtuck faſt at firſt;

[u] James II. Public Intell.

and

and had not too much haſte been made to clear her, all the paſſengers and ſeamen might have been ſaved. The Duke of York got into his ſhallop, and went on board a yacht, which attended the frigate. None offered to attend him, but ſuch as he called. He took with him the Earls of Perth and Middleton, Churchill, and one or two more. The condition of thoſe on board the Glouceſter was not yet deſperate. Other boats came afterwards to their aſſiſtance, and moſt of the perſons of quality and the Duke's ſervants were ſaved [x].

ſhipwreck.

MANY more, or perhaps all, might be ſaved, had the boatmen behaved with ſpirit. When the frigate, by being injudiciouſly lightened, came to deeper water, ſhe began gradually to ſink; and the ſeamen in the boats were afraid to come near, for fear of being carried with her to the bottom. Juſt as the Glouceſter was ready to diſappear, the Duke of York was received into the yacht. The perſons left, in all about one hundred in number, gave a loud ſhout when they ſaw him ſafe: a mark that they had an affection for his perſon; and that he had not preferred, as ſome writers affirm [y], the ſafety of his prieſts and dogs to the lives of the ſeamen. But though ſome boats carried ſeveral perſons from the Glouceſter, after the Duke left her, in his barge, many were drowned. Hyde, the Duke's brother-in-law, was the only Engliſhman of rank and quality among the number. The Earl of Roxburgh, the Laird of Hopton, and Sir Joſeph Douglas, were the principal Scots that periſhed by this diſaſter. The Duke proceeded in the Mary yacht on his voyage, in company with the Happy Return. Other three frigates were diſperſed by the ſtorm which threw the Glouceſter on the Lemon and Ore [z]. In three weeks the Duke returned by ſea with the Dutcheſs and the Lady Anne; which laſt had been, for many months, on a viſit to her father in Scotland.

[x] James II. 1681. [y] Burnet. [z] North's Examen.

THOUGH

CHAP VI.

1682.

The King, by irregular meaſures,

THOUGH the excluſioniſts had, in a great meaſure, loſt the reſt of the nation, they ſtill retained a majority in the corporation of London. The progreſs of the crown, in ſupporting its power and puniſhing its enemies, through the channel of the law, was greatly checked by juries choſen by adverſe ſheriffs. In recent caſes, they had acquitted perſons whom the court-party had conſidered as guilty of crimes of the deepeſt dye, and the populace, with their uſual intemperance, followed their victory with inſult. To diſlodge the faction from their ſtrong hold in the city, was an object of importance; but the means by which it was purſued were irregular, if not criminal. Sir John Moore, the lord-mayor, from principle an enemy to popular confuſions, accommodated himſelf, upon the preſent occaſion, to the views of the crown. On the twenty-fourth of June the new ſheriffs were to be choſen, according to annual cuſtom. North and Box were recommended by the adherents of the court. The popular party fixed on Dubois and Papillon. The lord-mayor drank to North, who was prepared to accept the office by the chief juſtice of the ſame name [a]. A poll was opened for chuſing another ſheriff; but the common-hall refuſed to ſuſtain the right of the lord-mayor to nominate one ſheriff. Moore adhered to his privilege of nomination. The old ſheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, abetted the majority of the livery. The lord-mayor adjourned the hall. The ſheriffs refuſed to obey. Commotion, tumult, and riot prevailed. A poll was opened for two ſheriffs, and the mayor and his party retired [b].

poſſeſſes himſelf of the city.

THE riot at Guildhall furniſhed the privy-council with a pretence to interfere. Pilkington and Shute were ſeized, by a warrant ſigned by twenty-four counſellors, and committed to the Tower. On the thirtieth of June, they were brought by a writ of *habeas corpus*, to the bar of the King's Bench, and admitted to bail. Unintimidated by their confinement, they next day

[a] Public Intell. [b] Kennet, &c.

aſſembled

CHAP. VI. 1682.

aſſembled the common-hall, and proceeded with the election, which had been interrupted. The lord-mayor being indiſpoſed, ſent an order by the recorder to adjourn the hall. The ſheriffs refuſed to obey. The privy council again interfered. An order was ſent to the lord-mayor to preſerve entire the ancient cuſtoms of the city; and, to reſtore the peace, to take effectual care, that at a common-hall, to be held on the fourteenth of July, all proceedings ſhould begin anew. When, therefore, the common-hall met on that day, North was put up only for confirmation, as being already duly elected by the lord-mayor. The majority of the common-hall ſtill inſiſted upon their right of electing the two ſheriffs. Two books for two different polls were opened; one by Pilkington and Shute, another by the lord-mayor. The latter came upon the huſtings, and declared the election to have fallen on Box. The affair, however, was not finiſhed. Box declined the office, and paid his fine. The lord-mayor opened a ſecond time the books. One Rich was choſen by a few of the livery; and he and North were immediately ſworn. Thus the poſſeſſion of the city was gained by irregular and unjuſtifiable means [c].

Intrigues at court.

THE determined meaſures of the court to humble their enemies, ſtruck a panic into the leaders of the popular party. The Duke of Monmouth, ſoon after the diſſolution of the parliament at Oxford, made offers of ſubmiſſion to the King, through the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He, however, accompanied this offer with ſuch reflections on the Duke of York, that the King rejected them with indignation. He carried his reſentment ſo far as to forbid in council all his ſervants from viſiting, upon any pretence whatſoever, the Duke of Monmouth. Even Shafteſbury, intimidated by the loſs of the city of London, ſent a meſſage to the Duke of York, ſignifying his wiſhes of being reconciled [d]. Either the Duke's obſtinacy, or the verſatility of the Earl, put an end to this nego-

[c] Kennet, Ralph.

[d] James II. 1682.

CHAP. VI. 1682.

ciation as ſoon as it was begun. Shafteſbury returned to his former policy, of ſpreading myſterious and ſtrange reports. Deeming that the Duke had fortified his influence with the King, by gaining the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, he endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding between them, by averring that ſhe had formed a deſign of having her ſon, the Duke of Richmond, created Prince of Wales. Wild and impracticable as this plan ſeemed, that ambitious woman had turned her views that way. The earl of Sunderland had, in concert with the Prince of Orange, reſolved to pay his court to her vanity and avarice. His object was to obtain the poſſeſſion of an office, through her influence, which might furniſh him with an opportunity of ſerving the Prince, by betraying the King and the Duke of York [d]. When ſhe returned from France in the month of July, ſhe accordingly employed her whole weight in his favour. He was admitted into the King's preſence, in the firſt week in Auguſt; and, on the twentieth of September [e], was ſworn again into the privy-council.

Monmouth's progreſs.

THE Duke of Monmouth having failed in his offers of ſubmiſſion, threw himſelf entirely on the popular party. To preſerve his influence among the people, as well as to make preparations for an inſurrection, that had been long projected, they adviſed him to make a progreſs through the north-weſt of England. His wife ſolicited him in vain to ſubmit without capitulation to the King [f]. Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, Mountague, and others, prevented his adopting this prudent meaſure. He left London in the beginning of September, directing his courſe to Cheſhire. The populace received him at Coventry with the acclamations of "A Monmouth and no York!" But at Litchfield he paſſed through a concourſe of ſilent ſpectators [g]. When he arrived in Cheſhire, he was received by the chiefs of the popular party, at the head of their retainers and friends. The ſtreets of all the towns through which he paſſed were lined with multitudes, who ex-

[d] D'Avaux, paſſim. [e] Kennet. James II. 1682. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

preſſed

CHAP. VI. 1682.

preſſed in ſhouts their ſatisfaction at his preſence. He always dined in public. He ſeemed anxious to ſhew himſelf to the populace, and to gain their favour, by entering into their diverſions and ſports. The beauty of his perſon, his agility in all the manly exerciſes, and his free, open, and eaſy addreſs, were well calculated to gain the vulgar, who judge of mankind by outward ſhow. This popularity, however, was the ſource of the misfortunes of Monmouth. Deluded by the applauſe of weak and deſigning men, he became confident in his ambition, when he loſt its only real ſupport in loſing the King.

An inſtance of legal ſeverity.

USELESS as the progreſs of Monmouth proved in the event to himſelf, it raiſed, in the mean time, the jealouſy of the court. When he arrived at Stafford, he was apprehended by a warrant ſigned by Secretary Jenkins, and brought, in the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, to London. He applied for a *habeas corpus* to the court of King's Bench, and he was bailed by ſeveral reſpectable perſons of the popular party. Though the power of the crown was now great and uncontrouled, it was prudently confined to the known channel of the law. But the ſtream of juſtice had loſt its purity. The meaſure which placed the nomination of juries in the adherents of the crown, made the laws the inſtruments of their vengeance. In the month of November, an inſtance of legal ſeverity was carried beyond all decent bounds. Pilkington, one of the late ſheriffs, being a violent party-man, had been extremely unguarded in his language againſt the Duke of York. When he heard of the Duke's return from Scotland, he broke forth into theſe puerile expreſſions: "He has already burnt the city, and now he comes to cut our throats." He was ſued at the inſtance of the Duke, and the jury awarded one hundred thouſand pounds damages. This was, in other words, condemning Pilkington to perpetual impriſonment; but the mode was at once ſcandalous and unprecedented.

CHAP. VI.

1682.

Deaths.

THE preſent year was more remarkable for the acceſſion of authority acquired by the crown, than for ſtriking events. The death of three great men rendered it, in ſome meaſure, remarkable. The Duke of Lauderdale having, for ſome time, declined in his intellects, died in the month of Auguſt[i]; a man abhorred for his tyrannies in Scotland, and deteſted in England for his arbitrary councils. In the end of November[k] died Rupert, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Cumberland, in the ſixty-third year of his age. Courage was the moſt ſplendid part of his character; but he frequently carried that virtue into an extreme, which deſerved cenſure, and met with misfortune. To a contempt of his abilities, Charles had, of late years, added a kind of averſion to his perſon. Though he herded not with the popular party, he avowedly approved of their principles; and therefore he was treated with great indifference, whenever he made his appearance at court. The death of Rupert was followed by that of the chancellor the Earl of Nottingham[l]. He was the firſt that reduced the proceedings of chancery to form and preciſion. But he was more remarkable for his knowledge of law, and the equity of his deciſions, than for his abilities as a ſtateſman. His prudence during the examination of the Popiſh plot ſecured him againſt any cenſure from the commons, when they extended their animadverſions to almoſt all the judges of the courts of common law.

1683.

Promotions.

Two days[m] after the death of Nottingham, Sir Francis North, lord-chief-juſtice of the Common Pleas, was ſworn lord-keeper of the great ſeal. Pemberton, who had been placed at the head of the court of King's-Bench for the trial of Fitz-Harris, having diſcontinued his attention to the views of the court, was removed to the Common-Pleas. Sir Edmund Sanders ſucceeded Pemberton in his high department[n]. The Earl of Sunderland, in pro-

[i] Aug. 24, 1682. [k] Nov. 29. [l] Dec. 20.

[m] Dec. 22. [n] Kennet, vol. iii.

CHAP. VI. 1683.

ſecution of his concert with the Prince of Orange[o], had gained the favour and influence of the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth. Through her ſolicitations, he had obtained a ſeat at the council-board in the month of September. Through a deſigned attention and a ſervile flattery of the weakneſſes of the Duke of York, he found means to regain the favour which he loſt by his ſupport of the bill of excluſion. The Earl of Conway, who had ſucceeded him in the office of ſecretary of ſtate, reſigned to Sunderland the ſeals on the twenty-eighth of January. During theſe promotions at court, a profound tranquillity ſeemed to reign throughout the kingdom. The courts of law were the only fields of diſpute between the parties; and ſince the elections in the city of London had been carried in favour of royaliſts, the conteſt was no longer equal. The judges, either ſwayed by opinion or gained by influence, were devoted to the ſervice of the crown; and juries, no longer choſen from the popular party, ſeemed to carry the violence of their political principles into all their deciſions.

Quo Warranto.

To retain the power which the court had acquired in the city of London was deemed by the royaliſts a meaſure of the laſt importance to their cauſe. Though, by irregular means, they had carried the laſt elections in favour of their party, the ſpirit of their opponents was not yet entirely ſubdued. To prevent future conteſts at the chuſing of magiſtrates, it was reſolved to reduce the conſtitution of the city to a leſs independent form. All corporations, by their inſtitution, are liable to be diſſolved upon various grounds. The forfeiture of their charters, through negligence or abuſe of their privileges, may be effected legally by a judgment upon an information againſt them in a competent court of common law. This information is denominated a writ of *quo warranto*, the nature of which is to inquire by what war-

[o] D'Avaux.

rant

CHAP. VI. 1683.

rant the members of the corporation exercise their power, having forfeited it by some proceedings in the course of suit to be proved. A writ of this kind was issued, at the instance of the King, against the city of London, in the beginning of Hilary Term in the preceding year. The city pleaded their right. The attorney-general replied. A demurrer followed; and the matter was suspended for a time.

Judgment against the city,

Two reasons were only alleged as sufficient grounds for the forfeiture of the charter of the corporation. They had, it was affirmed, in disrespectful and scandalous terms addressed the King for the sitting of parliament; and they had exacted money for public works, by illegal tolls on the markets within the city of London. Two arguments were only permitted on either side, the last of which was in Easter Term. Treby, the recorder, and Pollexfen, a man of abilities, defended the corporation with great address and learning. Judgment however was given against the city in Trinity Term: but, by the express command of the King, the judgment was not to be entered till his further pleasure should be known. This exertion of power, though in itself strictly legal, terrified the city and alarmed the nation. Men perceived, that by one bold stroke of policy, Charles added more to the influence of the crown than the many efforts of the most arbitrary of his predecessors in the throne. Notwithstanding measures that annihilated the importance of the city, several of its principal inhabitants promoted them with violence and zeal[p]. Persecuted and insulted for their principles of loyalty by the popular party, they preferred the tranquillity of despotism to the tumults of a liberty, which, in their opinion, had been much abused.

which submits.

THOUGH the city expected no favourable issue to the suit, they were struck with amazement when judgment was pronounced.

[p] James II. 1682.

A common

CHAP. VI. 1683.

A common council being aſſembled, they reſolved to ſubmit, without reſerve, their privileges to the will and pleaſure of the King. They confeſſed their own miſbehaviour, which had ſubjected them to his diſpleaſure. They implored his wonted clemency. They begged his directions, and requeſted to receive his commands. To this abject petition Charles made anſwer by his lord-keeper, Sir Francis North. He propoſed, that no lord-mayor, no ſheriff, no recorder, no common-ſerjeant, no town-clerk, and even no coroner of London, ſhould henceforth enter upon the exerciſe of their reſpective offices without the approbation of the King, under his ſign-manual. That ſhould the King twice diſapprove the lord-mayor or the ſheriffs, he might appoint others by his own commiſſion in their room. That the mayor and aldermen might diſplace any magiſtrate by the leave of the King; and that no alderman ſhould be elected without the conſent of the court of aldermen; and that, after having twice diſapproved the choice of the freemen, they themſelves might appoint the vacancy to be filled. Upon a debate concerning theſe propoſitions, they were accepted in the common-council by a majority of eighteen votes [q].

Corporations reſign their charters.

THOUGH this ſurrender of the charter of London was denominated voluntary, and though the judgment itſelf was within the rules of ſtrict law, the changing of the conſtitution of ſo great a corporation was deemed a prelude to an alteration of that of the nation. Soon after the Revolution, the judgment was reverſed by act of parliament; and it was at the ſame time enacted, that the privileges of London ſhall never be forfeited by any delinquency whatever in the members of the corporation [r]. Terrified by the fate of London, the moſt of the other corporations of England ſoon after ſurrendered their franchiſes, and ſubmitted them-

[q] Publications of the times.

[r] Stat. 2 W. and M.

ſelves

CHAP. VI. 1683.

ſelves to new charters framed at the diſcretion of the court. This circumſtance threw at once the whole power of the ſtate into the hands of the King. More than three-fourths of the houſe of commons being choſen by the boroughs, the crown ſecured to itſelf by this meaſure a majority which no oppoſition could either ſhake or ſubdue. Some, who entered with eagerneſs into the proſecution againſt the city of London, on account of the delinquency of the members of the corporation, began, when too late, to perceive their error. In puniſhing the noiſy inſolence of a few citizens, they opened a door to other evils of a more permanent and dangerous kind. But the flame kindled between parties had aſcended to ſuch a height, that men became careleſs of their own ſafety, could they but humble and ruin their opponents [s].

Violence of the city-parties.

THE violence of the popular party, it muſt be confeſſed, juſtified, in ſome meaſure, an inclination in the King to have the peace of the city more within his power. The two parties which divided between them the corporation, carried their conteſts into the courts of juſtice, and haraſſed one another with proſecutions and ſuits at law. Sir John Moore, the late lord mayor, brought an action in the beginning of May [t] againſt Shute and Pilkington, who had been ſheriffs the preceding year, for a riot and an inſult upon his perſon, on Midſummer-day. Several of their principal adherents were at the ſame time proſecuted. Conſiderable fines were impoſed upon them all, after a long trial before Sanders, lord chief-juſtice of the King's-Bench. In the mean time, Dubois and Papillon, who claimed a right of being the legal ſheriffs, arreſted Sir William Pritchard, lord mayor, the two ſheriffs, and ſeveral aldermen. Though the common council publickly diſapproved of this meaſure [u], its violence haſtened the judgment upon the writ of *quo warranto* againſt the city of London. The arreſt

[s] Publications of the times. [t] May 8. [u] May 28.

was

was deemed by the adherents of the crown ſuch an outrageous deed, that many citizens of that party urged the court to haſten the ſeizure of franchiſes, already rendered ineffectual by the violence of a factious party. This conſideration, more than any fears from the judgment, prevailed with the majority of the common-council to ſurrender their charter, by a voluntary deed, on the eighteenth of June. CHAP. VI. 1683.

WHILE the adherents of the court made ſuch progreſs in eſtabliſhing the authority of the crown, the whole fabric of government was undermined by a ſecret conſpiracy, which had been long forming by the oppoſite party. The facility with which Charles had given up every capital point to the commons, during almoſt twenty years of his reign, had created an opinion, that there was no meaſure, however hard, to which he would not yield. When the bill of excluſion was rejected by the lords, in November 1680, men perceived that the King was reſolved to adhere to the eventual ſucceſſion of his brother to the throne. Thoſe who promoted the bill with moſt vehemence, began now to fear for themſelves. They knew the character of the Duke of York, and they dreaded his vengeance ſhould he come to the crown. This opinion induced ſome of the leaders to liſten to the violent councils of the Earl of Shafteſbury, who ſeemed reſolved to obtain by force from the King what he deſpaired to gain in a legal way. In a conference with Monmouth and the Lords Ruſſel and Grey, he endeavoured to perſuade them to his purpoſe, ſoon after the bill of excluſion was rejected, through the perſonal influence of the King with the lords. Terrified with the danger of his project, or ſurpriſed at its magnitude, they liſtened for ſome time to Shafteſbury's propoſals without giving their aſſent; but an unexpected event induced them at once to embark in his deſperate deſigns. Riſe

CHAP. VI.

1683. and progreſs

In the month of February 1681, the King was ſeized at Windſor with a ſudden illneſs. The news was immediately carried to the Duke of Monmouth, at London. He communicated the intelligence to Shafteſbury and Ruſſel. In a conference, at which Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Monmouth's boſom friend, was preſent, it was agreed, that an inſurrection ſhould be procured among the malcontents in the city, in caſe of the King's death. The project of the conſpirators was to riſe with their friends, to call a parliament, to ſettle the kingdom, to declare the deſcent of the crown; and to continue in arms, for their own ſecurity, till theſe points ſhould be obtained and their enemies ſubdued. The King's recovery broke for the preſent their meaſures. The new parliament ſoon after met at Oxford; and the party changed the mode of their conſpiracy, and transferred it to that place. They formed a ſcheme not to ſuffer the parliament to be diſſolved; and determined to adjourn to the Guild-hall at London, when they ſhould find that a diſſolution was nigh. The precaution of Charles, in placing his guards on the road to Oxford, induced them to change a reſolution which might be attended with peril; and they at laſt agreed to encourage as many as poſſible of the lords and members of the lower houſe to continue to ſit after the King ſhould diſſolve the parliament.

of a conſpiracy,

The addreſs of the King prevented alſo this violent ſcheme. He concealed with ſuch art his reſolution to diſſolve the parliament, that the ſuddenneſs of the meaſure diſconcerted all their deſigns. Shafteſbury with ſome other lords remained an hour in the houſe after the King's departure, under a pretence of ſigning a proteſt. But when they ſent to the houſe of commons, all the members were gone. Time was only wanting to accompliſh their wild and dangerous plan. To unite the popular party in one deſign, the principal conſpirators convened them frequently to entertainments. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Bedford, Macclesfield,

Macclesfield, and Eſſex, kept open tables. Grey only, of the whole junto, thought the deſign impracticable. The King was provided with a military force. But it was anſwered, that the inhabitants of Oxford were well affected to the party. The ſtudents of the univerſity were, Grey affirmed, well affected to the King. Shafteſbury replied, that they had left their chambers to accommodate the members. He added, that among the foot-guards there were many friends; and he obſerved, that many of their party were attended with armed retainers. He conſidered not that the judgment of the nation would turn inſtantly againſt an illegal parliament; and that terror, which generally accompanies a conſciouſneſs of being in the wrong, would inevitably ſubdue the party in their own minds.

THE diſappointment at Oxford diſconcerted, for ſome time, the meaſures of the party. Shafteſbury, the life and ſoul of the conſpiracy, ſpent the moſt of the ſummer of 1681 in fortifying his influence in the city of London. On the ſecond of July, he was, upon the oaths of his own Iriſh evidence, committed to the Tower, where he continued to the laſt day of November. The Earl of Argyle applied to him, in his impriſonment, for thirty thouſand, and afterwards only for fifteen thouſand pounds, to be collected by the party for ſupporting an inſurrection in Scotland. Argyle was ſuſpected, and nothing done. When the King determined, by irregular means, to poſſeſs himſelf of the elections of London at Midſummer 1682, the zeal of the party, which had languiſhed, began to be rouſed again by their fears. Meetings were held by the leaders. Ruſſel, in particular, reſolved ſeriouſly to apply to an inſurrection. He founded Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rolls, and Sir Francis Drake, all men of weight and influence in their reſpective counties. Monmouth, under the pretence of pleaſure, made a progreſs to Cheſhire, to confirm the Earl of Macclesfield and the Lord Delamere. Shafteſbury re- formed

CHAP. VI. 1683.

mained in town, to inflame to action the citizens of London. When Monmouth returned, he raiſed the hopes of his party, by a relation of his ſucceſs in the weſt; and he engaged Trenchard, and obtained his promiſe, at an appointed time, to raiſe fifteen hundred men in Taunton and the adjacent country.

by the leaders

SHAFTESBURY, impatient of delay, expreſſed his anxiety to bring to action the mob of London by the middle of autumn. Ruſſel, expecting aid from different parts of the country, oppoſed this meaſure, as precipitate and dangerous. Their difference in opinion produced a declaration of their reſpective deſigns. Shafteſbury was for a republic; Ruſſel only for a limited monarchy. The latter having communicated the ſchemes of the former to Monmouth, who aſpired to the throne, the conſpiracy was near being ruined with jealouſy. In the mean time, the adherents of the party in the country were cold and undeciſive. Sir William Courtney ſent a doubtful anſwer. Trenchard demanded delay. At a meeting of the leaders with ſome inferior conſpirators, they determined to join with Shafteſbury, and to riſe in London. A day at length was appointed. Trenchard was to be diſpatched to the country, to anſwer the time. A meſſage was ſent to Courtney. Arms were provided in different places. Three field-pieces were bought by Shafteſbury. Monmouth ſurveyed the guards, and found them remiſs. Their ſtations were appointed to each. When every thing was ſettled, Monmouth communicated the whole to Trenchard, who ſeemed terrified, and demanded three weeks to prepare for the inſurrection at Taunton. A declaration was in the mean time prepared. The conſpirators ſeemed only to reſt on their arms in London, and to wait for the riſing of their friends in the country.

of the

DURING this awful ſuſpenſe, the timid Trenchard demanded further delay. Shafteſbury, by nature impatient, and, beſides, rendered

CHAP. VI. 1683.

rendered reſtleſs by his fears, could bear no longer the anxiety of his ſituation, and retired abroad. Walcot, an Iriſh officer, and Ferguſon, a Scotiſh clergyman, both members of the conſpiracy, attended him in his flight. They, however, left him when he landed in Holland, and returned to their friends. He died of the gout in the ſtomach, ſix weeks after his arrival at Amſterdam. The vehemence of his temper ſeemed to have increaſed with his years. Soured by diſappointments in his political views, he had become peeviſh in his language and imprudent in his meaſures. His very friends at laſt had reaſon to dread his violence, more than his enemies. The addreſs which had attended him in ſucceſs deſerted him in his political misfortunes; and his party thought his flight, and even his death, an acceſſion of ſtrength to their cauſe. The iniquity of his conduct ſince the commencement of the Popiſh plot had offended men of principle of his own faction; no wonder that it raiſed the reſentment of his enemies. His timely retreat ſaved his family from ruin; and his death was fortunate to himſelf, as it prevented diſgrace.

popular party.

His departure diſconcerted, for the time, the meaſures of the party. The communication with the heads of the intended inſurrection in the city was interrupted by the abſence of Ferguſon, who had chiefly managed the correſpondence between them and the Earl of Shafteſbury. This reſtleſs plotter, however, ſoon returned, and opened the former intercourſe. Some perſons of eminence were now added to the number of the conſpirators. Algernon Sidney, who, from an averſion to Shafteſbury, had hitherto declined to join in their conſults, attended their meetings, and animated their zeal. Hampden was alſo received more intimately than before into their deſigns. The Lord Howard of Eſſric, a man of profligate manners, was admitted into their moſt ſecret councils. To manage their ſchemes with regularity and preciſion, a council of ſix was formed. Theſe were Monmouth, Eſſex,

CHAP. VI. 1683.

Eſſex, Ruſſel, Howard, Sidney, and Hampden. Though all were equally bent upon an inſurrection, they were divided in their views. Monmouth, Ruſſel, and Hampden, aimed at no more than the effectual excluſion of the Duke of York; Eſſex, Howard, and Sidney, intended to erect a commonwealth. Notwithſtanding this difference in opinion, they all determined to proceed. Trenchard and Courtney were again engaged to riſe in the weſt. An inſurrection in Scotland was concerted with the Earl of Argyle. Some of his friends, the Lord Melvin, Sir James Cochran, and others, were deſired to come to London; and the party agreed to furniſh them with ten thouſand pounds to purchaſe ammunition and arms.

An inferior conſpiracy.

THE Scots arriving in April, it was ſoon ſettled that Argyle ſhould riſe, with his adherents, by the end of June. Other arrangements were in the mean time made, and his department aſſigned to each of the leaders. But, after the whole train was laid, an accident diſconcerted their ſchemes, and ruined the moſt of themſelves. Men of inferior rank, who were neceſſarily in the ſecret of the intended inſurrections, had met often together, and carried on an under-plot to aſſaſſinate the King and the Duke of York. This deſign, though not adopted by the council of ſix, out of delicacy to Monmouth, was approved by ſome of the members. Among the leſſer order of conſpirators were Weſt, a lawyer, at whoſe chambers they chiefly met; Norton, Ayliffe, and Tyley, men of the ſame profeſſion; Colonel Rumſey, who had ſerved under Cromwell; Walcot, a republican officer; Goodenough, who had been under-ſheriff when the city was in the hands of the popular party. Of this number was Ferguſon, the Earl of Shafteſbury's retainer and agent; Rous, who had eſcaped two years before by the favour of a jury; Kieling, a ſalter in London; and one Rumbold, who had ſerved in the capacity of a ſubaltern in Cromwell's army, and now followed the buſineſs of a maltſter

a maltſter at a farm near Hoddeſdon, on the road to Newmarket. To theſe was joined the Lord Howard of Eſcric, a man of a mean diſpoſition and abandoned character, neceſſitous in his circumſtances, and hated for his profligacy where he was not deſpiſed for his cowardice [x]. CHAP. VI. 1683.

THIS cabal, intemperate in their zeal, entered into repeated deliberations concerning the aſſaſſination of the King and the Duke. To cover the horror of the deſign under a familiar name, they gave the appellation of *lopping* to the intended murder. Various ſchemes for this lopping buſineſs were formed. Some adviſed to ſhoot the brothers in their ſedan chairs in the ſtreets at night. Others propoſed to fire at once twenty pocket blunderbuſſes into the King's box, when he and his brother ſhould come to the theatre. Theſe ſchemes, however, were dropt as dangerous; and another, propoſed by Rumbold, was adopted with eagerneſs. His farm, called the Rye-houſe, as it lay on the way to Newmarket, was deemed the leaſt perilous ſcene for effectuating the murder. The road being narrow near the Rye-houſe, Rumbold inſinuated, that by overturning a cart, the coach in which the brothers returned from Newmarket might be ſtopt, and they themſelves diſpatched with eaſe. An accident ſaved the King and the Duke from this imminent danger. The houſe in which Charles reſided at Newmarket took fire; and he returned a week ſooner than was expected to London. The adherents of the crown regarded afterwards this accident as a particular interpoſition of providence; and the conſpirators themſelves, ſtruck with a panic, conſidered it as the declaration of heaven againſt their intended crime [y]. The Rye-houſe plot.

KIELING, a ſalter in London, has been mentioned as a member of the inferior cabal. Zealous for his party, and bold and A diſcovery.

[x] Vid. Ford L. Grey's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot.

[y] Burnet, Kennet.

intrepid

CHAP. VI. 1683.

intrepid in his diſpoſition, he was the man who arreſted the lord-mayor, at the ſuit of Papillon and Dubois, the outed ſheriffs, when no other perſon could be found to undertake that dangerous ſervice. Repenting of this folly, or, as he himſelf affirmed, ſtruck with remorſe of conſcience for his intended crime, he came to Secretary Jenkins on the twelfth of June, and diſcovered all he knew. Jenkins took his depoſition; but he told him at the ſame time, that without another evidence he could not iſſue warrants againſt the perſons accuſed. Kieling, by an artifice, engaged his brother in diſcourſe, upon the ſchemes of the party, with Good-enough; who, being a man of violent paſſions, ran out in extravagant expreſſions of treaſon in his detail of their deſigns. Jenkins, fortified by two evidences, laid the affair before the reſt of the miniſtry, the King being then at Windſor. The two Kielings were, in the mean time, left at large; and the moſt of the inferior conſpirators, appriſed of the diſcovery, conveyed themſelves away. Warrants were iſſued for apprehending Rumſey, Weſt, Walcot, Rous, and one Hone, a joiner. Some were taken, and they confeſſed enough to condemn themſelves; but they ſhewed an unwillingneſs to accuſe others. Men had been ſo frequently alarmed with fictitious plots, that the preſent diſcovery made no impreſſion. A kind of ſilence prevailed for ſome days; and the King gave ſo little faith to the conſpiracy, that he declined to come to London to forward the examination [z].

Conſpirators ſeized.

A PROCLAMATION was in the mean time iſſued againſt the perſons accuſed by the two Kielings. Colonel Rumſey and Weſt ſurrendered, reſolving to ſave themſelves by furniſhing evidence againſt their friends. Weſt could only confirm the teſtimony of Kieling; but Rumſey, having been admitted into the conſultations of the council of ſix, thought his own diſcovery ſo important, that he would reſerve it for the King. Charles accordingly came from Windſor on the twenty-ſixth of June, to receive

[z] Publications of the times.

his confeſſion [z]. Warrants were iſſued for apprehending the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Eſſex, the Lords Ruſſel, Grey, and Howard of Eſcric. Monmouth fled. The reſt were ſeized. Ruſſel might have made his eſcape; but, by a ſtrange infatuation, he ſuppoſed that ſufficient evidence could not be found. Eſſex was appriſed of the diſcovery before meaſures for ſeizing his perſon were purſued; but his tenderneſs for Ruſſel is ſaid to have rendered him regardleſs of his own fate. The Lord Grey was ſeized by a meſſenger upon his way from the country to London. Howard was, a few days after, found concealed in a chimney in his own houſe. Neither Eſſex nor Ruſſel anſwered the expectations of their friends when they were brought before the council. The defence and deportment of the firſt ſuited neither his dignity nor former fame. Unmanned by a deep and ſettled melancholy, he was incoherent in his anſwers, and totally broken with deſpair. Ruſſel ſeemed to have forgot that modeſty which had been the moſt amiable part of his character. Relying too much on the faith of others, he aſſumed a confidence unſuitable to his character, and little qualified to paſs for innocence with diſcerning men [a].

CHAP. VI. 1683.

THE behaviour of the Lord Howard was anſwerable to the profligacy of his former life. When he was ſeized, he diſcovered all the ſymptoms of an unmanly terror. He trembled, he faultered in his ſpeech, he burſt into tears. He completed his own infamy by revealing all the ſecret projects of his friends. Hampden and Sidney were ſeized upon his accuſation. They obſerved a prudent ſilence when they were examined. They conſidered themſelves before enemies, who were prepared to put the moſt unfavourable conſtruction on their words. Almoſt all the conſpirators, except Monmouth, Armſtrong, and Ferguſon, fell into the hands of the officers of juſtice. The Lord Grey had the good fortune to eſcape from the meſſengers who were employed to carry

Walcot tried and condemned.

[z] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 527.

[a] Burnet.

CHAP. VI. 1683.

him to the Tower. To eſtabliſh the belief of the plot before the leaders ſhould be tried, the inferior conſpirators were firſt brought to the bar. On the eleventh of July, Captain Walcot was tried at the Old-Bailey. Rumſey, Kieling, and Weſt, were the witneſſes. His concern in the conſultations of the conſpirators was clearly proved. Upon the like evidence, Rous and Hone were at the ſame time condemned. The reality of the plot was no longer diſputed by the people; and that belief was confirmed by the confeſſion of the criminals, who owned, at their execution, the juſtice of the ſentence.

Trial,

THE day after the condemnation of theſe three conſpirators the Lord Ruſſel was brought to his trial. The witneſſes againſt him were, Colonel Rumſey, one Sheppard, a wine-merchant in London, at whoſe houſe ſome conſultations had been held, and the Lord Howard of Eſcric. The two firſt concurred in their evidence with regard to Ruſſel's being preſent at Sheppard's houſe, at a meeting of the party, where the diſcourſe turned upon the meaſure of ſeizing the guards. Rumſey ſwore, that he had attended at a conſultation of the leaders, at which the priſoner was preſent, to know, in the name of the Earl of Shafteſbury, their reſolution concerning the riſing under Trenchard at Taunton. He gave in evidence, that he received for anſwer, "that Trenchard had failed; and that nothing further could be done in the matter at that time." He ſwore, that though he did not particularly remember that Ruſſel ſpoke concerning the inſurrection, he manifeſtly conſented to the anſwer. Howard gave a particular account of the eſtabliſhment of the council of ſix in the preceding January; of their debates concerning an inſurrection; of their conferences with the Scots; and of their reſolution of forming a fund of thirty thouſand pounds, to anſwer the immediate occaſions of the projected war. The witneſſes, though accuſed by ſome writers of perjury, ſeem to have advanced nothing but the

truth. Even Rumſey, and particularly Sheppard, appear to have ſoftened the evidence againſt Ruſſel [b]. The latter had at the very time a conſiderable ſum in his hands, which he had received from Ruſſel, to be conveyed to the Earl of Argyle, who was making preparations for an inſurrection in Scotland [c]. CHAP. VI. 1683.

THE conduct of the attorney-general was more blameable than the evidence given by the witneſſes. He expreſſed himſelf in terms that bore his own conviction of Ruſſel's guilt, before the witneſſes were heard. He refuſed his conſent to a delay of the trial for a day. He would not permit a counſel to take notes of the evidence, for the uſe of the priſoner. This conduct, though perhaps within the ſtrict rules of law, was ſevere, and therefore impolitic. But the chief juſtice behaved with the utmoſt candour and moderation. He, however, refuſed to hear counſel upon an irregularity in the indictment, of which Ruſſel complained. The defence made by the priſoner himſelf was feeble and unſatisfactory. He proteſted with truth, that he had never entertained even a thought againſt the King's life; but his being concerned in preparations for an inſurrection, he neither affirmed nor denied. The jury, all men of reſpectable characters, brought him in guilty, with little heſitation. His former character, his popularity, and the amiable virtues of his private life, created a general regret for his fate. But it does not appear that unfair means were uſed at his trial, or that any part of the proceedings againſt him were contrary to the common uſage of the law in caſes of treaſon. condemnation,

THOUGH ſeverity was by no means one of the vices of Charles, he reſolved to liſten to no requeſts for a pardon. The entreaties of friends, the ſupplications of a father, the tears of a wife, and even the petition of the unfortunate Lord himſelf, were produc- behaviour,

[b] Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. [c] Lord Grey's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot.

CHAP. VI. 1683.

tive of no effect. When his feelings were attempted in vain, application was made to his neceſſities. One hundred thouſand pounds were ſaid to have been offered for Ruſſel's life. But money itſelf could not purchaſe forgiveneſs for a perſon whoſe conduct had ſo much offended his pride. The very virtues of the criminal had rendered his vehement meaſures leſs pardonable, as they might have been attended with danger. Ruſſel, it muſt be confeſſed, had carried his oppoſition into acts of violence, more calculated to irritate the King than to ſerve the nation. The part which he took in parliament was regular and manly. His warmth in the affair of the excluſion might be excuſed by the utility of the meaſure. But when he appeared in the company of Otes, to preſent the Duke of York for recuſancy, he ſunk beneath the dignity of his principles, and gave offence without ſerving his own cauſe. No part of his public conduct ſeemed to be either forgot or forgiven. Charles, in remitting the ignominious part of the ſentence, accompanied the favour with a ſarcaſm expreſſive of reſentment. "The Lord Ruſſel," ſaid he, "ſhall find that I am poſſeſſed of that prerogative which he denied to me in the caſe of the Viſcount Stafford." This alluded to the vehemence with which Ruſſel ſupported in parliament an opinion, "that the King could not remit any part of the puniſhment appointed by law for traitors [d]."

execution and

THE conduct of Ruſſel under condemnation was decent and affecting. At his execution his behaviour was manly and cool. Having, ever ſince he was ſeized, reſigned all hopes of life, his mind was fortified againſt death. The ſcaffold on which he was beheaded was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields [e]. This place was choſen, as the neareſt ſquare to Newgate [f], where he was confined. Party-writers aſcribed the choice to a circumſtance not founded on

[d] Parl. Debates, MS. [e] July 21.

[f] Burnet's two Sermons, preached in Newgate before Lord Ruſſel.

fact.

fact. Inſtead of ſpeaking to the multitude, he gave a paper, containing his laſt thoughts, to the ſheriff. The ſhort ſpeech with which he is ſaid to have accompanied the delivery of the paper, appears not to be genuine. It denies all knowledge of an intended inſurrection; an untruth too palpable to have been uttered by a man deemed even by his enemies ſincere. The ſpeech publiſhed in his name ſeems partly to be the production of another pen. Dr. Burnet attended him in priſon, and he intereſted himſelf for the memory of his friend. His ſpeech contains neither an explicit confeſſion, nor abſolute denial of the inſurrection. But he was extremely anxious to remove the imputation of a deſign againſt the life of the King, and for a change in the government. The precaution was ſuperfluous. The evidence contained no direct charge of that kind. The allegation in the indictment was a mere implication of law, introduced into the practice of the courts to accommodate actual preparations for treaſon to the ſtatute of Edward the Third.

character of Ruſſel.

THE amiable character of this unfortunate Lord made his fate to be regarded as ſevere. He was a man of virtue in private life, and of principle in his public conduct. In the character of a ſon, a huſband, and a friend, he merited every praiſe. In a ſincere affection for his country, he had few equals. But his talents were limited; his temper ſanguine; his patriotiſm frequently degenerated into paſſion. He was credulous, through vehemence; and, through his credulity, the dupe of deſigning men. His popularity, however, was neither acquired by art, nor retained by meanneſs. He was a ſtranger to duplicity; and as he had few vices to hide, he concealed none of his virtues. Thoſe amiable qualities, which ſeldom accompany an extenſive capacity, rendered him regretted by all. Though he had no claim on the favour of Charles, his pardon would have been a popular act. His fate, however, has been more lamented by late writers than by his

CHAP. VI. 1683.

his own cotemporaries. Many could not ſeparate the idea of rebellion from an inſurrection. Few could diſtinguiſh a meditated riſing againſt the King's authority, from a deſign againſt his life. The evils of a civil war were deemed, by the moſt of mankind, more dangerous than the grievances which the popular party meant to prevent, by ſuch violent meaſures. They could ſcarce reconcile to their minds, that the loſs of a city-election was a ſufficient reaſon for involving the nation in blood. Upon the whole, if the meaſures of the crown juſtified the deſigns of Ruſſel, Charles was ſcarce to be blamed for abandoning that Lord to the animadverſion of the law.

Death of Eſſex.

On the day of Ruſſel's trial, the Earl of Eſſex cut his own throat [g] with a razor in the Tower. Though a man of virtue, he was long known to have maintained the lawfulneſs of ſuicide in his converſation [h]. Subject by conſtitution to fits of melancholy, he became extremely dejected upon his being confined. Conſcious of the part which he had acted in the preparations for an inſurrection, he deemed that evidence would not be wanting; and he reſolved to prevent diſgrace by death. The King and the Duke of York happened by accident to be that morning in the Tower, to ſee the proof of a piece of ordnance of a new invention [i]. This circumſtance furniſhed their enemies with an opportunity of aſcribing to them the murder of Eſſex. Though there was not the ſlighteſt foundation for this heavy charge, the imputation continued. Though the coroner's inqueſt returned their verdict ſelf-murder; though the friends and family of the unfortunate Earl found no grounds of ſuſpicion; though many circumſtances, demonſtrating the impoſſibility of a murder, were produced; it ſuited the views and the malignity of party to impoſe the tale on the world. Men of ſenſe, however, were not deceived. If the

[g] Swift's Remarks on Mackay.

[h] Carte's Ormonde.

[i] Burnet. Contin. of Baker.

court,

court, as had been aſſerted, had, by management, converted the laws into engines of vengeance, it was deemed that their uſing other means was fooliſh, abſurd, and incredible. CHAP. VI. 1683.

THE diſcovery of the plot againſt his life increaſed the influence of Charles, by intereſting the nation in his ſafety. Willing to retain, by the inclination of his ſubjects, the authority which the crown had lately acquired, he endeavoured to gain their confidence by popular meaſures. To leſſen the fears of Popery, which ſtill prevailed in the kingdom, he reſolved to marry his niece, the Lady Anne, to a Proteſtant Prince. The hopes of ſecurity to religion, which had been derived from the marriage of the Duke's eldeſt daughter to the Prince of Orange, had been greatly damped by the ſterility of that Princeſs; and men turned their eyes to her ſiſter for continuing the ſucceſſion of the crown. On the twenty-eighth of July [k], ſhe was married at Whitehall to Prince George, brother of Chriſtian the Fifth, King of Denmark. His profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion recommended Prince George to this alliance, more than either his own accompliſhments, or the influence of his family. The Prince of Orange, who had long extended his intrigues to the marriage of the Lady Anne, was extremely averſe to this match [l]. He ſeems to have carried his prejudices againſt Prince George into his own conduct, during the time he ſat on the throne of England. The huſband whom he had deſtined for the Princeſs was now provided with another conſort. The Prince of Naſſau, whom the Prince of Orange mortally hated, had paid his addreſſes to Sophia Dorothy, the only daughter of the Duke of Brunſwick-Zell. The Prince of Orange, reduced into deſpair [m] by this circumſtance, found means to diſappoint his couſin the Prince of Naſſau, by inducing the Duke of Zell to recall the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh from London, whither he had gone to pay his addreſſes to the Lady Anne, and Marriage of the Lady Anne.

[k] Gazette. [l] D'Avaux, 1681. [m] D'Avaux, 1682.

to

CHAP. VI. 1683.

to marry him to his own daughter. The Prince of Orange ſent Bentinck to England, to endeavour to break off the match between his ſiſter-in-law and Prince George of Denmark. He wiſhed to give that Princeſs to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburgh, under a promiſe of making him heir to all his own poſſeſſions; an expectation which could not fail to keep him in perpetual dependence. The Duke of York, habitually obedient to his brother, was paſſive in whatever regarded his daughters; and the King, ſenſible of the folly as well as impropriety of a ſovereign's profeſſing any other ſyſtem of religion than that eſtabliſhed among his ſubjects, had taken care to breed his nieces in the faith of the church of England. This circumſtance had leſſened the paternal affection of the Duke; and induced him, in ſome meaſure, to conſider his daughters as his rivals in his political views.

A declaration, and the Oxford decree.

THE King ſenſible of the benefit which his authority had derived from his appeal from parliament to his people, iſſued a declaration concerning the Rye-houſe plot on the twenty-ſeventh of July. The circumſtances of the conſpiracy were related in that paper; and though ſome things were exaggerated, the narrative and reaſoning upon the whole were founded on truth [n]. The artifice of comprehending, in a clear and conciſe detail, the evidence of the witneſſes, by raiſing the horror of the nation againſt the plotters, increaſed their attachment to the King. The ſpirits of the party were now broken and ſubdued. No reply was attempted, nor even feared. Sir William Jones, who had anſwered the former declaration, was lately dead. Men of letters had changed their opinions with the times. The clergy were violent for monarchy. The univerſities abetted the high prerogatives of the crown. In Oxford, a decree was paſſed on the twenty-firſt of July, condemning twenty-ſeven propoſitions, which favoured republican principles and religious fanaticiſm. The political tenets,

[n] North's Examen.

that

that civil authority is derived from the people; that lawful princes, becoming tyrants, may be oppoſed; that the Kings of England have only a co-ordinate power with parliament; that paſſive obedience is no obligation on Chriſtians; were condemned with the utmoſt formality and zeal. This extraordinary decree, in the form of an addreſs, was preſented to the King; and the books which contained the propoſitions were publickly burnt, amid the acclamations of the ſtudents [o].

King appoints the city-magiſtrates.

The judgment on the *quo warranto*, by depriving the city of London of its privileges, reſtored it to ſilence and tranquillity. The tumults, which had for many years attended the annual elections, were no longer heard. On the fifth of September, inſtead of the twenty-fourth of June, the ſheriffs were choſen, without any oppoſition. Michaelmas-day was permitted to paſs without any election of a lord-mayor; and, on the fourth of October, Sir William Pritchard, who had almoſt completed the year of his mayoralty, received the King's commiſſion to continue in his office during pleaſure. Charles, to ſhew his authority, diſmiſſed Treby from the recorderſhip, and placed Jenour, a perſon of approved attachment to the prerogative, in his room. Sixteen of the court of aldermen had been always in the intereſt of the crown. Theſe, after the court was diſſolved by the authority of the King, were, by two different commiſſions, appointed juſtices of the peace and aldermen. Eight aldermen, who had devoted themſelves to the popular party, were diſmiſſed; and they were ſucceeded by others of known attachment to the crown. Arbitrary as theſe meaſures may appear, they were received without a murmur. Men preferred the tranquillity of regal deſpotiſm to the licentiouſneſs of the vulgar, who too often uſe freedom merely as an excuſe for tyranny, inſolence, and noiſe [p].

[o] Publications of the times.

[p] Ibid. paſſim.

CHAP. VI.

1683. Trial of

THOUGH many, and perhaps juſt, complaints have been made of the rigour with which ſome of the conſpirators were proſecuted, the plot itſelf was purſued with little vehemence by the court. During ſeveral months after the death of the Lord Ruſſel, no perſon accuſed, and ſeveral were in cuſtody, was brought to a trial. There was, however, one more of the council of ſix, whoſe prior conduct ſeemed to preclude him from favour, and whoſe principles, on account of his courage and abilities, were feared. This was Algernon Sidney, who had remained priſoner in the Tower ever ſince the beginning of July, when he was firſt accuſed by the Lord Howard of Eſcric. An accidental change in the higher departments of the law ſeemed to pave the way for the trial of Sidney. Saunders, lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-Bench, a man of obſcure birth and limited talents, had been found unfit for his place, from the debilities which aroſe from an intemperate and vicious life. Upon his death, in the month of September, he was ſucceeded in his office by Sir George Jefferys [q], chief juſtice of Cheſter, a man of outrageous abilities and violent principles. Bold and intrepid, from a fixed diſregard of the world; profligate, from a contempt of virtue; fair only to thoſe whom he feared; a tyrant to the unfortunate, and a fawning ſlave to the great. But even Jefferys, in indifferent matters, was as juſt in his deciſions as he was able in his opinions [r]. But when the rights of the ſubject interfered with the prerogative of the crown, he warped juſtice to his political views; and, being an able, he became a terrible judge.

Algernon Sidney.

JEFFERYS, from the fierceneſs of his character, was deemed the only fit match for the abilities and firmneſs of Sidney. On the ſeventh of November, the priſoner was brought from the Tower to the bar of the King's-Bench, where he was arraigned upon an indictment of treaſon, for conſpiring the death of the

[q] Kennet, vol. iii. [r] North's Examen.

King,

King, and for levying war againſt his Majeſty. He deſired a fortnight to prepare for his trial, which was granted; and he was brought again to the bar on the twenty-firſt of November. The chief articles againſt him were his ſending a meſſenger into Scotland, to invite the malecontents of that kingdom to rebellion; and his writing a treaſonable libel, found in his cloſet, upon the original and forms of government. Though perhaps ſcarce any doubt was entertained of the part which Sidney acted in the intended inſurrection, the evidence was not ſo full as the laws of treaſon required. Weſt, Rumſey, and Keiling ſwore only from hearſay. The teſtimony of the Lord Howard of Eſcric was poſitive, home, and deciſive. But as one fact only, and that ſworn by one witneſs, was not ſufficient to condemn the priſoner, aid for that purpoſe was derived from the pretended libel found in his cloſet. The axiom, that "to write was to act," was inculcated with vehemence; and general obſervations upon government were ſtrained to make them apply to the preſent times. CHAP. VI. 1683.

THOUGH much was expected from the ſpirit and abilities of Sidney, men were diſappointed when he came to his defence [a]. He inſiſted, that the conſpiring to levy war, and to compaſs the death of the King were two diſtinct crimes; and that the firſt did not fall within the ſtatute of Edward the Third, upon which he was tried. He argued againſt the credibility of the Lord Howard's evidence; and in that point only he ſeems not to have been ſincere. The profligacy of Howard, his ingratitude to Sidney himſelf, the point of view in which he ſtood, as an evidence againſt his friends, were all favourable to the priſoner. But his adhering, without any material deviations, to the great line of facts already proved, left little room to doubt of the truth of his teſtimony. Sidney argued with moſt vehemence and juſtice, againſt the uſe He is condemned,

[a] Kennet, vol. iii.

CHAP. VI. 1683.

made againſt him by the court of the pretended libel. Though it was connected by the Attorney-general, and ſuſtained by the judges, as a part of the late conſpiracy, it appeared, by undoubted proofs, to have been written many years before. Beſides, being upon the general ſubject of government, the poſitions which it contained could not, without the moſt glaring injuſtice, be conſtrued into a ſeditious and dangerous libel. They might ſerve as inſtances of the principles of the author; but as they never had been publiſhed, and probably never ſeen by a ſecond perſon, they could not poſſibly have done any miſchief, to juſtify the animadverſion of the law.

and executed.

THE arguments of Sidney and the legal defects in the evidence were but feeble pleas where the court had reſolved to condemn. The known republican principles of the priſoner, the certainty of his being in ſome degree concerned in the late conſpiracy, his uncomplying ſpirit, and even his abilities, had already prejudged him in the minds of the royal party. A partial charge by Jefferys induced a prejudiced jury to bring him in guilty. The informality in the proceedings and the defects in the evidence were dangerous precedents, and generally condemned. But theſe inſtances of injuſtice regard only the judges and the jury. Sidney aſked a pardon in a manner calculated to have it refuſed. Charles may be excuſed for not granting it to one who was an avowed enemy to monarchy, and who was undoubtedly guilty of deſigns againſt his government, if not ultimately againſt his life. A fortnight after his receiving his ſentence, Sidney was beheaded on Tower-hill; the King having remitted the ignominious part of his ſentence, on account of the high quality of his family. His behaviour at his execution, though firm and undaunted, was more enthuſiaſtic than dignified and ſedate. In a ſpeech from the ſcaffold he repeated the ſubſtance of his defence at his trial in a manly, conciſe, but paſſionate manner; and when he was ready

to lay his head on the block, he gloried to die for the good old cauſe in which he had been engaged from his youth [t]. CHAP. VI. 1683.

THE ſuppoſed injuſtice which attended his death, rendered Sidney more famous than any ſtriking circumſtances in his life. Being a republican from opinion, he had been active againſt the late King; and from the ſame principle he oppoſed Cromwell, when his conduct became ſubverſive of public liberty. When the parliament had eſtabliſhed a ſhow of freedom, upon the reſignation of Richard Cromwell, he entered into the ſervice of his country: but at the Reſtoration, he preferred a voluntary exile to a ſubmiſſion to kingly government. When the connexion of the court with France, the popery of the Duke of York, and the artifices of the oppoſing party in parliament, ſeemed to promiſe troubles in England, he ſolicited and obtained a pardon from the King. He herded afterwards with the popular party; but he never had influence ſufficient to obtain an undiſputed ſeat in parliament, even when moſt of the elections were carried againſt the court. In his political opinions he was harſh and auſtere; and even in his private converſation commanding and haughty. He was admired by many for his integrity and abilities; but he never was an object of love. His principles ſuited neither a people accuſtomed to the government of a ſingle perſon, nor the profligacy of the times. In Rome or Athens, in the days of their ſimplicity and freedom, he might have arrived at the fame of their firſt patriots; but he was a viſionary politician, and even a dangerous citizen under a monarchy. In the extravagance of his views ſeems to conſiſt the greateſt defect in his judgment. He dreamed perpetually of an ideal fabric of a republic, without conſidering the wretched materials of which it was to have been framed. His character.

[t] Kennet. His laſt ſpeech, &c.

WHILE

CHAP. VI.

1683. Duke of Monmouth.

WHILE two of the council of ſix ſuffered death for their conduct, the Duke of Monmouth found means to obtain his pardon, and in ſome degree the favour of the King. Having paſſed more than three months in his lurking-places, he at length, by the advice of his friends, wrote penitential letters to the King. Charles, whoſe affections returned upon the compunction expreſſed by the Duke, is ſaid to have met him in ſecret [u], before he permitted him to ſurrender himſelf as a criminal to the ſecretary of ſtate. Fortified by the promiſe of a pardon, Monmouth delivered himſelf to Secretary Jenkins on the twenty-fourth of November [x]. The Duke of York and Jenkins only were preſent when he threw himſelf at the feet of his father. He expreſſed the greateſt contrition for the paſt. He aſked and obtained the King's pardon and that of the Duke. He gave a detail of the conſpiracy. He mentioned the names of all concerned. He even agreed that his account ſhould be made public. The heads of his confeſſion are recorded, with his uſual preciſion, by the Duke of York [y].

His confeſſion,

HE owned that he knew all the councils of the conſpirators except the intended aſſaſſination, a meaſure which ſeems only to have been adopted by the inferior order of thoſe concerned in the plot. He acknowledged the truth of the Lord Howard's evidence, except in one not very material point. He confirmed the teſtimony of Rumſey, that the Lord Ruſſel had ſaid, when Trenchard failed, "that he would draw on his boots, go down to the Weſt and to Taunton, and head the inſurrection himſelf." He expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that no more witneſſes appeared againſt Wildman, ſince no man was more active in the conſpiracy. The council of ſix, he ſaid, contributed fifteen pounds a man, to ſend Aaron Smith, their meſſenger, to confer with the Scots. He mentioned the concern which Courtney, Drake, and other gentle-

[u] Kennet, vol. iii. Burnet, Ralph. [x] James II. 1683. [y] Ibid.

men

men in the Weſt had in the plot. He ſaid that they depended on Booth, in Cheſhire; on Sir John Hotham, in the county of York. He confeſſed that he viſited, with an intention to ſurpriſe, the guards; that Doctor Owen, Mr. Mead, and all the chief of the country miniſters were active in the conſpiracy; that Major Hurſt, of Chicheſter, had undertaken to ſurpriſe Portſmouth, where the garriſon was extremely remiſs [z]. CHAP. VI. 1683.

THE King aſked Monmouth whether the conſpirators held any correſpondence with the guards? He poſitively denied that fact. He declared that the coming of Cochran and others from Scotland on the buſineſs of Carolina was a mere pretence. He affirmed, that Rowallan and Baillie were engaged in the plot; that they ſaid they wanted arms, though in reality they wanted will. Argyle, he ſaid, was to raiſe the weſtern Highlanders; and ſome were appointed to ſeize the caſtle of Stirling, by an old gutter or ſally-port toward Ballanguith, where no centinels were ever placed. Some, he ſaid, had undertaken to ſeize the chancellor and treaſurer at Edinburgh, a ſervice which might be performed with forty or fifty horſe. The ſubmiſſion of Monmouth and his narrative of the plot induced the King to grant him his pardon. But when the pardon had paſſed the ſeal, the Duke retracted to his friends what he had confeſſed to the King and the Duke of York [a]. A conduct ſo diſhonourable offended Charles, notwithſtanding his affection for Monmouth. He forbad him the court; and expreſſed himſelf againſt him in the moſt paſſionate terms. The deſign of Monmouth ſurpaſſed his abilities. He hoped to gain the King, and to retain his credit with his party. His unſettled and puerile behaviour proved fatal to Sidney [b]. His life could not have been ſpared without convincing the world that Monmouth had ſatisfied the King that there had not been a real and diſgrace.

[z] James II. 1683. Atran, Dec. 13, 1683.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Duke of Ormond to the Earl of

conſpiracy,

CHAP. VI. 1683.

conſpiracy, a circumſtance which that miſguided nobleman was ſolicitous to prove to his party [c].

Foreign affairs.

FOREIGN affairs comprehend nothing more remarkable than the publick conduct and ſecret intrigues of the Prince of Orange. He had long laboured to force the States to make an addition of ſixteen thouſand men to the land eſtabliſhment, to place himſelf in a condition to command implicit obedience at home and reſpect abroad. No new levies however were made; and the Prince is ſaid, in revenge, to have exerciſed a violent and unlawful power [d]. He had broken the ſpirits of the Louveſtein or republican party by repeated inſults; and they deſpaired to oppoſe his inroads upon the rights of the States without the ſupport and aid of France [e]. While the Prince exerciſed a degree of tyranny over the States, he endeavoured to induce the Spaniards to reject not only the arbitration, but even the mediation of the King of England. He vainly hoped, that through this affront, he could rouſe his uncle to take a hearty part in his own views; and that this circumſtance would force the States to agree to the new levies, and even to engage in the war. The Marquis de Grana, in the mean time, had engaged in concert with the Prince of Orange. Should the French troops enter Spaniſh Flanders, he reſolved to attack them, were it only with two hundred men, to bring on an open war [f]. The Prince of Orange hoped that the clamours of the Engliſh nation, in ſuch a caſe, would force Charles to call a parliament, who, by inſiſting on the excluſion of his father-in-law, would pave his own way to the throne.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange, in Holland.

The refuſal of Lewis the Fourteenth, with regard to the principality of Orange, had added a warm reſentment to the vehement ambition of the Prince. He continued to inſiſt upon the levies;

[c] Carte's Ormonde. [d] D'Avaux, 1683. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

but

but the town of Amſterdam, averſe to his perſon, and ſwayed by France [g], diſappointed all his views. They complained, and with great reaſon [h], that he exerciſed his authority as Stadtholder in an arbitrary manner, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic. They affirmed, that in the year 1679, he had uſurped the nomination of all thoſe admitted into the States of Guelderland; and they produced many inſtances of his openly encroaching upon the rights of election, in other places, appointing by his own authority ſuch magiſtrates and officers as had been formerly choſen by the different towns [i]. The deputies of Amſterdam ſtill refuſing to conſent to the new levies, he threatened, in the month of November, to leave the Hague, and to permit the affairs of the States to run into confuſion. Few who knew his love of power believed him ſincere in this reſpect; and therefore he derived no benefit from his threats of reſigning his high office. Having made a journey to Amſterdam, and failing to perſuade the council of thirty-ſix to agree to the new levies, he flew into the moſt violent rage. He openly accuſed them of a correſpondence with France. They threatened on their part to bring him to an account for his conduct. He left the hall with all the ſymptoms of rage and reſentment. The mob hiſſed him on the ſtreets, on account of the loſs of the fleet lately coming from the Baltic. With Bentinck and Fagel, he drove violently in his coach from Amſterdam; but not without threatening to take off twelve of the burgomaſters of that refractory city [k].

and with regard to the plot.

THE news of the Rye-houſe plot was received with the utmoſt indifference by the Prince of Orange. He had long placed the perſons accuſed among the number of his friends in England; as he conſidered the excluſion of the Duke of York as the certain means of his obtaining the great object of his own ambition [l]. He

[g] D'Avaux, 1683. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid.

CHAP. VI. 1683.

ordered Odyck and ſome of his confidents to propagate a report, that the whole was a ſham plot to ruin ſeveral of the moſt worthy perſons in the kingdom, and to deſtroy thoſe who ſupported freedom of conſcience in religion, and the civil liberties of the country. He, however, ſoon altered his conduct, as well as his tone. He thought proper, in a few days after, to congratulate the King of England on the diſcovery of the conſpiracy. Having many friends among thoſe who were concerned in the plot, he deemed it neceſſary to ſend Bentinck to England, to prevent, by his prudence, any inſinuations that might be ſpread concerning his being in any degree privy to the deſign laid againſt his uncles [m]. Bentinck, who was at the ſame time employed in endeavouring to prevent the marriage of the Lady Anne with the Prince of Denmark, executed his commiſſion with fidelity, and even with ſucceſs, in what reſpected his maſter's ſuppoſed connexion with the perſons engaged in the conſpiracy.

1684. January. Hampden fined.

THOUGH Monmouth has been accuſed of treachery to his father, there was a degree of honour in his behaviour toward his political friends. Having retired to the country when he was forbidden the court, a ſubpœna was iſſued for bringing him to London, as a witneſs againſt Hampden [n], who had been one of the council of ſix. He choſe to quit his country, rather than give evidence againſt his friend. This circumſtance forced the ſervants of the crown to change the manner of the proſecution. Hampden, inſtead of being tried for treaſon, was only proſecuted for a miſdemeanor [o]. The Lord Howard was the only witneſs who could carry home the evidence of Hampden's actual concern in the plot. That Lord's character had been already ſo effectually blaſted, that his teſtimony, though now known to be true in the main, had fallen under great diſcredit. Beſides, though the evidence of one witneſs was deemed ſufficient to condemn a perſon

[m] D'Avaux. [n] Carte's Ormonde, 1683. [o] Feb.

ſo

CHAP. VI. 1684.

ſo obnoxious as Sidney, Hampden was not ſo conſiderable as to merit a glaring breach on the rules of law. In proſecution of this opinion, he had been admitted to bail. The jury found for the King, and the court ſet a fine upon the defendant of forty thouſand pounds. They ordered him, beſides, to be committed till the fine ſhould be paid, and to find two ſecurities for his behaviour during life[p].

The impeached Lords admitted to bail. February.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe ſeverities, the horror raiſed by the intended aſſaſſination juſtified the conduct of the court in the eyes of the nation. The popularity which Charles poſſeſſed in the beginning of his reign began to return; and the doctrine of unlimited obedience was inculcated every where, and generally received. But though the opinions of the people had changed, though, by the ſurrender of their charters, the boroughs had annihilated their independence in elections, Charles was afraid to meet a parliament, a large majority of which he had now in his power to chuſe. His ſervants adviſed him in vain to adhere to that part of his declaration after the laſt diſſolution[q], "that there ſhould be frequent parliaments." To convince the world that he had no inclination to change his reſolution, he encouraged the court of King's Bench to bail the Lords, who ſtill lay under a parliamentary impeachment in the Tower. The Earl of Danby made a motion in Hilary-term, and his caſe was argued by counſel. On the twelfth of February, he was admitted to bail, by the unanimous conſent of the judges. This formed a precedent for the Popiſh Lords; and they were the ſame day diſmiſſed, upon giving ſecurity, from a tedious confinement of near ſix years. The Lord Petre died a month before the releaſement of the other Lords; proteſting with his laſt breath, that he knew nothing of a Popiſh plot[r].

[p] Trial. [q] North's Examen. [r] Kennet.

CHAP. 1683.

1684. Profecutions and executions.

THE year 1684, peculiarly barren in events, preſents nothing of importance, except a continuation of thoſe legal ſeverities which diſgraced the preceding year. Holloway, a linen-draper at Briſtol, being concerned in the late plot, had fled, upon the diſcovery, to the iſland of Nevis [s], in the Weſt Indies. He was ſeized and ſent to England; and, on the twenty-firſt of April, having waved a trial, he was condemned to death upon the outlawry which had followed his indictment for treaſon. The Duke of York had, in the preceding Michaelmas-term, brought his action, on the ſtatute of *ſcandalum magnatum*, againſt John Dutton Colt, a member in the late parliament, and bailiff of Leominſter, in the county of Hereford, for ſeveral ſcandalous expreſſions and threats againſt his life. On the third of May, a jury brought in their verdict in favour of the Duke, and aſſeſſed for damages one hundred thouſand pounds. The noted Otes, for the like offence, was fined in an equal ſum. The greatneſs of the fine defeated the end of the judgment, by rendering the payment impoſſible. The deciſions, however, were mere ſubterfuges, to juſtify perpetual impriſonment for offences to which the law had not annexed a puniſhment ſo ſevere. In the month of June, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, the friend, the favourite, and principal adviſer of Monmouth, was executed at Tyburn. This unfortunate man, having taken refuge in Holland, was ſeized in that country by Chudleigh, the King's miniſter, and tranſported in a yacht to London. Though the term appointed by the proclamation for his ſurrendering himſelf was not elapſed, he was refuſed the benefit of a trial. The perſonal reſentment of Charles againſt a perſon who, he deemed, had ſeduced his ſon, was alleged as the cauſe of this act of injuſtice [t].

Duke of York Lord Admiral.

THESE proceedings in the courts of juſtice have been, by ſome writers, aſcribed to the violence of the Duke of York. But no

[s] Kennet, vol. iii. [t] Publications of the times.

CHAP. VI. 1684.

proofs are produced, except ſuch as ariſe from the opinion formed of the character of that Prince. In all unſucceſsful attempts againſt an eſtabliſhed government, unjuſtifiable ſeverities have ever been exerciſed. The hiſtory of no country is free from blemiſhes of that kind; and that of England labours under the like diſadvantage, at different periods. The bending of the laws to the purpoſes of vengeance was, in the preſent juncture, more dangerous as a precedent, than the puniſhments themſelves were unjuſt. The crown, however, ought not to eſcape from cenſure for the ſeverities of the courts of law. Without the approbation of the King, it is not probable that judges would have proceeded to ſuch extreme rigour. Without his permiſſion, they even could not proceed at all. He may, therefore, be deemed an acceſſary to miſchiefs which he did not prevent; though, perhaps, his indolence is more to be blamed, than either the violence or ſeverity of his temper. The Duke of York, to all appearance, adviſed his brother in ſecret; but he oſtenſibly took no part in public affairs, till the May of the preſent year. On the twelfth of that month, he was declared Lord High-Admiral [u]. On the twenty-eighth, he took his ſeat at the council-board. Though his promotion was actual ſuſpenſion of an act of parliament, no murmurs aroſe in the nation. Men thought that a Prince, who one day was to be their ſovereign, might, without the formality of oaths, be admitted to the management of a department, which of all others he beſt underſtood.

Promotions.

THE great power of the Duke of York is, however, evident from the promotions of his adherents and ſuppoſed friends. In the month of April, Godolphin ſucceeded [x] Jenkins in the office of ſecretary of ſtate. In Auguſt, he was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury [y], and ſoon after created a baron. Hyde, who had been raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Rocheſter, ſucceeded,

[u] James II. [x] April 17. [y] Aug. 24.

CHAP. VI. 1684.

as preſident of the council, the old Earl of Radnor, who retired. The Earl of Middleton one of the ſecretaries for Scotland, was raiſed to the ſame office, in the room of Godolphin, in England. The lord chief juſtice Jefferys, whoſe ſervices in the midland circuit had been highly grateful to the King, was admitted into the cabinet. Theſe changes were deemed by diſcerning men the forerunners of more violent meaſures. The Duke of York, who proceeded on ſyſtem, ſeemed reſolved to ſecure the power which the crown had obtained. A violent favourer of prerogative from principle, he had been confirmed in his opinions, by the vehemence of his opponents, for ſeveral years. Though their ſpirits had been ſubdued for the preſent, the flame might again break forth with redoubled violence, To prevent a circumſtance, which to him muſt prove unfortunate, conſidering his obſtinate bigotry, he proceeded to meaſures, which were more precipitate than unſkilfully framed. He is ſaid to have formed a plan for the new-modelling the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; that, by ſecuring the unlimited authority of the crown in thoſe kingdoms, he might overawe England, and retain her in that ſubmiſſion, which the high principles of monarchy, more than the force of the Prince, had gained [z].

Affairs of Scotland.

In Scotland, the ſame violence and confuſion reigned which had diſtracted that country for many years. The whole nation had been long divided into two religious parties, whoſe animoſities againſt one another had been inflamed into a degree proportionable to their own folly and enthuſiaſm. The high-church party, poſſeſſed of the power of government, turned its whole force upon wretched fanatics, whoſe deſperate zeal ought to be the ſubject of pity, more than the object of puniſhment. Rapacity and blind revenge were ſeen on one ſide, inſolence and madneſs on the other. A ſcene of pitiful miſery prevailed; oppreſ-

[z] Publications of the Times.

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CHAP. VI.

1684.

pitchequal to the ambition of her King. Supported with powerful armies, and in the midſt of tranquillity prepared for war, Lewis the Fourteenth attempted to juſtify encroachments on the dominions of Spain by pretended claims, founded on the treaty of Nimeguen. He demanded Alorſt, in a formal manner, from the court of Madrid; and, upon their refuſal, blockaded Luxembourg. The Turks having beſieged Vienna with an army of two hundred thouſand men, Lewis, with an affected moderation, ſuſpended all hoſtilities; but when the ſiege was raiſed, by the valour and conduct of John Sobieſki, King of Poland, he renewed his operations. Courtray and Dixmuyde were forced, Luxembourg bombarded. Spain, forgetting her own weakneſs, declared war; and, by a precipitate ſtep, furniſhed Lewis with a pretence to continue the progreſs of his arms. The Dutch, in the aſſembly of their ſtates, by the influence of France upon the town of Amſterdam, together with the averſion entertained by the magiſtracy of that city againſt the Prince of Orange, would give no aſſiſtance. No aid could be obtained from England. The Emperor dreamed of nothing but to defend his own dominions from the power of the Ottomans.

Foreign affairs.

SPAIN, left to her own domeſtic force, was obliged at length to ſubmit. Though every thing became venal at her court, though offices, governments, and titles of honour, were ſold to ſupply the preſſing demands of the ſtate, her poverty, as well as the feebleneſs of her councils, rendered her totally unfit for war. Her army, under the Duke of Bournonville, was defeated on the frontiers of Catalonia. Fontarabia was bombarded. Luxembourg fell into the hands of the French [d]. The Prince of Orange, to aid the allies of the Dutch, made a breach upon their conſtitution, by endeavouring to carry points in favour of Spain by a majority of voices in the aſſembly of the ſtates. But the town of Amſter-

[d] June 4, 1684.

CHAP. VI. 1684.

dam, and even ſome of the provinces, ſtill in the intereſt of France, refuſed the augmentation in the troops which the Prince required. The King of England, in his neceſſities, had ſuffered his neutrality to be bought by France. The misfortunes of the Spaniards, at length, overcame their pride. They ceded Luxembourg. They yielded to the demands of the court of France. A truce of twenty years was ſigned at Ratiſbon, on the tenth of Auguſt, between France and the court of Madrid; and, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, between the firſt of theſe powers and the Emperor and Empire. Peace, with little bloodſhed, was reſtored to Europe. France had offended the neighbouring ſtates, without breaking their force; and the time was faſt advancing on Lewis the Fourteenth, when his haughtineſs was to meet its reward.

State of

THE pecuniary difficulties which firſt threw Charles into the arms of France, deſtroyed his future importance abroad. Haraſſed by parties at home, neceſſitous through the want of œconomy in himſelf, as well as from the parſimony of parliament, he was, in his latter years, as deſtitute of the means of making a figure in Europe, as he was always of the ambition of leading its affairs. But now he ſeemed to be advancing with haſty ſtrides toward that weight and conſequence which he poſſeſſed in the firſt years of his reign. His domeſtic enemies lay ſubdued, by their own folly more than by his power. The hatred of the nation ſeemed to follow their misfortunes; while the rigour of government raiſed no averſion to the perſon of the Prince. The majority of his ſubjects, by inclination more than through fear, had laid their moſt valuable privileges at his feet; and he ſeemed to be clothed with abſolute authority, even with the conſent of his people. The facility of his temper, his captivating manner, his uneaſineſs under the reſtraints of his function as King, removed the jealouſy of his people, when they ſcarce had any freedom to loſe. The irreſiſtible

CHAP. VI. 1684.

ſiſtible popularity of the early part of his reign returned; and the vigour of his conſtitution ſeemed to promiſe many years of the tranquillity which he paſſionately loved.

domeſtic affairs. 1685. January.

BUT, amid this flattering proſpect, Charles ſeems not to have been altogether pleaſed with the ſituation of affairs. The Duke of York, to whom buſineſs was pleaſure, managed the ſtate, and left his brother to his indolence and eaſe. His friends formed a majority in the cabinet, and the firſt departments had been filled by his recommendation. The Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Sunderland, and the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, endeavoured to rouſe the attention of Charles, and to alarm his fears. The court paid to the Duke was not ſufficient to reconcile him to the propriety of his meaſures. He, perhaps, was afraid of a renewal of thoſe diſtractions which had been ſo lately compoſed. The vehemence with which his brother ſolicited an indiſcriminate pardon for all the Papiſts, was perhaps one cauſe of his diſlike to the meaſures of that Prince. A general indemnity for all the recuſants of that ſect was on the point of being granted, when it was ſtopt, on the twenty-fourth of January 1685, by the lord-keeper North, till the attorney-general ſhould be heard on the ſubject[e]. But the Duke of York aſcribes to the enmity of others what ſome writers have attributed to the prudence of Charles. "Sunderland," ſays he, "was actually contriving with the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth," and he might have added, in concert with the Prince of Orange, "to ſend again the Duke into baniſhment. They thought to employ him on ſome embaſſy abroad, or even as lord-deputy in Ireland." This circumſtance, though juſt, is only a part of the truth. Halifax, and eſpecially Sunderland, had been long gained by the Prince of Orange, whoſe views on the throne were known. Sunderland, yielding to his love of money, had

[e] James II.

CHAP. VI. 1685.

been alſo bought by Lewis the Fourteenth[f]; and that Prince, knowing the diſpoſition which the Duke had already ſhewn to render himſelf, ſhould he come to the crown, independent of France, was far from being averſe to his being removed from the councils of his brother[g]. Monmouth was the only tool of their deſigns, to gain the conſent of the King to the removal of a brother through his affection for a ſon.

February. Death of the King.

THE ſudden death of the King put an end to their deſigns. On the ſecond of February, about eight in the morning, he was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy, being dreſſed, and juſt come out of his cloſet, where he had been for ſome time after he roſe from bed. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to the Duke of York; but, before he arrived, Dr. King, a phyſician, being in the drawing-room, was called in, and he let him blood. By that and ſome remedies he was reſtored perfectly to his ſenſes; and there was great hopes of his recovery during the whole of the next day. His phyſicians deſpaired of his life on the fourth of February; and having languiſhed till Friday, the ſixth of that month, he expired between eleven and twelve o'clock[h]. The firſt intelligence of his danger filled the whole city with ſuch a ſurpriſe and conſternation, that the privy-council found themſelves obliged to iſſue a declaration, containing hopes of his recovery[i]. When his death was made known, a general ſorrow prevailed. He was mourned by individuals, as a friend more than as a ſovereign; and it was then that men who poſſeſſed any regard for their country ſaw how dangerouſly he was loved by his people. The vulgar, in their affection for his perſon, entertained ſuſpicions of his being poiſoned; and even ſome credulous writers have encouraged a tale, which had not the ſlighteſt foundation in fact.

[f] D'Avaux, 1682. [g] James II. [h] Ibid. [i] Gazette.

WHEN

CHAP. VI.

1685.

WHEN his phyſicians deſpaired of the life of the King, they ſent for the Queen. He was in his perfect ſenſes when ſhe arrived. Throwing herſelf on her knees, ſhe aſked his pardon for all her offences. He replied, that ſhe had offended in nothing; but that he had been guilty of offences againſt her, and he aſked her pardon. He ſpoke with great affection to the Duke of York. He expreſſed his ſorrow for having ſent him ſo often abroad. He gave him excellent counſel for his future conduct. He adviſed him to adhere to the laws with ſtrictneſs, and to ſupport the church of England with undeviating firmneſs [k]. The Duke ſeemed anxious to convince him, before he died, how little he intended to follow his advice. Having removed the biſhops and ſeveral lords, who attended by the bed of the King, he ſent for Huddleſton, a Romiſh prieſt. In the preſence of the Duke, the Earl of Bath, and Trevanion, a captain in the guards, Huddleſton gave the extreme unction to the King, and adminiſtered to him the ſacrament, according to the rites of the church of Rome. All this was done in the ſpace of half an hour. The doors were then thrown open. Six prelates, who had before attended the King, were ſent for to give him the ſacrament. Kenn, biſhop of Bath and Wells, read the Viſitation of the Sick; and, after the King ſaid that he repented of his ſins, the Abſolution. That prelate then adminiſtered the ſacrament. The King aſſiſted, with ſeeming devotion, at the ſervice; but his mouth being diſtorted with fits, and his throat contracted, he could not ſwallow the elements. He, however, profeſſed his earneſt deſire, and his ſatisfaction in the church of England [l]. His behaviour

BUT a ſhow of devotion in the laſt moments of life, brings no deciſive proof of any man's faith. When the body is debilitated with diſeaſe, the mind becomes ſuſceptible of every impreſſion of a ſpiritual kind. The attention of Charles to Huddleſton, is not inconſiſtent with his joining Dr. Kenn in the ſervice of the in his laſt moments.

[k] James II. [l] MS.

CHAP. VI. 1685.

church of England. In the full vigour of his conſtitution, he was probably attached to no particular religion; though motives of policy induced him to conform ſtrictly to the faith eſtabliſhed by law. To the church of Rome he was certainly never reconciled; if his acceptance of the ſacrament from a prieſt, when his underſtanding was enfeebled by the approach of death, may not be conſtrued into an error of that kind. The papers found by his brother in his ſtrong box, and which that miſguided Prince publiſhed ſoon after, furniſh no evidence of a change in his faith. They were not of his hand-writing. They were known to have been delivered to him, at the inſtance of ſome Roman Catholics, by Lord Bleſſington, who, as an object of ridicule, had acceſs to his perſon, from his being the author of a fooliſh play [m]. He had produced the papers frequently to ſome of his courtiers, to excite laughter, by expoſing with poignant ſatire and wit the abſurd poſitions which they contained [n]. The Duke of York was no ſtranger to this circumſtance; yet he conveyed to the world the papers, as containing the ſentiments of the King upon the ſubject of religion. He had certainly expreſſed frequently to the Duke his predilection for the Romiſh faith. But that circumſtance proceeded more from his opinion of the convenience of that ſyſtem of religion, than from ſentiments of devotion.

Reflections

THE character of Charles the Second, like the tranſactions of his reign, has aſſumed various appearances, in proportion to the paſſions and prejudices of different writers. The nation being long divided into two parties, hiſtory became an engine of faction, more than the vehicle of truth. The adherents of the crown, the favourers of the ſucceſſion in the ancient line, have covered acts of folly and inſtances of deſpotiſm with panegyric. The ſupporters of the Revolution have done their beſt to injure their own cauſe, by ſuppoſing that it required to be juſtified by the miſrepre-

[m] MS. anecdotes. Carte's papers.

[n] Ibid.

ſentations

CHAP. VI. 1685.

ſentations and fictions of party. To ſteer between the two extremes is the direct path to truth, in the character of this Prince and the hiſtory of his reign. To affirm that he was a great and good King, would be as unjuſt as to allege that he was deſtitute of all virtue, and a bloody and inhuman tyrant. The lines of his mind have been already traced with ſome preciſion. His political conduct has been occaſionally examined, as the facts aroſe. The indolence of his diſpoſition, and the diſſipation occaſioned by his pleaſures, as they were at firſt the ſource of his misfortunes, became afterwards the ſafety of the nation. Had he joined the ambition of power, and the perſeverance and attention of his brother, to his own inſinuating and engaging addreſs, he might have ſecured his own reputation with writers, by enſlaving them with the nation.

on the private

In his perſon he was tall and well-made. His complexion was dark; the lines of his face ſtrong and harſh, when ſingly traced; but when his features were comprehended in one view, they appeared dignified, and even pleaſing. In the motions of his perſon he was eaſy, graceful, and firm. His conſtitution was ſtrong, and communicated an active vigour to all his limbs. Though a lover of eaſe of mind, he was fond of bodily exerciſe. He roſe early, he walked much, he mixed with the meaneſt of his ſubjects, and joined in their converſation, without diminiſhing his own dignity, or raiſing their preſumption. He was acquainted with many perſons in the lower ſtations of life. He captivated them with ſprightly turns of humour, and with a kind of good-natured wit, which rendered them pleaſed with themſelves. His guards only attended him upon public occaſions. He took the air frequently, in company with a ſingle friend; and though crowds followed him, it was more from a wiſh to attract his notice than from an idle curioſity. When evidence of deſigns againſt his life was daily exhibited before the courts of juſtice, he changed not his manner of appearing in public. It was ſoon after

CHAP. VI. 1685.

after the Rye-houſe plot was diſcovered, he is ſaid to have been ſevere on his brother's character, when he exhibited a ſtriking feature of his own. The Duke returning from hunting with his guards, found the King one day in Hyde-park. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe how his Majeſty could venture his perſon alone at ſuch a perilous time. "James," replied the King, "take you care of yourſelf, and I am ſafe. No man in England will kill ME to make YOU King."

character of Charles.

WHEN he was oppoſed with moſt violence in parliament, he continued the moſt popular man in the kingdom. His good-breeding as a gentleman, overcame the opinion conceived of his faults as a King. His affability, his eaſy addreſs, his attention to the very prejudices of the people, rendered him independent of all the arts of his enemies to inflame the vulgar. Their inexpreſſible affection for his perſon, upon the diſcovery of the intended aſſaſſination at the Rye-houſe, contributed much more than the management of his party to lay the conſtitution in ruins at his feet. He is ſaid, and with reaſon, to have died opportunely for his country. Had his life extended to the number of years which the ſtrength of his conſtitution ſeemed to promiſe, the nation would have loſt all memory of their liberties in his popularity. Had he even ſurvived his brother, England would have gradually dropt into that tranquil but humiliating deſpotiſm which now prevails over moſt of the nations of Europe. Had his fate placed Charles the Second in theſe latter times, when influence ſupplies the place of obvious power, when the crown has ceaſed to be diſtreſſed through the channel of its neceſſities, when the repreſentatives of the people, in granting ſupplies for the public ſervice, provide for themſelves, his want of ambition would have precluded the jealouſy, and his popular qualities ſecured the utmoſt admiration of his ſubjects. His gallantry itſelf would be conſtrued into ſpirit, in an age where decency is only an improvement on vice.

CHAP.

JAMES THE SECOND.

CHAP. VII.

State of opinions.——King's popular declaration.——He continues the expired revenue.——His conduct at home,—and towards foreign powers.——Domeſtic affairs.——A parliament.——Their ſubmiſſive proceedings.——Settlement of the revenue.——The Prince of Orange encourages an invaſion.——His conduct to Monmouth.——Affairs of Scotland.——Rebellion, defeat, and execution of Argyle.——Monmouth's expedition.——His progreſs, defeat, and death.——Severities in the Weſt.——Jefferys made chancellor.——Execution of Corniſh.——Great power of the King.——A parliament.——Criminals of diſtinction pardoned.——King's religious views.——Affairs of Ireland.——Character of Sunderland.——A ſecret Popiſh cabinet.——Affairs of Scotland.——Hales's caſe.——Diſpenſing power.——King favours Papiſts.——Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.——Biſhop of London ſuſpended.——Encampment at Hounſlow.——Imprudence of James.——Affairs of Ireland.——Schemes of the Prince of Orange.——Foreign affairs.——Reflections.——Papiſts promoted.——Indulgence in Scotland.——The ſame in England.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——An attempt on Cambridge.——The affair of Magdalen college.——Parliament diſſolved.——King's progreſs.——He courts the Diſſenters.——Proceedings againſt Magdalen college.——Reflections.——Queen with child.——Surmiſes of an impoſture.

impoſture.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——James inſulted by the Dutch.——Indulgence renewed.——Biſhops petition.——They are committed to the Tower.——Birth of a Prince.——Biſhops acquitted.

CHAP. VII.

1685. February. State of opinions.

THE period in which James the Second mounted the throne of his anceſtors was ſuitable to that height of the prerogative which he always loved. His enemies had been already ſubdued by their own folly. The victory of the crown was deciſive, as it had been obtained through the changed opinions of the people. The objections againſt his political principles, the terrors entertained of his religious zeal, had loſt, in ſome meaſure, their effect, as they were firſt raiſed by a party now fallen into diſgrace, as well as ruin. Even his being the laſt male of his family carried the tenderneſs of many into a forgetfulneſs of his faults. Beſides, his own character and deportment were favourable to high expectations from his conduct. Habituated to application, and accuſtomed to buſineſs, he had been always eſteemed by the trading part of an induſtrious nation; and, though ſtately, being well-bred, and attentive in his addreſs, he was reſpected where he was not loved. The decency of his manners recommended him to the virtuous. His obſtinacy, which was miſtaken for firmneſs, flattered the hopes of the royaliſts with a deciſiveneſs of meaſures, which had been long baniſhed from the fluctuating councils of the former reign.

King's popular declaration.

THE firſt tranſactions of James were anſwerable to the warm expectations of his friends. Having aſſembled the privy-council on the day of the late King's death, he addreſſed them in a ſpeech highly ſuitable to his own condition and the ſtate of the nation. Having beſtowed ſome commendations on his brother's memory, he aſſured them, that he would endeavour to follow the example of his great tenderneſs and clemency to his people. He

had been reported, he informed them, to be a man of arbitrary principles; "but that," he continued, "is not the only ſtory that has been told of ME." He promiſed to make it his endeavour to preſerve the government in church and ſtate, as then eſtabliſhed by law. He approved of the principles of the church of England. He acknowledged her attachment to monarchy. He engaged himſelf to ſupport her in her preſent doctrines and rights. He told them, that he was not ignorant that the laws of England were ſufficient to make the King as great a monarch as he could wiſh; and that as he was reſolved not to depart from the juſt rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was determined never to invade the property of the ſubject. He had often ventured his life, he ſaid, in defence of the nation, and he promiſed ſtill to go as far as any man in preſerving all their juſt rights and their liberties[a]. CHAP. VII. 1685.

THIS declaration was received with the utmoſt ſatisfaction by the council, and afterwards by the nation. The friends of James expreſſed their exultations with intemperate joy. His enemies, if not ſatisfied, were ſilent. The King at the ſame time iſſued a proclamation, that all perſons in offices under government ſhould continue to exerciſe their functions till his Majeſty's further pleaſure. In honour of his brother's memory, he ordered in the ſame paper, that all his ſubjects ſhould yield implicit obedience to all the orders and directions iſſued by his late Majeſty. But the ſtate of the revenue was of more importance, and demanded moſt of his care. The tonnage and poundage, the cuſtoms and exciſe in part, had been granted only for the life of the late King, therefore could not be legally levied without the authority of parliament. To remit thoſe duties till a parliament ſhould be called would at once hurt the fair trader and injure the crown. The Proclamation concerning the expired revenue.

[a] Printed declaration.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

merchants who had their warehouſes full of goods for which cuſtom had been paid, would be underſold in all the markets by thoſe who now ſhould pay no duties. The lord-keeper North propoſed, that the duties, as formerly, ſhould be collected and ſet apart in the Exchequer until the next ſeſſion of parliament. The violent councils of Jefferys were more ſuitable to the principles of the King. He iſſued a proclamation, ordering the uſual payment of the expired branches to be made, as "he had no doubt that care ſhould be taken by the parliament, which he had juſt thought fit to call, for ſettling a ſufficient revenue on the crown for the ſervice of government [b]." Though this in fact was levying money by the prerogative, it appears to have met with the approbation of the nation, as far as the moſt ſervile addreſſes deſerve any faith.

Promotions.

ON the ninth of February, James continued in their places, by new commiſſions, the great officers of ſtate. None of thoſe who had ſerved the late King were removed, unleſs appointed to offices of higher truſt. The Earl of Rocheſter, lord preſident of the council, being conſtituted lord-high-treaſurer of England, received, on the ſixteenth of February, the white ſtaff from the hands of the King [c]. The Marquis of Halifax, though known to have formerly been no friend to the King when Duke of York, was declared lord preſident, in the room of the Earl of Rocheſter. The impreſſion which the able conduct of that nobleman, againſt the bill of excluſion, had made on the mind of James, was not obliterated by his oppoſition in the cabinet againſt his views during the latter years of his brother's reign. When Halifax attempted to make an apology for his conduct, the King is reported to have ſaid, "that he forgot all the paſt, except his behaviour with regard to the bill of excluſion." This forgiving temper in James was, however, much circumſcribed. When the

[b] Feb. 9, 1685.

[c] Kennet, vol. iii. James II. 1685.

principal

principal excluſioniſts came to pay their reſpects, they are ſaid to have been received with indifference, or treated with coldneſs. This might be ſuitable to the ſincerity which he affected to poſſeſs, but it ſcarce ſeemed conſiſtent with prudence. But their ſpirits were ſo much broken, that ſeverity, inſtead of rouſing, depreſſed their minds.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

THOUGH the prior conduct of the Earl of Sunderland, to which James was no ſtranger, merited no favour at his hands, that lord found means, by the influence of others, to continue in his office of ſecretary of ſtate[d]. The late King had formed a reſolution to ſend the Earl of Clarendon, as lord-lieutenant, to Ireland, and to give the treaſurer's ſtaff to his brother, the Earl of Rocheſter. Sunderland, having obtained ſecret intelligence that the preſent King was determined to purſue the ſame meaſures, waited upon Rocheſter, who had been his political enemy, and made the moſt artful advances to gain his friendſhip. He told him, that though it had been his misfortune to differ with him formerly, it was the effect of the times, and not his inclination. But that as he had ever the greateſt eſteem for his perſon, he would now endeavour to ſhow it, by uſing ſome ſecret intereſt which he poſſeſſed, that he might be made lord-treaſurer and his brother lieutenant of Ireland. Rocheſter, knowing the intriguing addreſs of Sunderland, gave ſome credit to his tale of ſecret influence. He aſked the King for what he had reſolved to give before; and thus, in gratitude of the ſuppoſed favour of Sunderland, Rocheſter did him the real ſervice of continuing him in his place. This artifice produced afterwards the ruin of James. Sunderland was in the pay, confidence, and ſchemes of the Prince of Orange[e]. He led his maſter into meaſures to which he was himſelf inclined through

Artifice of Sunderland.

[d] James II. 1685.

[e] D'Avaux, paſſim.

bigotry.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

bigotry. The nation was offended; and the Prince obtained the great object of his ambition, the Engliſh throne [e].

King's conduct at home,

THE conduct of the King, excluſive of religion, merited every praiſe. He applied himſelf with unremitting attention to buſineſs, he managed his revenue, he retrenched ſuperfluous expences, he was zealous for the glory of the nation. He endeavoured to expel vice from the court, and to reſtore decency and morality. He was himſelf at the head of all his affairs. He preſided daily at the council, at the boards of admiralty and treaſury. He even entered into the whole detail of the concerns of all the great departments of the ſtate. But his bigotry for the Romiſh faith ſullied all his good qualities, and rendered him feared for his violence where he was not deſpiſed for his weakneſs. When he firſt mounted the throne, he declared himſelf a catholic; as if his ſincerity in avowing his principles could atone for his profeſſing a faith which his ſubjects abhorred. He went publickly to maſs with the Queen. He even had the imprudence to urge others to follow his example, and to adopt his religious opinions. This unaccountable weakneſs being once perceived, he became the dupe of deſigning men, by an uncommon ſpecies of flattery. To pretend to be converted by his arguments, was to enſure his protection and favour. He received the ſuppoſed converts into his confidence. He gave them an abſolute dominion over his mind. In defiance of all remonſtrances he followed their advice, which at length terminated in his ruin [f].

and with regard to foreign powers.

THOUGH James pretended to ſupport in public the dignity of the nation againſt France, he is ſaid to have very early entered privately into her pay. The emptineſs of the exchequer when he

[e] James II. 1685.

[f] Carte's Ormonde, vol. iii.

acceded

CHAP. VII. 1685.

acceded to the throne, in ſpite of his management and œconomy, threw him into difficulties and diſtreſs. A remittance of the pitiful ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds, was a timely relief to his neceſſities[g]; and was received with joy. Though he was from principle no friend to the aggrandizement of Lewis the Fourteenth, he was afraid to offend that monarch in the preſent ſtate of his affairs. In the Prince of Orange he already dreaded a formidable rival. He was no ſtranger to the views of his ambition. He was offended at the protection which he afforded to Monmouth. As the intereſt of the Prince and the Duke could never be the ſame, the former was ſuſpected of encouraging troubles to his uncle, to derive advantage to himſelf from the confuſion. But as it was dangerous to break with the Prince, for fear of giving a formidable head to the malecontents in England, James, notwithſtanding his boaſted ſincerity, was forced to diſſemble his fears. He ſpoke publickly of his reſolution of living in confidence with his nephew, and to form a political connexion with the States of Holland. He affected to treat the King of France with a punctilious ſtatelineſs. When he ſent the Lord Churchill to announce his brother's death to Lewis, he commanded him to obſerve with attention the ceremonies with which he was received. The ſame forms were obſerved with a ſcrupulous exactneſs to the Mareſchal de Lorge, ſent with an anſwer to England by the court of France[h].

Domeſtic affairs.

THE œconomy of James was certainly laudable; but it threw an appearance of meanneſs on ſome of his meaſures. The late King, to whoſe firmneſs he owed his throne, was buried with little pomp; and his own coronation, on the twenty-third of April, was a ceremony neither expenſive nor magnificent. His interference in matters of little conſequence, was deemed beneath the dignity of his ſtation. The inferior detail of the public buſi-

[g] Dalrymple's Append. 1685. [h] Kennet. Publications of the Times.

neſs,

CHAP. VII. 1685.

neſs, was thought too extenſive to be minutely known by a Prince who poſſeſſed talents to guide the great concerns of the kingdom. But had James turned only his attention to the executive part of government, his conduct, inſtead of meeting cenſure, might have merited applauſe. But it was not to that department alone that the King is ſaid to have confined himſelf. He is even ſuppoſed to have extended his influence to the adminiſtration of public juſtice. The ſevere proſecution of two noted criminals was at this time aſcribed, with ſome juſtice, to his memory of former injuries. Otes, who had been virtually condemned to perpetual impriſonment in the preceding ſummer, by the enormous fine of one hundred thouſand pounds, was tried on two indictments for perjury on the eighth of May. Though few entertained any doubt of his guilt, his puniſhment was deemed ſevere. He was adjudged to ſtand thrice in the pillory, to be twice whipped, to be impriſoned for life, and to ſtand five times in the pillory every year. Dangerfield, the author of the meal-tub-plot, received ſentence to ſtand twice in the pillory, to be whipped twice, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. The ſentence of each was executed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But though nothing could be deemed too hard for ſuch profligate men, the diſtance of the puniſhment from the crime rendered them objects of pity in the eyes of the world[i].

A parliament.

THE neceſſity of poſſeſſing a ſtanding revenue, had induced James to call a parliament ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne. The diſuſe of that aſſembly for more than four years, rendered the meaſure extremely agreeable to the nation. The ſurrender of the charters of the boroughs, threw a great weight with regard to elections in the ſcale of the crown. But though James and his ſervants may be ſuppoſed to have uſed all the influence of govern-

[i] Publications of the Times.

ment, the moſt of thoſe members who had ſignalized themſelves in favour of the bill of excluſion were returned to the new parliament. No oppoſition, however, was either expected by the enemies of the King, or feared by his friends. The ſpirit of the oppoſing party was ſubdued. The opinions of the people had deſerted them with their good fortune. Beſides, the character of the preſent King was extremely diſſimilar to that of his brother. Charles was ever willing to purchaſe eaſe by conceſſions. But the obſtinate temper of James was known. None expected that he would yield in any thing to an aſſembly whom he, in ſome degree, conſidered as enemies, on account of former injuries.

Proceedings of the commons.

THE parliament having met on the nineteenth of May at Weſtminſter, the King made a ſpeech from the throne. He repeated to the two houſes the declaration which had already given ſo much ſatisfaction to the nation. He requeſted the commons to grant him for life the ſame revenue which his brother enjoyed. He obviated a popular argument, which might be urged againſt his demand, in a manner more ſuitable to the violence of his principles than conſiſtent with prudence. "Men may think," ſaid he, "that by feeding me from time to time with ſuch ſupplies as they may think convenient, they will better ſecure the frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the throne, I will anſwer this argument once for all. I will plainly tell you, that ſuch an expedient would be very improper to employ with ME; and that the beſt way to engage me to meet you often, is always to uſe me well."

Revenue ſettled.

THIS authoritative tone, inſtead of rouſing the reſentment of the commons, ſeemed to impreſs them with terror. Without debate, they returned their hearty thanks to the King for his moſt gracious ſpeech. Without one diſſenting voice, they reſolved that the revenue enjoyed by the late King ſhould be ſettled for life on

CHAP. VII. 1685.

his preſent Majeſty. Their ready compliance, however, muſt not be aſcribed altogether to timidity. Two rebellions threatened the kingdom; and the refuſal of a requeſt, deemed by the nation reaſonable, might in ſome meaſure juſtify the King for ſeeking in the prerogative the relief which parliament ſhould deny. But the complaiſance with which the ſeſſion began, continued to its end. The commons, upon receiving information of the deſcent of the Earl of Argyle in the weſt of Scotland, voted to ſupport the King, againſt all rebels and traitors, with their lives and fortunes. This pliant diſpoſition ſoothed the auſterity of James into mildneſs. He made anſwer, "that he relied on their aſſurances, which were the natural effects of their being monarchical and church of England-men." He told them, "that he would ſtand by all ſuch; and that, ſupported by them, he had no reaſon to fear either rebels at home, or enemies abroad."

A vote about religion.

BUT notwithſtanding this complaiſance to the King, the commons were not altogether negligent of their duty to the nation. A motion was made to conſider of a proper ſecurity for the proteſtant religion; and, upon a debate, the affair was referred to a committee. The committee were unanimous in their opinion, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the King, to put the laws in execution againſt diſſenters of all denominations. When the report was made to the houſe, a debate aroſe, whether they ſhould concur with the committee. Some members urged, that votes of this ſort tended to alarm the nation, and to raiſe doubts againſt the honour of the King, who had ſolemnly promiſed to defend the eſtabliſhed religion. Others argued, that during an open rebellion in the neighbouring kingdom, a meaſure in itſelf proper, would be extremely ill-timed, as it would, in ſome degree, juſtify the pretended fears of the inſurgents on the article of religion. The votes of the committee were rejected in their preſent form; and the houſe came to a remarkable reſolution, which was preſented

CHAP. VII. 1685.

ſented by way of addreſs to the King. They reſolved, that they acquieſced, entirely relied, and reſted wholly ſatisfied in his Majeſty's moſt gracious word, to ſupport the church of England, which was dearer to them than their lives [k].

A ſupply voted.

On the thirtieth of May, the King ſent a meſſage to the commons to demand a ſupply. He repreſented the neceſſity of buying ſtores for the navy and ordnance, of removing the anticipations on the revenue, of paying the debts due to the late King's family and ſervants, and for quaſhing the rebellion in Scotland. He recommended to them above all, "the navy, the ſtrength and glory of the nation." He urged them to place the fleet in ſuch a condition as to render it conſidered abroad and reſpected at home. He aſſured them, "that he could not expreſs his thoughts more ſuitable to themſelves, than by telling them, that he had a true Engliſh heart, zealous for the honour of the nation, which he hoped to carry higher in the world than any of his anceſtors." He told them, "that as he would never call for ſupplies but when they ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary, he promiſed to manage them with good huſbandry, and to employ them faithfully to the uſe for which they ſhould be demanded." The houſe, with the utmoſt readineſs, voted the ſupply required [l]. They reſolved to lay an impoſt on wines and vinegar for eight years. This tax had been granted to the late King; but having expired during the bad humours of a former parliament, it was not renewed. This acceſſion of revenue, under the ſtrict œconomy of James, rendered the crown independent of parliament [m].

Proceedings of the lords.

The lords yielded not to the commons either in expreſſions of loyalty, or inſtances of obedience to the King. They concurred in the addreſs of thanks. They paſſed the money-bill without

[k] May 27. [l] May 30. [m] James II.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

any amendment. They addreſſed againſt Argyle. The King, in his anſwer, expreſſed his gratitude to the houſe for their rejecting the bill of excluſion. He endeavoured to convince them, that their ſtrict adherence to the crown was the beſt means to ſupport the importance of their own order. Inſtead of animadverting on the judges who had admitted the impeached lords to bail, they liſtened to the petition of the Earl of Danby and the three Popiſh lords, who requeſted to be diſmiſſed from proſecution. Upon a queſtion, whether the order of the houſe of lords, of the nineteenth of March 1679, ſhould be reverſed and annulled, it was carried almoſt unanimouſly in the affirmative. Four lords proteſted againſt the reſolution, more on account of its irregularity, than from any wiſh of renewing their former violence. Of matters of religion ſcarce any mention was made in the houſe of lords. The word of the King, upon which the commons ſo implicitly relied, was never queſtioned at all by the peers [n].

The Prince of Orange

WHILST every thing ſubmitted in tranquillity to James at home, a ſtorm was gathering abroad to diſturb his repoſe. The Prince of Orange, who had, ever ſince the propoſed excluſion of his uncle, raiſed his hopes to the Engliſh throne, had lately, in a great meaſure, ſacrificed his natural caution to the reſentment which aroſe from a diſappointment in his views. When the Duke of Monmouth had fallen, in the beginning of the preceding year, under the diſpleaſure of King Charles, he retired abroad; and was, ſoon after, received with high marks of diſtinction by the Prince of Orange. Though the King of England had commanded ſuch of his ſubjects as were in the ſervice of the States of Holland to ſhew no reſpect to Monmouth, the Prince ordered them, under pain of diſmiſſion, to give him the ſame honours as to their general, the Count of Waldeck. He invited him, with ſeveral of the Engliſh exiles, to one of his hunting-ſeats. He ordered, that he

[n] Kennet, Ralph, &c.

ſhould

CHAP. VII.

1685.

ſhould be received at Nimeguen with extraordinary and extravagant honours. The Duke of York, apprehenſive of ſome deſign, wrote to his daughter to complain of her huſband's conduct. But her eaſy temper had been already ſubdued. She ſhed tears on her father's letter: but ſhe ſaid, that the Prince was her maſter, and he was poſitive, and muſt be obeyed. The Prince improved on his civilities to Monmouth, with high ſymptoms of regret for his unfortunate friends. He reprimanded with the utmoſt ſeverity, he threatened with the vengeance of the Duke himſelf, the bailiff of Leyden, who had delivered Sir Thomas Armſtrong into the hands of the Engliſh reſident, in the preceding May [o].

encourages

THE Prince carried his favour for Monmouth into a pitch inconſiſtent with the common gravity of his own manners. He forced the Princeſs, his wife, to receive with uncommon marks of honour a young lady of quality, who publickly paſſed for the miſtreſs of the Duke. Though beyond meaſure jealous in his diſpoſition, he obliged her to receive viſits, when alone, from Monmouth. He permitted the Duke, every day after dinner, to teach her country-dances in her private apartments. He even obliged her to learn to ſkate on the ice, becauſe Monmouth loved that amuſement. An extraordinary ſight! A Princeſs of Mary's decency and virtue, with her petticoats tucked up half-way to her waiſt, with iron pattens on her feet, learning to ſlide, ſometimes on one foot, ſometimes on the other [p]. The Prince even diveſted himſelf of the uſual auſterity of his deportment to pleaſe his gueſt. Though aſthmatic by conſtitution, and inactive through the feebleneſs of an ungraceful form, he ſometimes ſpent a part of the evening in dancing with ſome ladies of his family and the Duke of Monmouth. He carried the appearance of his affection ſo far, that he ſcarce beſtowed any favours but through the Duke's interceſſion. He was indulged with the ſame leave with Bentinck, to

[o] D'Avaux. [p] Ibid.

enter

CHAP. VII. 1685.

enter his chamber at all hours; and he was ſo generally deemed a favourite, that the world paid, through him, their whole court to the Prince [q].

an invaſion

THE Prince of Orange, from the concluſion of the truce of Ratiſbon till the demiſe of Charles, ſeemed to hold at open defiance the court of England. When he received the news of the death of that Prince, he made a public ſhew of changing his tone, though in private he kept a cloſe intelligence with Monmouth. Though James only notified his brother's death in a cold and barren letter of a few lines, the Prince affected to be on the beſt terms with his father-in-law. He read a fictitious paper to his court [r]. He informed all, that the King of England had entertained a diſguſt againſt France; that he had deprived the Duke of Richmond of his place, removed the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth from court, and refuſed to ſee Barillon, except at audiences demanded in form. The ſtatelineſs of James to the Mareſchal de Lorges he endeavoured to conſtrue into a ſettled averſion in that Prince to the French King; and all this to intimidate the city of Amſterdam, who obſtructed his meaſures through a fear of his power. He gave out, that he wrote to the King of England, that he deemed him his lawful ſovereign, but that he hoped to be conſidered as his firſt ſubject. He excuſed his own former conduct. He laid the blame on the times. He promiſed to adapt his own meaſures to his Majeſty's pleaſure. He flattered him on his generoſity, his ſteadineſs of councils, his experience in affairs. He affirmed, that it was not for intereſt he made uſe of this language; that he deſired no particular advantage; that he only wanted his good graces; and that he hoped ſo great a King would not ſuffer a Prince, who had the honour of marrying his eldeſt daughter, to be baffled and ruined by France [s].

[q] D'Avaux. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid.

CHAP. VII.

1685. under Monmouth and Argyle.

WHILE the Prince was making theſe profeſſions to James, the Engliſh and Scotiſh fugitives were, under his ſecret protection, forming extravagant ſchemes. Monmouth met the Earl of Argyle at Rotterdam on the twenty-fourth of February, juſt four days after intelligence of the late King's death was received. Having concerted the plan, they endeavoured to provide themſelves privately with the means of invaſion. The generoſity of the Prince equalled not his profeſſed zeal for the ſervice of Monmouth. The unfortunate Duke derived from his own plate and jewels his whole treaſure for proſecuting the war. The enthuſiaſm of a rich widow ſupplied Argyle with ten thouſand pounds. He purchaſed with that ſum three veſſels, which he loaded with ammunition and arms. Monmouth, from his want of money, was more ſlow in his preparations. Though he correſponded with Bentinck, though Odyck, the other favourite of the Prince of Orange, was in his ſecret, leſs real aid than verbal encouragement came from that quarter. The refugees, in the mean time, repaired to Amſterdam. Skelton, who ſucceeded Chudleigh as reſident from the court of England, was at length alarmed. He applied to the States and the Prince of Orange to put an embargo on Argyle's veſſels, which ſtill lay in the Texel. The Prince amuſed Skelton for a whole day on an affair which required the utmoſt diſpatch [s]. An order was at length obtained; but it was defeated by the Prince, in whoſe department, as admiral, the execution of it lay. Argyle, appriſed of his danger, put to ſea, and directed his courſe to Scotland, having obtained a promiſe from Monmouth to ſail for England in ten days [t].

Affairs of Scotland.

BUT the authority of James was too firmly eſtabliſhed in Scotland to be ſhaken by the meditated deſcent of Argyle. Four days after his brother's death, he was proclaimed with great ſolemnity at Edinburgh, by order of the privy-council. The King fol-

[s] D'Avaux. [t] Ralph, Kennet, et Auct. citat. paſſim.

lowed

CHAP. VII. 1685.

lowed the ſame policy which he had found to be ſucceſsful in England. All officers were continued in their places. The meaſures of government ſuffered no material change. A parliament met on the twenty-ninth of April; at which the Duke of Queenſberry preſided, as Lord High Commiſſioner. Principles of unlimited obedience to the power, and even to the deſpotiſm of the crown, were expreſſed in the anſwer of the parliament to the letter of the King. They ſignified their abhorrence of the authors of paſt rebellions and conſpiracies. They diſclaimed all poſitions derogatory to the King's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute power. They recognized their former act and declaration, which, to uſe their own words, aſſerted the juſt and legal ſucceſſion of the SACRED LINE, as unalterable by any human juriſdictions. They offered, in the name of the nation, to ſupport with their lives and fortunes their preſent monarch and his lawful heirs in the poſſeſſion of the crown and its prerogatives, againſt all mortal men [u].

Invaſion.

JAMES, apprized of an intended invaſion from Holland under Argyle, had given orders to the privy-council in Scotland to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence. A proclamation was iſſued, on the firſt day of the meeting of parliament, commanding all the militia of the eaſtern counties, and all able to bear arms in the north, to keep themſelves in readineſs to take the field. The Marquis of Athol was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of the county of Argyle; being deemed, from an hereditary feud, the moſt proper perſon to oppoſe the Earl in the territories of his retainers and friends. Argyle having ſailed from the Vly on the ſecond of May, was ſoon carried to the coaſt of Scotland by favourable winds. Having landed in the iſland of Mull with his friends, he paſſed from thence to Kintyre and his other eſtates. Some of his former vaſſals by inclination, and ſeveral through terror, joined his ſtandard; and he found himſelf, in a few days, at the

[u] Woodrow, Burnet, Letter of the Parl.

head

head of two thouſand men. He publiſhed two declarations; one in the name of his adherents, and another in his own. The grievances of the nation were enumerated in the firſt with ſome juſtice, though exaggerated. In the ſecond, the Earl explained his own preſent views, and the injuſtice of his paſt ſufferings. He declared againſt the right of the Duke of York to the throne, as being excluded from the ſucceſſion by the commons of England. He avowedly diſclaimed all bonds of ſubjection to his authority. He declared hoſtilities againſt him and his adherents. He promiſed never to enter into any treaty or capitulation with the preſent government. He affirmed, that the unalterable deſign of himſelf and his party, was to reſtore and ſettle the Proteſtant religion, to ſuppreſs and perpetually exclude Popery, and its bitter root and ſpring, Prelacy; to indemnify all thoſe who had ſuffered for their adherence to their liberties and religion [x].

CHAP. VII. 1685.

But neither the fortune nor the conduct of Argyle were anſwerable to the ſpirit and pomp of his declarations. Oppoſed in his councils by his friends, ſurrounded by a rabble unaccuſtomed to authority and unacquainted with war, he loitered in Kintyre, when he ought to have rouſed the ſpirit of his adherents by action. The vigour of government was equal to the negligence of the rebels. Two men of war took, with little reſiſtance, the ſhips of Argyle. They ſeized the caſtle of Ellingreg, where he had depoſited his arms. The Marquis of Athol had entered his country with a ſuperior force of militia. The Earl of Dumbarton, with the regular troops, advanced upon him with haſty march. The Lord Charles Murray hovered on his right with three troops of dragoons. The Duke of Gordon, with another body, hung cloſe on his left. Reduced to difficulties in his mountains, he endeavoured to force his way to the low-country. He croſſed the river Leven, in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; but the enemy cut

defeat,

[x] Journals of the commons.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

off his proviſions. His followers gradually deſerted. Thoſe who remained ſuffered all the hardſhips of famine. In this diſtreſs he turned his route toward Galloway. He paſſed the Clyde, and arrived at Renfrew; and, upon his departure from that place, he and his few adherents, either by the ignorance or treachery of guides, were miſled into a bog. Confuſion, terror, and flight prevailed. Each perſon provided for himſelf, and their commander was left alone [y].

and execution of Argyle.

HAVING wandered through unknown paths and private ways, the unfortunate Earl returned toward the Clyde. Night, which had hitherto covered his flight, forſook him near the banks of that river; and he was perceived and purſued by two peaſants. His horſe, ſpent with fatigue, could not carry him beyond their ſpeed. He alighted, and ran into the water almoſt up to the neck. He was followed by one of the peaſants. The Earl endeavoured to ſhoot him; but his piſtol miſſed fire. The countryman gave him a blow on the head. He fell, and, by an exclamation of grief, betrayed his quality and his name. He was firſt carried to Glaſgow, then conveyed to Edinburgh, with every mark of ignominy and diſgrace. His hands were bound behind; his head was bare. The executioner walked before him with his ax. Having been urged in vain to confeſs, he was beheaded, after a few days, upon his former ſentence. He ſuffered with that calmneſs and ſerenity which attend men of courage in the laſt extreme. Rumbold, the maſter of the Rye-houſe, and Ayloffe the lawyer, were the only perſons of the Engliſh fugitives who followed the fortunes of Argyle. The firſt, after a ſtout reſiſtance, was taken and hanged. The latter endeavoured to diſappoint his enemies, by ſtabbing himſelf. He, however, recovered of his wounds. He was carried to London, in hopes of making diſcoveries; but being of a ſullen and obſtinate temper, he treated ill the King

[y] Woodrow, Ralph, Hume, Burnet.

himſelf, and ſuffered with his friends. The inſurrection in Scotland was quelled with little bloodſhed. Very few fell in the field. The moſt of the followers of Argyle, by diſperſing themſelves, eſcaped. Thoſe who fell into the hands of the government, were pardoned and diſmiſſed.

THE Duke of Monmouth, in conſequence of his promiſe to Argyle, left Amſterdam, on the twenty-fourth of May, in a ſmall ſhallop, and directed his courſe to the mouth of the Texel, where his ſhips lay at anchor. His whole fleet conſiſted of a frigate of thirty-two guns and two tenders, the largeſt of which was ſcarce more than one hundred tons in burden. Obſtructed by contrary winds, he was five days on his way to his friends; and when he arrived, he found his frigate under an arreſt by the States. But the Prince of Orange was admiral; and he knew that, to pleaſe him, he ought to break through his commands. On the thirtieth he weighed, and ſtood to ſea, in the midſt of a ſtorm. The wind continued contrary during his whole paſſage. The attention of Holland, and the anxiety of England, were raiſed by his voyage, which laſted ten days. The miniſters at the Hague [z] prayed for Monmouth, under the borrowed title of the captain of the ſhip; and their zeal has been aſcribed to the intereſt which the Prince of Orange ſeemed to take in the cauſe of the Duke. But the inſufficiency of the ſuccours which he afforded to the unfortunate invader, proved that he wiſhed more for diſturbances in England, than for his ſucceſs. He is, however, ſaid to have kept up a correſpondence with the Duke, through his favourites, till he declared himſelf King [a]. The great object of the Prince of Orange was, to render himſelf neceſſary to the King of England [b], through the progreſs of Monmouth. He even offered his ſervice to James [c]; but that Prince choſe to encounter his enemies alone, rather than to truſt ſuch a friend in his kingdom, at the head of a regular force.

Expedition of Monmouth.

[z] D'Avaux. [a] D'Avaux, vol. iii. [b] Ibid. [c] Dalrymple's Append.

CHAP. VII.

1685.

He lands at Lime;

MONMOUTH landed near Lime, in the county of Dorſet, in the evening of the ninth of June[d]. Having marſhalled about eighty perſons, who were in his train, on the ſand, he marched into the town, and raiſed his ſtandard in the market-place. A declaration, before prepared, was publickly read; but it ſuited only the prejudices of the ignorant and low. The errors of the preceding reign were minutely rehearſed and aggravated. The whole was laid to the charge of James, whoſe title to the name of King was denied. He was accuſed of burning the city. He was called the author of the Popiſh plot. The murder of Godfrey, the death of Eſſex, the poiſoning of the late King, were enumerated among his crimes. He was blamed, with more juſtice, for his attachment to Popery, his arbitrary principles, and his levying lately the cuſtoms and exciſe before they were granted by parliament[e]. The news of the landing of Monmouth was brought to James on the thirteenth of June. He ſent a meſſage with the intelligence to the two houſes of parliament, who voted unanimouſly "to ſtand by his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes[f]." The commons immediately brought in two bills; one for the preſervation of the King's perſon and government, and another for the attainder of Monmouth.

is victorious at Bridport.

THE popularity of Monmouth, the eager affection of the people for his perſon, even the memory of his father, and a vain ſuppoſition of his legitimacy, ſoon formed round him the ſhow of an army. But no perſon of rank joined his ſtandard. They knew his limited abilities. They were no ſtrangers to his total want of reſources. Beſides, the vigilance of government had already armed againſt him the militia of the neighbouring counties. The Duke's firſt act of hoſtility was the ſtorming of Bridport, into which the Duke of Albemarle had thrown a part of the militia of Devon. The men diſplayed a ſpirit upon the occaſion which was

[d] Journals of the commons, June 13. [e] Declaration. [f] June 13.

not

not anſwered by their leaders. The Lord Grey, who commanded the horſe, deſerted his own troops. He rode back to Lime, and brought the news of a defeat, when his party obtained a victory. The cowardice of Grey was ſucceeded by a paſſionate action of Fletcher of Salton, equally detrimental to the affairs of Monmouth. Fletcher, who was to have been joined in the command of the horſe with Grey, ſhot a countryman, by whom he had been inſulted. The people, in a tumultuous manner, demanded his immediate diſmiſſion; and Monmouth was obliged to deprive himſelf of the aid of the only man in his train who was equal to his dangerous enterprize [s].

He is proclaimed at Taunton.

MONMOUTH's firſt motion from Lime was toward Axminſter, a ſmall town at the diſtance of four miles. Albemarle, who lay near with a conſiderable body of militia, diſtruſting their fidelity, retired. The Duke proceeded from Axminſter to Taunton, where he was received with extraordinary expreſſions of joy. Encouraged by the affection of his followers, he immediately aſſumed the title of King. He iſſued a proclamation, ſetting a price on the head of King James. He imprudently declared the parliament a ſeditious aſſembly. He threatened, if they did not ſeparate before the end of the month, to proceed againſt them as rebels and traitors. He commanded the Duke of Albemarle, who ſtill hovered near with the militia, to lay down his arms, under pain of treaſon. Having finiſhed theſe acts of royalty, Monmouth directed his march to Bridgwater, where he was received with joy, and proclaimed King by the magiſtrates, with all the formalities of their office. His army now conſiſted of more than five thouſand men. Arms, and the other neceſſaries of war, ſeemed to be more wanting than ſoldiers. But the Duke himſelf was diffident of his troops, and undeciſive in his councils. Inſtead of encouraging his followers with ſlight actions, where ſucceſs would be

[s] Ralph, Kennet, et Auct. citat.

almoſt

CHAP. VII. 1685.

almoſt certain, he avoided to encounter any enemy. He ſlipped a favourable opportunity of defeating Albemarle. He neglected the propoſed ſeizure of Briſtol. He was inſulted by the city of Bath. In Frome, he was, however, received with gladneſs; but his joy was ſoon damped by the news of the total defeat of Argyle.

He is in diſtreſs.

THOUGH ſtill at the head of five thouſand men, misfortunes began to pour upon him from every ſide. On his left and rear he was preſſed by the militia. The ſea hemmed him in on the right. The Earl of Feverſham, with a regular force and a train of thirty field-pieces, advanced in his front. Though the country was in his intereſt, he could not increaſe his numbers, for want of arms. He poſſeſſed no money to pay his troops. Proviſions began to fail. His ſpirits ſunk under the preſſure of his diſtreſs. Deſpair was now added to his former diffidence; and, though perſonally brave, he yielded to political fear. In this melancholy ſtate of his mind, he called a council of his few friends. Their deliberations turned not on a daring effort, but on the means of perſonal ſafety by flight. They determined to retire to Bridgwater, where they arrived on the third of July. There they reſolved to deſert their wretched followers, repair to Pool, ſeize a veſſel by force, and commit themſelves to the ſea. But the regular troops having advanced the next day to within three miles of Bridgwater, flight became more dangerous than battle itſelf. His deſperate ſituation rekindled the courage of Monmouth. Though ſome of his people retired home, more than double the number of his enemies adhered to his ſtandard. Beſides, he was informed of the remiſſneſs of the King's army, who lay negligently on Sedgmoor. He called a council of his officers, where it was reſolved to ſurpriſe the enemy that night in their camp [h].

[h] Kennet, Ralph, Echard, Rereſby.

THE

CHAP. VII.

1685.

The Earl of Feverſham's ſmall army lay in two bodies on either ſide of the high road, which was deemed the only acceſſible part of his camp. To this paſs he pointed his whole artillery, and reſted, in his own mind, in perfect ſecurity from a ſurpriſe. But a train of accidents, and his own feeble conduct, were more fatal to Monmouth than any precaution of his enemy. His guide loſt his way, and carried him to a part of the camp where a regiment of Scots under the Earl of Dumbarton lay. Theſe, being old ſoldiers, though left without their officers, had not forgot that an enemy was near. One hundred men ſtood upon the watch, while the reſt lay aſleep on their arms. It was now one of the clock in the morning; and though the moon was full, a thick miſt deprived alike the attacked and aſſailants of light. The Scots were firſt alarmed by the rattling of the enemy's arms. They ſuſtained the ſhock of Monmouth, while the reſt of the army formed themſelves in the rear. Monmouth's foot diſputed the battle with the utmoſt courage and vivacity; but his horſe, under Lord Grey, conſiſting of marſh-mares and colts, could not ſtand the noiſe of drums and guns. They quitted the field, without firing a ſhot. Monmouth, with the foot, ſtill maintained the battle with ardour. The biſhop of Bath and Wells, who was then in the royal camp, contributed to decide the fate of the fight. By the help of his coach-horſes, he brought ſome field-pieces to bear on the flank of the enemy, while a party of horſe, under Oglethorpe, fell on their rear. Confuſion, ſlaughter, and flight prevailed. Monmouth fled with fifty horſe, and left his diſcomfited foot to their fate[1]. defeated,

In this deciſive action fifteen hundred of the inſurgents fell. The few who had attended the Duke gradually deſerted him in his flight. In the company of a German count, who came to ſhare his fortune, he continued his courſe toward the county of Dorſet, till his horſe failed him through fatigue. Having wan- and taken,

[1] Publications of the times.

dered

CHAP. VII. 1685.

dered for ſome time on foot, they ſeparated, and the German was taken. The whole country, to gain the reward, were employed in the ſearch of Monmouth. He was, at length, found in a ditch, covered with fern, with ſome green peas in his pocket, which had been his only ſuſtenance for ſome days. Broken by deſpair, and languid from hunger and want of reſt, he fainted in the hands of his enemies; and exhibited, in his behaviour as much as in his fortune, the laſt ſymptoms of human miſery. On his way, by ſlow journeys, to London, he wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the King, promiſing diſcoveries, ſhould he be admitted into his preſence. The curioſity of James being excited by the letter, he ſent Sheldon, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to meet Monmouth. In his converſation with Sheldon, the duke aſked, who was in chief confidence with the King? He was anſwered, Sunderland. Monmouth knocked his breaſt in a ſurpriſe, and ſaid, "Why then, as I hope for ſalvation, he promiſed to meet ME." He deſired Sheldon to inform the King, that ſeveral of his accomplices in rebellion were in the confidence of his Majeſty[k]; and he gave him a particular account of the part which the Prince of Orange had acted in his whole affair.

By the artifice of Sunderland,

SHELDON, upon his return from the Duke of Monmouth, began to give an account to the King of what he had learnt from the unfortunate priſoner. Sunderland, pretending buſineſs, came into the room. Sheldon ſtopt, and ſignified his deſire to ſpeak in private with the King. James told him he might ſay any thing before THAT Lord. Sheldon was in great perplexity; but being urged, he told all that Monmouth had averred. Sunderland appeared, for ſome time, confuſed: at length he ſaid, with a laugh, "If that is all he can diſcover to ſave his life, he will derive little good from his information." Monmouth himſelf was ſoon after brought to the King. Sunderland, by an artifice, enſured the

[k] James II. 1685.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

death of the unfortunate Duke, to ſave himſelf and the other adherents of the Prince of Orange. When he ſaw Monmouth's letter to James, and heard the diſcoveries he had made to Sheldon, he is ſaid to have adviſed him, that, as he could aſſure him of the certainty of a pardon, he ought to deny what he had ſaid in prejudice of his friends, who could ſerve him on ſome other more favourable occaſion[l]. The credulous Duke, ſwayed by the advice of Sunderland, ſuppreſſed what he had ſaid to Sheldon, when he was examined by the King. He mentioned nothing of the concern the Prince of Orange had taken in the invaſion, though a point on which James was already ſufficiently informed. D'Avaux, the French miniſter to the States, had given a circumſtantial account of the whole conduct of the Prince to Lewis the Fourteenth, who had ordered it to be privately communicated to the King of England. Bentinck, who had been ſent to congratulate James on the ſuppreſſion of Argyle's rebellion, was in a grievous agony when he heard that the King was reſolved to ſee Monmouth. "Though he found that he ſaid nothing of his maſter," ſays James, "he was never quiet till Monmouth was dead[m]."

he is executed.

THE unfortunate Duke made various attempts to obtain mercy. He wrote to the Queen-dowager; he ſent a letter to the reigning Queen, as well as to the King himſelf. He begged his life, when he was admitted into the preſence, with a meanneſs unſuitable to his pretenſions and high rank. He conjured him not to ſhed his own blood in that of a brother's child. This latter conſideration, conſidering the opinion which James had always entertained concerning the birth of Monmouth, could have no weight[n]. Beſides, reſentment for the Duke's inſincerity had been joined with the fears of the King of his future ſchemes of ambition. He therefore told him, that he was much

[l] James II.
[m] James II. 1685.
[n] Ibid. 1669.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

affected at his misfortunes, but that his crime was too dangerous in its example to be left unpuniſhed. In his laſt moments the Duke of Monmouth behaved himſelf with a magnanimity more worthy of his former courage. He, however, appears to have been an enthuſiaſt, though in an extraordinary way He refuſed to the biſhops who attended him at his death to own the legality of his marriage with his Dutcheſs; aſſerting, that Mrs. Wentworth was his only wife, in the ſight of God. When he came to the ſcaffold, he behaved with decency, and even with dignity. He ſpoke little. He made no confeſſion. He accuſed none of his friends. Circumſtances are ſaid to have attended his death that created a horror among the ſpectators. The executioner, unmanned by terror, or touched with pity, miſſed his blow, and ſtruck him ſlightly on the ſhoulder. Monmouth raiſed his head from the block, and looked him full in the face, as if reproaching him for his miſtake. He ſtruck him twice again, but with feeble ſtrokes; and then threw the ax from his hands. The ſheriff forced him to renew his attempt; and the head of the Duke, who ſeemed already dead, was ſevered at laſt from his body [o].

Reflections.

THUS fell the Duke of Monmouth, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age; a nobleman raiſed by an indulgent parent and the peculiar ſtate of the times, to a height too great for his limited capacity and underſtanding. His good-nature, the gentleneſs, and even the humanity of his diſpoſition, ſeemed to render him worthy of a better fate. But theſe feeble virtues, which might have adorned a private life, were the ſource of all the misfortunes of Monmouth. The eaſineſs which rendered him popular, ſubjected him to the ſchemes of deſigning men, and at laſt involved him in difficulties, which conſummate abilities could only ſurmount. Though, among thoſe who knew him beſt, there remained little regret for his death,

[o] Tenniſon in Kennet.

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the affection of the vulgar followed him beyond the grave. They fondly believed, that their beloved Monmouth was ſtill to head them in the field; and that a perſon, warmed with the ſame paſſion with themſelves, ſubmitted his neck to the ax in his ſtead. Few of thoſe who accompanied him from Holland ſuffered death with their unfortunate leader. The Lord Grey, by a full confeſſion of the whole circumſtances of the Rye-houſe plot, obtained his pardon, as to life. Even the noted Ferguſon, though taken among the reſt, by an inſtance of clemency ſtrange for the times, was diſmiſſed without puniſhment [p]. CHAP. VII. 1685.

Severity of the royaliſts;

THE royaliſts purſued their victory over the adherents of Monmouth with that violent ſeverity which too often attends ſucceſs in a civil war. When independent ſtates contend with one another in arms, men only encounter enemies in the field; but when inſurgents fail in their attempts againſt a government, they are conſidered traitors, as well as foes. Juſtice then becomes an engine of paſſion. The laws are wreſted for the purpoſe of revenge; and even the body of the people look upon cruelty and puniſhment with an indifference proportioned to their former fears. Every age, and almoſt every nation, furniſh ſhameful examples of this kind. The annals of latter times are covered with blood, as well as thoſe of former years; though the miſconduct, and even the misfortunes, of an expelled race of monarchs, have called forth their proceedings in a more hideous form. When the ſoldiers were, in ſome meaſure, fatigued with ſlaughter after the battle of Sedgemore, their general, the Earl of Feverſham, began, without any form of juſtice, to put the inſurgents to death by the hands of the executioner. He ordered five perſons to be hanged on the firſt great ſign-poſt that ſtood acroſs the road beyond the field of battle. But this inſtance of illegal ſeverity yielded to the ſuperior inhumanity of Colonel Kirk, who, upon his entry

[p] Publications of the times.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

into Bridgewater, exerciſed upon nineteen inſurgents the ſame ſummary puniſhment [p].

of Kirk

THE military executions of Kirk were attended with circumſtances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. The horror raiſed by his conduct, induced mankind to exaggerate his ſeverities, and to apply to him ſome frightful tyrannies related of former times. Though the barbarity of his own diſpoſition [q], and the ſavage thirſt of blood which too frequently follows victory, ought, perhaps, to be only blamed on the preſent occaſion, James certainly ſhould have afterwards puniſhed a conduct of which he greatly diſapproved [r]. But the inhumanities of Kirk were ſoon after eclipſed by the rigour of Jefferys, who came to glean up with the law the wretched remains of the ſword. A ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer was iſſued to Jefferys, together with the lord chief baron of the exchequer and three puiſne judges, to try the rebels already confined in the weſt. To balance the known vehemence of Jefferys, the King ſays, that he appointed Polexfen, who had been always remarkable for his attachment to the Preſbyterian party, as ſolicitor for the crown on this bloody circuit [s]. In the end of Auguſt, the five judges ſet out on their expedition, and carried with them terror and death every where. They opened firſt their commiſſion at Wincheſter. They proceeded from thence to Dorcheſter, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells. Five hundred priſoners were tried and condemned, in all. More than two hundred were executed; and the reſt were either tranſported, or permitted to purchaſe, as was ſaid, their pardon of the chief juſtice [t].

and Jefferys.

THOUGH the ſtrict line of law might be followed, though ſufficient proofs of the concern of the priſoners in the inſurrection

[p] Hiſtories of the times. [q] James II. 1685. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid.
[t] Burnet, Kennet, Ralph.

appeared,

CHAP. VII. 1685.

appeared, the conduct of Jefferys was throughout brutal, arbitrary, and ſavage. In one inſtance he ſeems to have added a manifeſt perverſion of the moſt obvious rules of juſtice to the fierce inhumanity of his own diſpoſition. The Lady Lyle, as ſhe was commonly called, the widow of one of the regicides, whom Cromwell had called to his houſe of peers, was indicted at Wincheſter for harbouring Hicks and Nelthorp, who had been concerned in Monmouth's inſurrection. No proof was given that ſhe was privy to the circumſtance that either of theſe men had ſerved the unfortunate Duke at Sedgemoor[u]. Hicks ſhe received as a nonconformiſt miniſter; and it did not appear that ſhe knew either the name or crime of Nelthorp. Her ſex, her age, the apparent ſincerity, and even the ſimplicity of her conduct and defence, wrought much on the jury in her favour. They twice ſhewed an inclination to declare her innocent; but they were brow-beat by Jefferys, and brought her in guilty. Applications for her pardon ſeem never to have been made to the King[x], though that circumſtance has been mentioned by moſt writers. The utmoſt that could be obtained from Jefferys, who was armed with all the powers of life and death, on this occaſion, was the changing of her ſentence from hanging to beheading: A ſtrange favour from ſuch a violent royaliſt, as it, in ſome meaſure, annexed the privilege of nobility to the lords created by Cromwell[y].

Not countenanced by the King.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rigour generally aſcribed to the government of James, there is great reaſon to believe that the chief juſtice followed more the bent of his own mind, than the commands of his ſovereign, in his behaviour in the Weſt. The terror of others for Jefferys's power prevented any impartial account to come to the ears of the King. In one inſtance, he added an inſult to James himſelf to his own injuſtice. The King, ſtruck with the years, manner, and apparent honeſty of a Major Holmes,

[u] James II. 1685. [x] Ibid. [y] Hiſt. of the times.

who

CHAP. VII. 1685.

who had been concerned in the Rye-houſe plot, and privy to the late inſurrection, promiſed him a free pardon. As Holmes was well acquainted with the merit and demerits of the ſeveral priſoners, he was inſtructed by James [z] to go to Jefferys on his circuit, to inform him of the moſt criminal, and to point out ſuch as deſerved mercy [a]. But Jefferys finding that Holmes interfered with his own appetite for blood, brought him, without any regard to the King's promiſed pardon, to his trial, and hanged him with the reſt. This, as well as a great part of the other enormities of Jefferys, was long concealed from the King. The juſtice muſt be done to James, that, in his Memoirs, he complains, with apparent indignation, of "the ſtrange havock made by Jefferys and Kirk in the Weſt [b];" and that he attributed the unpopularity, which afterwards deprived him of the crown, to the violence and barbarity of thoſe pretended friends of his authority [c]. He even aſcribes their ſeverities, in ſome degree, to a formed deſign of rendering his government odious to his ſubjects [d].

September. Jefferys made chancellor.

BUT though James might not have been minutely acquainted with all the cruelties of Jefferys, he could not be altogether ignorant that his conduct in the Weſt had greatly offended the nation. Inſtead of recommending himſelf to his people, by diſapproving of the ſeverities of the chief juſtice, he became, in ſome meaſure, a party in his crimes, by raiſing him to the office of Lord High Chancellor upon his return. This Prince, in the moſt favourable view of his character, frequently ſacrificed his prudence to his violent principles of policy. He formed his conduct upon the maxim, that to preſerve his own authority, he was obliged to ſupport in all their meaſures his ſervants [e]. But, notwithſtanding the extreme ſeverity of government, the people were ſtill more willing to blame the ſervants of the crown, than the King himſelf. The

[z] James II. 1685. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Life of L. North.
[d] James II. 1685. [e] Ibid.

county

CHAP. VII. 1685.

county of Somerſet, and the town of Taunton in particular, though the ſcenes of Jefferys's barbarities, favoured afterwards with great warmth the cauſe of James, when that Prince meditated an invaſion in 1692[f]. The King had hitherto adhered to the great line of the conſtitution. The evils of which men complained conſiſted of a too violent exertion, rather than a breach on the laws; and James was chiefly blamed for not tempering the ſeverity of public juſtice with more frequent inſtances of his mercy.

October. Gaunt and Corniſh condemned.

THE removal of Jefferys to the chancery leſſened not the rigour of the courts of common law. Sir Edward Herbert, who ſucceeded to the office of chief juſtice, exhibited the ſame zeal with his predeceſſor in favour of the crown. A woman of the name of Gaunt was tried before him, on the nineteenth of October, for aiding and concealing one Burton, accuſed of being concerned in the Rye-houſe plot. Her alleged crime was the counter-part of that for which the Lady Lyle had ſuffered. On the teſtimony of the ungrateful wretch whom ſhe had harboured, the unfortunate priſoner was condemned. Her former demerits were more the object of puniſhment than her preſent crime. She had been employed in the preceding reign in aiding with acts of charity ſuch as fell under the diſpleaſure of government; an offence which could not be puniſhed till the times had changed. Corniſh, the famous ſheriff who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his violence in the proſecution of the Popiſh plot, was brought to his trial on the ſame day. Goodenough, who had been his under-ſheriff, was the principal witneſs againſt Corniſh. Being taken in the rout at Sedgemoor, he became an evidence, for a pardon. The noted Colonel Rumſey joined Goodenough in his accuſation. The unfortunate man was ſeized, tried, condemned, and executed, in the ſpace of a few days. The evidence were, ſoon after, found

[f] Original Papers, 1692.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

to have perjured themſelves. James made all the amends poſſible for the death of Corniſh. He reſtored his eſtate to his family. The witneſſes were tried by his direction, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment [g].

Great power of the King.

THE ſeverities which attended the ſuppreſſion of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, by intimidating his enemies, ſeemed to confirm the authority of the King. Had he confined his ambition to power alone, he might have reigned in tranquillity and died in peace on the throne of his anceſtors. His revenue amounted to two millions a-year [h]. The ordinary expences of government fell ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſhort of that ſum [i]. He had an obſequious parliament at home. He was reſpected, and even courted by foreign powers. France deemed him the only obvious check on her ambition. The empire, Spain, and Holland derived, in ſome degree, their hopes of ſafety from his power. His ſubjects in England were ſubmiſſive, and even attached to his government. Ireland was obedient. An unuſual tranquillity prevailed in Scotland. His exceſſive good fortune was the ſource of his ruin. He became powerful with ſuch facility, that he ſeemed to be reſolved to be abſolute. His own free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was ſeen with ſo little diſguſt, that he formed the vain, though perhaps diſtant hope of converting the nation. He deſcended from the character of a King to that of an apoſtle; and an exceſs of folly deprived his very misfortunes of pity.

Parliament meets. Nov. 9.

ON the ninth of November, the parliament, after two adjournments, met at Weſtminſter. The King, in his ſpeech, avowed his principles ſo openly, that no doubt could remain concerning his future deſigns. He told the two houſes, that the progreſs made by an inconſiderable number of men in the late rebellion,

[g] Kennet, Ralph, &c. [h] James II. 1685. [i] Ibid.

proved

CHAP. VII. 1685.

proved that the militia, in which the nation truſted, were not ſufficient for ſuch occaſions. That conſideration, he informed them, had induced him to increaſe the ſtanding troops to double their former number; and to ſupport ſuch a body of men for the ſafety of the people, he demanded a ſupply from his parliament. He acquainted them, that there were ſome officers in the army not qualified according to the late teſts. But he told them, that moſt of thoſe gentlemen were well known to HIM; that he had employed them with advantage in the time of need and danger; and that he would neither expoſe them to diſgrace, nor himſelf to the want of their ſervice. He expreſſed his apprehenſions, that ſome men expected to ſee a difference between him and his parliament upon that point: but that he entertained no fears upon that head, conſidering the advantages which, in the ſpace of a few months, had riſen to the nation from a good underſtanding. He repreſented, as the conſequence of their unanimity at home, the great change wrought on the face of affairs abroad, ſo much to the honour of the kingdom, and the figure it ought to make in the world. He apprehended not, he ſaid, for his own part, ſuch a misfortune as a diviſion, or even a coldneſs, between him and his parliament. He aſſured them, that as he entertained no doubts of their ſteadineſs and loyalty, he would make them every return of kindneſs and affection, with a reſolution to venture even his life in defence of the true intereſt of the kingdom [k].

Proceedings

THE imprudence of this ſpeech was immediately viſible, from the manner in which it was received by the preſent obſequious parliament. The commons returned to their houſe, and a profound ſilence prevailed. A motion was made, to conſider his Majeſty's ſpeech on the twelfth of November; and the houſe adjourned to that day. When they met again, the ſame cautious

[k] Journals of the commons, Nov. 9, 1685.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

ſilence was for ſome time obſerved. Swayed by their principles for monarchy, yet afraid of the total diſſolution of the conſtitution, they were perplexed with doubts and embarraſſed with difficulties. They dreaded a ſtanding army: but they were ſtill more afraid of popery, the introduction of which was manifeſtly facilitated by the King's avowed breach on the late teſts. They, however, were obliged to proceed with caution. They knew the obſtinate character of James. They were no ſtrangers to their having already placed him, by an ample revenue, beyond their own power. The majority, therefore, ſeemed inclined to peaceable meaſures; and though they would not approve of the dangerous meaſures of the court, they ſeemed reſolved to give as little offence as poſſible to the King. In the courſe of the debate, however, ſuch ſevere reflections were made, that James was ſoon perſuaded that his deſigns could never be carried into execution by the conſent of parliament[l].

of the

THE firſt buſineſs of the commons was a vote, without a diſſenting voice, for a ſupply[m]. But in ſhewing this inſtance of complaiſance to the King, they inſinuated, by another reſolution, their diſapprobation of a ſtanding army. They voted that a bill ſhould be brought in to render the militia uſeful, as the conſtitutional defence of the kingdom. The next day, upon a diviſion in a full houſe, it was carried by one voice[n], to paſs to the conſideration of the next paragraph of the ſpeech, without voting the ſum or ſettling the funds for the ſupply. They reſolved to addreſs the King, that officers unqualified ſhould NOT continue in their employments. But they ſoftened the ſeverity of the reſolution, by bringing in a bill to indemnify ſuch officers for the penalty they had incurred for acting contrary to law. To this they alſo ſubjoined a vote, "to offer their humble and hearty thanks to the

[l] Vide paſſim. Auct. citat. [m] Nov. 12. [n] 183 againſt 182.

King, for his great care in ſuppreſſing the late rebellion." Their addreſs, couched in the moſt decent terms, was preſented on the ſixteenth of November. They repreſented the impoſſibility, conſiſtent with the rights of the ſubject, of diſpenſing with the teſt without an act of parliament; and they concluded with beſeeching his Majeſty to prevent all apprehenſions and jealouſies in the hearts of his ſubjects [o]. They fixed on the ſame day the ſupply at ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; a ſum, though leſs than that demanded by the chancellor of the Exchequer, more than adequate to the preſent wants of the King. CHAP. VII. 1685.

THE ſubmiſſive addreſs of the commons made no impreſſion on the obſtinacy of the King. His anſwer was uncomplying and ſupercilious. He even ſpoke it with an ill ſuppreſſed paſſion, though he aſſumed that air of complacent ſtatelineſs, which, by uſe, had ceaſed in him to be affected. "He did not expect," he told them, "ſuch an addreſs from the commons." He had recommended to them, he ſaid, to conſider the advantages which had reſulted from a good underſtanding; and he had warned them againſt jealouſies and fears. He had reaſon to hope, he continued, that the reputation with which God had bleſſed him in the world, would have gained their confidence in his conduct, and obtained credit to his word [p]. But in whatever manner they ſhould proceed on their ſide, he aſſured them, that on his part, he would be juſt to his word, in his preſent ſpeech as well as in his former promiſes to his parliament. A profound ſilence followed the reading of this anſwer. The houſe was perplexed with doubts, and knew not how to proceed. A motion was at length made, to appoint a day for conſidering his Majeſty's anſwer; and the next Friday was named. Coke, one of the members for Derby, in ſeconding this motion, ſaid, "We are Engliſhmen, and ought commons.

[o] Nov. 16. [p] Nov. 18.

CHAP. VII. 1685.

not to be frighted with a few high words [9]." The houſe, that ſeemed ſo paſſive to the King, flew into a flame againſt Coke. His words were taken down. He was ſent to the bar, reprimanded, and committed to the Tower. This incident ſtifled the motion. Inſtead of appointing a day, the houſe adjourned; and left the rights of the people at the mercy of the prerogatives of the crown.

Parliament prorogued, Nov. 20.

WHILE the commons ſeemed to be intimidated into a compliance, by the high words of the King, ſome ſhow of ſpirit was exhibited by the lords. Though they had already given general thanks to his Majeſty, Compton, Biſhop of London, made a motion to appoint a day for conſidering the ſpeech. When the buſineſs came to a debate, the King himſelf, according to cuſtom, was preſent. Great freedom, however, was uſed with the preſent meaſures. The danger of diſpenſing with the teſt was painted in lively colours. The houſe was impreſſed with the terrors of popery; and more were willing to eſtabliſh new defences againſt that religion, than to permit any encroachments upon the old. Halifax, lately diſmiſſed from the councils of James, oppoſed with ability the meaſures of the court. Jefferys endeavoured to ſupport them in vain. His ſpeech was received with contempt where it was not heard with indignation. The motion for conſidering the ſpeech was carried; and the twenty-third of November was appointed for that purpoſe. This point was more important than it ſeemed at the firſt view. Had the lords remained as paſſive as the commons, a ſtanding army would have been virtually eſtabliſhed by the authority of the legiſlature; and the diſpenſing power would have remained in fact with the crown, by the connivance of the two houſes. James being determined to yield in nothing, was reſolved to avoid the mortification of hear-

[9] Nov. 18.

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ing more cenſures upon his conduct. He ſacrificed the ſupply in a manner to his pride; and, on the twentieth of November, ſuddenly prorogued the parliament. CHAP. VII. 1685.

THE rigour of proſecutions abated with the paſſions of the people. The Earl of Stamford and the Lord Delamere had lain in the Tower ſince the laſt week of July, under an accuſation of treaſon. They petitioned the peers, when the parliament met, to be releaſed from their confinement. An indictment had been found in the city of London againſt the Earl of Stamford, which the lords ordered to be removed into their own houſe; and the firſt of December was appointed for his trial. The treaſon charged on the Lord Delamere had been committed in Cheſhire; and that being a county palatine, the indictment ought to have been found there, and not in the King's-Bench. A commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer was accordingly iſſued: but before either of the accuſed lords were brought to trial, the parliament was prorogued. Stamford was ſoon after admitted to bail, and pardoned. Delamere was acquitted by his peers. The ſecond proſecution of Hampden was an inſtance of lenity. He had been fined forty thouſand pounds, and had continued, in default of payment, in priſon. He was brought to trial[r], he pleaded guilty, and was condemned: but he received a pardon for his life, and a remiſſion of his fine. The Lord Brandon had been found guilty[s], and condemned for treaſon; but though he had been admitted to mercy once before, after being condemned for murder[t], he was alſo pardoned. Several criminals of diſtinction pardoned.

THE lenity of James to thoſe criminals of diſtinction was accompanied with another act of ſignal humanity. The enthuſiaſm of Lewis the Fourteenth had induced him to revoke the edict of Nantz, which had ſecured, ever ſince the time of Henry the Fourth, the proteſtants of France in the exerciſe of their religion. King's kindneſs to refugees.

[r] Dec. 30. [s] Nov. 26. [t] Reresby.

The

CHAP. VII. 1685.

The meaſure was at once very arbitrary and extremely impolitic. The edict had been ever deemed irrevocable; and ſcarce any inconvenience had ariſen, for near a century, from the privileges enjoyed by the proteſtants. The obſtinacy of thoſe religioniſts, as is uſual, roſe in proportion to the ſeverity with which they were perſecuted. Five hundred thouſand ſouls preferred their liberty of conſcience to their country. They quitted France with a great part of its wealth; and carried the arts and manufactures, which had enriched that kingdom, to all the corners of Europe. More than fifty thouſand of the fugitives came to England. James openly blamed Lewis. He aided with money the refugees. He protected them with his power, and admitted them, without any expence, to the privileges of his Engliſh ſubjects [t].

His religious views.

THE kindneſs of James to the French fugitives was aſcribed, by his enemies, more to his religious views than to either his policy or humanity. In his paſſionate affection for popery, he had reſolved, at the riſk of his crown, to favour the Roman catholics; and, if not to eſtabliſh ultimately their religion in his kingdom, to give them preſent eaſe. His plan for executing this purpoſe was the more dangerous, as it was to be carried forward through the line of a general toleration, which, one would think, the common ſenſe of mankind ought to have eſtabliſhed in every country. But a prince of his bigotry neither received nor deſerved credit for an affected moderation in ſpiritual affairs. By precipitating his deſigns, they became too ſoon obvious to the world; and they were dreaded, oppoſed, and defeated. Though he profeſſed that he only carried his views to a freedom of conſcience to all his ſubjects, it was manifeſt, that, by virtually diſpenſing with the teſt, he meant to fill gradually every department with perſons of his own favourite ſyſtem of faith. The propenſity of mankind to intereſt, he knew, would gain proſelytes, a race of men of whom this deluded prince

[t] Hiſt. of the Times. MSS. James II.

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was extremely fond; and thus, he deemed, that without any violence, the Romiſh faith would, by degrees, become firſt the religion of the court, and then ſpread itſelf to the nation. CHAP. VII. 1685.

IN England, however, the King had hitherto obſerved a degree of caution and prudence. He was leſs reſerved in Ireland, where the majority of the people were already attached to the Romiſh faith. In the autumn of the 1684, the late King, either ſwayed by the councils of the Duke of York, or having adopted of himſelf ſome new ſyſtem of policy, not perfectly known, had reſolved to remove the Duke of Ormonde, and to place the government of Ireland in other hands. In the month of December, the Earl of Rocheſter was nominated to that high office; but, before he made any preparations for his journey, the death of the King altered his views. James, upon his acceſſion to the throne, adopted his brother's ſcheme for the removal of Ormonde; and that Duke, having reſigned the ſword of ſtate to the Archbiſhop of Armagh and the Earl of Grannard, as lords-juſtices, arrived in London on the thirty-firſt of March. The tranquillity of Ireland continued when a double rebellion diſturbed the repoſe of the two Britiſh kingdoms. Though the acceſſion of a popiſh King had raiſed the hopes of the catholics, and excited the fears of the proteſtants, their animoſities extended no further than futile informations againſt the loyalty of each other; complaints, which the lords-juſtices had the prudence to diſregard [u]. Affairs of Ireland.

UPON the ſuppreſſion of Monmouth's inſurrection in England, James, under a pretence that the contagion of rebellion had ſpread to Ireland, ordered the lords-juſtices to recal the arms of the militia, and to depoſit them in different ſtores. The militia, conſiſting wholly of proteſtants, received the order for reſigning their arms with a degree of conſternation proportionable to their habitual Ireland.

[u] Carte's Ormonde, Leland, Memoirs of Ireland.

fears

CHAP. VII.

1685.

fears of the popiſh Iriſh. The commands of the King were however obeyed without any apparent reluctance. The government of the nation ſtill remained entirely in the hands of proteſtants; and the change with regard to the Iriſh Papiſts conſiſted hitherto in their hopes of indulgence and favour from a popiſh King. A general ferment prevailed. But it aroſe more from the fluctuating paſſions of the two ſects than from any actual diſturbance. In this ſituation of affairs, a new lord-lieutenant, the Earl of Clarendon, arrived in Ireland. The affinity of this lord with the King, and his principles in favour of the prerogative, were deemed favourable circumſtances for carrying into execution the new plan of Iriſh affairs [x]. James truſted him only partially with his deſigns. He ſignified his inclination, that catholics might be admitted into corporations, and be rendered capable of acting in the character of magiſtrates, and in a judicial capacity. Clarendon, however, was commanded to aſſure the proteſtants, that his Majeſty was reſolved to adhere ſtrictly to the acts of ſettlement. The firſt year of the reign of James over Ireland produced nothing material, except theſe preparations for meaſures which were afterwards purſued [y].

1686. Jan. Character and councils of Sunderland.

THOUGH the enthuſiaſm of James bordered upon madneſs, the moſt wild of his religious projects ſeem to have been ſuggeſted by his enemies to accompliſh his ruin. The Earl of Sunderland, whom he chiefly truſted, was a man of abandoned principles, inſatiable avarice, and fitted by nature for ſtratagem, deception, and intrigue. Fickle in his diſpoſition, or conſtant only to his own immediate intereſt, his opinions veered like the winds, and accommodated themſelves to the paſſions of thoſe whom he meant to deceive for his own advantage. Though poſſeſſed of parts, they ſeemed to be of that inferior kind, which accompliſh

[x] Clarendon's Letters.

[y] Publications of the Times.

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CHAP. VII.

1686.

the purpoſe by ſtealth, unlike thoſe open and daring abilities, that acquire ſome right to whatever they can command. The love of money, more than power, was his ruling paſſion. He ſold his influence to the higheſt bidder. Mercenary in an uncommon degree, he bartered his abilities to the moſt oppoſite parties for gain. At once the penſioner of the Prince of Orange and of the King of France[z], he ſacrificed his deluded maſter and his country to the reſpective views of theſe Princes. He paved the way for the firſt to the throne of England, by leading James into favourite errors; and he opened a door to the ambitious deſigns of the latter, by depriving England, with his councils, of her juſt weight in the ſcale of Europe.

Feb. A ſecret Popiſh cabinet.

IN the proſecution of his plan to ruin James, he induced his infatuated maſter to eſtabliſh, in the beginning of the preſent year, a ſecret council of Roman catholics, to conſult of matters of religion. This bigotted Prince embraced with gladneſs a propoſal ſo favourable to his own ſuperſtitious views. The council conſiſted of the Earl of Powis, the Lords Arundel, Bellaſis, Dover, and Caſtlemain, together with Father Petre, a plauſible, but a weak, ignorant, and talkative man[a]. Sunderland extolled the abilities of Petre to the King; and, contrary to that Prince's judgment, and even the advice of the Queen, obtained for him the dignity of a privy counſellor, though he was not, till long after, ſworn at the board[b]. Some time before Petre arrived at this dignity, it was concerted between that Father and Sunderland, that the Pope ſhould raiſe the former to the rank of a cardinal, through the influence of the King of England[c]. The firſt buſineſs of the religious council, where Sunderland himſelf was the umpire of all, was to ſend the Earl of Caſtlemain, one of their own number, on an embaſſy to Rome. The Pope, however, refuſed the cap to Petre. He

[z] James II. 1686. [a] Ibid. [b] In Nov. 1687. [c] James II. 1686.

CHAP. VII. 1686.

would not even admit Rinaldo D'Eſté, Prince of Modena, into the ſacred college. He could derive no favourable hopes for the catholic faith from the imprudent violence of James; and he treated his applications with the coldneſs which his imprudence deſerved [d].

March. King elects members and the judges.

BUT neither contempt abroad, nor the obvious improbability of ſucceſs at home, could prevail with James to drop his religious deſigns. With a folly ſcarce conſiſtent with common ſenſe, he even hoped to induce the majority of parliament to agree to the repeal of the teſt. He applied in perſon to the moſt hoſtile members. He tried to gain by careſſes what they had denied to his frowns. He endeavoured in vain to convince them, that he only wiſhed to procure a general toleration to his people in matters of conſcience. They knew his partiality for popery; and they reſolved never to yield to a meaſure which would inevitably fill the firſt offices in the kingdom with men profeſſing the Romiſh faith. They ſaw, that by placing the whole power of the ſtate in ſuch hands, no further defence ſhould remain for the eſtabliſhed religion, or the inherent liberties of the Engliſh nation. Diſappointed by the members, he prorogued the parliament; and, being obſtinately bent on his purpoſe, he endeavoured to juſtify his meaſures in another way. Having reſolved to diſpenſe with the penal ſtatutes againſt ſectaries, he applied, one by one, to the judges, to induce them to maintain the claim of the crown to the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws. Four only refuſed to comply with the King's deſire; and theſe, in the end of April, reſigned their places to leſs ſcrupulous men [e].

April. Affair of Scotland.

DURING theſe advances toward a toleration in England, James called a parliament in Scotland, to forward a ſimilar deſign. The implicit ſubmiſſion exhibited by that aſſembly in the preceding

[d] James II. 1686. [e] Kennet, Ralph, Burnet, et Auct. citat. paſſim.

CHAP. VII.

1636.

year, induced him precipitately to conclude, that nothing could appear too ſevere for their loyalty. But he found by the event, that thoſe who reſigned their political freedom with ſo much indifference, were not to be perſuaded to endanger the proteſtant faith. The Earl of Moray, a new convert to Popery, was appointed high-commiſſioner to the parliament, which was opened on the twenty-ninth of April, at Edinburgh. The King, in his letter, demanded, in the moſt ſoothing terms, ſome indulgence for the Roman Catholics from the ſeverity of the penal laws. The commiſſioner ſupported this requeſt with propoſals of advantage to the Scotiſh nation. To induce the parliament to comply, he promiſed, in the name of the King, that he would recover the poſſeſſion of the privileges of the merchants in France, redreſs their trouble with regard to the ſtaple and trade with the Netherlands, and remove the grievance which aroſe from the importation of Iriſh cattle. He promiſed to grant them a mint, to demand no immediate ſupplies, to give his aſſent to all ſuch laws as tended to ſecure an exact payment from all military men in their quarters. He aſſured them, that the King would paſs an ample indemnity, with ſome neceſſary exceptions, for all paſt miſdemeanors and crimes [f]. Theſe promiſes, however, produced not the deſired effect. The parliament ſhewed no inclination to repeal any of the penal laws. They were therefore prorogued by the commiſſioner, and ſoon after diſſolved by the King [g].

June. Caſe of Sir Edward Hales.

His diſappointment in Scotland deterred not James from purſuing his deſigns in England. Having prepared the judges for his purpoſe, he reſolved to ſupport his prerogative of diſpenſing with the penal ſtatutes againſt ſectaries, with the authority of Weſtminſter-hall. An opportunity was found by the King himſelf to bring the matter to an explicit deciſion. Sir Edward Hales, a

[f] Gazette, No. 2135.

[g] Woodrow, Burnet.

CHAP. VII. 1686.

man of fortune and family in Kent, but an open and profeſſed Papiſt, had accepted of the command of a regiment, and exerciſed his function without taking the teſt. His coachman informed againſt him, and claimed the five hundred pounds. Hales was accordingly indicted, at the aſſizes held at Rocheſter[h], and duly convicted. But he produced the King's diſpenſation with his non-conformity, remitting all the penalties and diſabilities which he had incurred by the ſtatute. The plaintiff brought his ſuit into the King's Bench, as an action of debt; and Sir Edward Herbert, the lord chief juſtice, upon the iſſue, declared, "that there was nothing whatever with which the King, as ſupreme lawgiver, might not diſpenſe[i]." The matter, however, was laid before the twelve judges; and the lord chief juſtice, on the twenty-firſt of June, publicly pronounced in Weſtminſter-hall, that eleven out of the twelve adhered, upon various grounds, to his deciſion.

The diſpenſing power

THOUGH this deciſion ſeemed to lay the law in ruins at the foot of the throne, it was neither unprecedented nor illegal, as the conſtitution was then defined. The diſpenſing power, though underſtood as confined in its operations, had been of great antiquity in the Engliſh government. Penal ſtatutes, eſpecially as they were generally intended to arm the King with authority, were deemed, in ſome meaſure, to be the property of his prerogative, and ſubject to his control. The parliament itſelf had frequently recognized this power in the crown. The commons, who had forced from Charles the Firſt the petition of right, owned the diſpenſing power in all its plenitude. Coke himſelf, whoſe authority is ſo high, believed the power of ſuſpending laws ſo much inherent in the crown, that it even cannot be aboliſhed by an act of parliament. Neither was the practice of taking the judgment of the courts of law upon the diſpenſing power any novelty in the conſtitution of England. The judges declared, in

[h] Mar. 29. [i] June 21.

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the reign of Henry the Seventh, that the King could diſpenſe with a ſtatute containing a clauſe expreſsly precluding him from that prerogative. In the reign of James the Firſt, the judges confirmed the ſame doctrine; and the opinion had been, ever ſince that period, received as undoubted law [k].

recognized by the judges.

BUT neither theſe high authorities, nor the precedents of ages, were ſufficient to juſtify a practice ſubverſive of that confidence in their permanency, which ſeems neceſſary to the very being of laws. Men could ſcarce diſtinguiſh the diſpenſing prerogative from a repealing power in the crown. They juſtly deemed it unreaſonable that a leſs authority ſhould deſtroy, than that which was neceſſary to make laws. Beſides, though the power of diſpenſing with the penal ſtatutes might have been, for prudent ends, lodged in the crown, it was at firſt underſtood to be limited to caſes where the King alone was concerned. Though the crown had, in late times, extended this prerogative to matters of public concern, the utility of the meaſure could only render it excuſable [l]. In the preſent caſe, the matter was extremely different. The penal ſtatutes againſt the Roman Catholics had been framed to exclude, from offices in the ſtate, men whoſe principles, in policy as well as religion, were deemed by the body of the people extremely dangerous. The King himſelf was open in his attachment to that ſect. His deſigns of introducing by degrees the faith which he profeſſed, were no longer a ſecret; and it is no matter of wonder, that the nation began now to queſtion a prerogative which had been exerciſed without oppoſition by leſs ſuſpected Princes. The diſpenſing power was one of thoſe capital defects in the conſtitution which were removed by the bill of rights at the Revolution [m]. But even the act by which it was aboliſhed admits its legality before that period.

[k] Herbert's Vindication.

[l] Atkins's Reply.

[m] Firſt of W. and M. ſtat. 2. c. 2.

THE

CHAP. VII.

1686. July. James publicly favours the Papiſts.

THE deciſion of the judges in favour of the diſpenſing power induced James to countenance more openly his religious friends. The Earl of Powis, the Lords Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover, who already managed in private the affairs of the nation, in conjunction with Sunderland, were received publickly atthe council-board. The King himſelf, who before went to hear maſs with the Queen, now appropriated the chapel at St. James's to the Romiſh ſervice. He even ſettled fourteen monks at St. James's. He permitted the Jeſuits to erect a chapel in the Savoy. Theſe religioniſts were even encouraged to form a college at the ſame place for the education of children, where two hundred were admitted in the ſpace of a few weeks. The Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. The Carmelites formed a ſeminary in the city. In different parts of the country, places of public worſhip were raiſed by the Papiſts. The religious of that ſect appeared publickly in the habits of their reſpective orders [n]. The apoſtolical enthuſiaſm of the King diveſted his conduct of all prudence. He ſeemed to glory in his folly, and to place his happineſs in every meaſure that ſeemed obviouſly to haſten his ruin. The nation, however, were paſſive, though aſtoniſhed; and to ſuch a low degree had their ſpirit fallen, that they acquieſced in ſilence in all the ridiculous meaſures of the crown.

Auguſt. Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.

THE church of England, to whoſe firm adherence to the crown James owed the tranquillity with which he mounted and poſſeſſed the throne, began to be alarmed. The encroachments of the prerogative in the province of civil affairs had paſſed unnoticed. But the partiality of the King to the profeſſors of another ſyſtem of faith, was now too obvious to be borne by the eſtabliſhed clergy, without jealouſy of their rivals, and fears for themſelves. The preſs laboured with polemical arguments againſt Popery. The pulpits reſounded with Proteſtant zeal. To ſubdue by force a

[n] James II. 1686. paſſim.

church

CHAP. VII. 1686.

church whoſe favour he might have retained with little addreſs, James had iſſued, in the month of April, a high commiſſion, for the cenſure and puniſhment of what was to be called the miſconduct of individuals in eccleſiaſtical affairs. A court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, by carrying its power into acts of tyranny, was one of the moſt ſerious grievances in the reign of the firſt Charles. In the year 1642, it was for ever aboliſhed, by an expreſs act of parliament; but that act was amended and garbled by another ſtatute, in the zeal for prelacy which prevailed at the Reſtoration. The clauſe which regarded the court of high commiſſion was the only part of the act which was not repealed. But the King, by a ſubterfuge ſuggeſted by his judges, endeavoured to avoid the expreſſed force of the law. The court which had been aboliſhed, extended its authority to fining, impriſoning, and tendering oaths. That erected at preſent confined its animadverſions within the bounds of eccleſiaſtical cenſure [o].

Biſhop of London ſuſpended.

THE zeal of the famous Sharpe, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, who was then rector of St. Giles's, gave the firſt employment to the high court for eccleſiaſtical affairs. He preached a ſermon to his congregation, in terms ſufficiently offenſive to the Romiſh faith to be carried by the Papiſts to their patron the King. A letter, ſigned by Sunderland, as ſecretary of ſtate, was ſent, on the fourteenth of June [p], to Compton, Biſhop of London, to ſuſpend Sharpe from the exerciſe of his function, till the King's further pleaſure ſhould be known. Compton, who was then in correſpondence with the Prince and Princeſs of Orange [q], was not a perſon likely to obey from James an order which he deemed illegal. He refuſed, upon juſt as well as plauſible grounds, to ſuſpend Sharpe; and the King ordered him to be ſummoned before the new eccleſiaſtical court. That high commiſſion had been addreſſed to three prelates, and to the Lord Chancellor, and the

[o] James II. 1686. [p] Ibid. [q] D'Avaux.

Earls

CHAP. VII. 1686.

Earls of Sunderland and Rocheſter, together, with Herbert, chief juſtice of the King's Bench. The court met on the third of Auguſt. The Biſhop of London was ſuſpended, on the ſixth of September, from his office, during his Majeſty's pleaſure; and two of the commiſſioners, the Biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, together with the Biſhop of Peterborough, were authoriſed to officiate in his ſtead [r]. Sharpe was at the ſame time ſuſpended; but he was reſtored, by the expreſs directions of the King, after a few days.

Encampment at Hounſlow.

THESE attempts to intimidate the church produced the uſual effect of religious perſecution. Men become moſt enamoured of their ſpeculative opinions when they are moſt oppoſed. The clergy continued their polemical diſcourſes againſt Popery; and James, though perhaps offended, had for ſome time the prudence to abſtain from further animadverſions on their conduct. The puniſhment of one Johnſon, a clergyman, for writing a libel, was paoductive of ſome noiſe, in the preſent jealouſy which prevailed in the kingdom. The King, having determined to ſupport his authority, formed, during the ſummer, a camp on Hounſlow-heath, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men. He ſpent a great part of his time in training and diſciplining theſe troops; and this force was deemed by the people, and perhaps intended by James, as an oſtentation of his own ability to overcome all oppoſition to his authority. Though the whole army conſiſted almoſt entirely of Proteſtants, the nation, new to a ſtanding force, ſeemed to dread that, through the unlimited obedience of military diſcipline, they might be induced to ſupport meaſures contrary to their own religious principles. Under this impreſſion, Johnſon, who had formerly been chaplain to the Lord Ruſſel, wrote an addreſs to the army. The paper was manifeſtly ſeditious. The author was tried for a high miſdemeanor, found guilty [s], degraded from the character of a clergyman, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn.

[r] Auct. citat. paſſim.

[s] Nov. 16.

burn[t]. Though the ſentence might be within the ſtrict limits of law, it was deemed ſevere by thoſe who approved of Johnſon's principles. CHAP. VII. 1686.

JAMES flattered himſelf, that to confine his meaſures to the precedents of any of his predeceſſors, was ſufficient to juſtify his conduct to the world. Had he been as violently attached to the church of England as he was to the Romiſh faith, his high claims to prerogative, though they might not have eſcaped cenſure, would have been attended with no danger. The people, fatigued with the late conteſt with the crown, ſeemed willing to repoſe themſelves under the wings of deſpotiſm. The fierce ſpirit of their anceſtors had declined, under an imperfect civilization. The independence which individuals have derived from the proſperity of better times, was then neither known nor underſtood. The King had the imprudence to touch the only key which could rouſe the nation to ſpirit. When he attacked the church, he undermined the chief pillar which ſupported his throne. Men might perceive, from that inſtant, that he was deſtined to fall by a religious zeal ſimilar to his own. Nothing, however, could divert this infatuated Prince from the mad purpoſe of propagating his own faith. Even his vanity contributed, as much as his enthuſiaſm, to his ruin. The examples of former times could have no weight with a man who had ever conſtrued his own obſtinacy into firmneſs. Imprudence of the King.

THE King's ſecret enemies ſeemed willing to haſten the ruin threatened by his own folly. Sunderland, to gain more of his confidence, pretended to yield to his arguments, and promiſed to become a Catholic. The Earl of Rocheſter, though he adhered to his former religious principles, was, from his attachment to monarchy, ſtill agreeable to the King. To remove him from of- Rocheſter diſmiſſed.

[t] Nov. 20. James II. 1686.

CHAP. VII. 1686.

fice was deemed a point of conſequence by Sunderland and his cabal [u]. They inſinuated to James, that Rocheſter was determined to become one of his proſelytes [x]. Overjoyed at this diſcovery, he preſſed the Earl with great vehemence to change his religion. Rocheſter, enraged at an attack which he had not foreſeen, refuſed the requeſt of his maſter with great warmth. A conference of divines was propoſed to argue the refractory treaſurer out of his faith. They had ſcarce begun [y], when he ſtarted up and ſaid, that he was now more confirmed than ever in his former opinions. This behaviour produced an altercation between the King and Rocheſter, which terminated in an abſolute quarrel. Rocheſter ſeems to have carried his reſentment farther than his maſter. He was not, for ſome time after the conference, diſmiſſed from the office of treaſurer; and James aſcribes to other cauſes, and not to his obſtinacy in religion, his removal. The King, however, was grateful for his ſervices, and ſettled upon him, out of the poſt-office, four thouſand pounds a-year [z] for life with twelve hundred more payable at the exchequer [a].

Intrigues of Sunderland.

THOUGH Sunderland, in effectuating the difference between the King and Rocheſter, entertained more diſtant views, his moſt obvious deſign was to poſſeſs himſelf of the office of treaſurer. James declared, upon the removal of Rocheſter, that he would ever after continue the treaſury in commiſſion [b]; yet Sunderland concerted with Father Petre and Sir Nathaniel Butler, that he himſelf ſhould be treaſurer, Butler chancellor of the exchequer, and Petre ſecretary of ſtate [c]. Notwithſtanding the bigotry of the King, he deemed it too violent a ſtep to deliver the ſeals into the hands of a prieſt, whoſe talents he deſpiſed [d]. But notwithſtanding this appearance of caution in James with reſpect to Engliſh affairs, he purſued his deſigns in his other kingdoms with an

[u] James II. 1686. [x] James II. [y] Ibid. [z] James II. 1686.
[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid.

eagerneſs

eagerneſs ſcarce conſiſtent with common prudence. In Ireland, the vehemence of the Catholics carried forward his deſigns with precipitate fury. Talbot, a zealous Papiſt, had been raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Tyrconnel, and placed, as lieutenant-general, at the head of the Iriſh army. In conſequence of the ſcheme of James for new-modelling his forces in that kingdom, Talbot's commiſſion rendered him, in ſome degree, independent of the lord-lieutenant; and he conſequently proceeded to what he called the reformation of the troops, with a violence ſuitable to his character[e]. CHAP. VII. 1686.

PRIOR to the independent power truſted with Tyrconnel, the King, ſwayed by his councils, made ſeveral alterations in the civil departments in Ireland. The ſeals of that kingdom were taken from the primate, and Sir Charles Porter, a man of a more complying character, was appointed chancellor. Three Proteſtant judges were removed, and their places filled with Iriſh Catholics. Many of that ſect were admitted members of the privy-council. Orders were iſſued to permit the free exerciſe of their functions to the Romiſh clergy. Proteſtant divines were prohibited from treating in their diſcourſes of controverſial points. Dejection and melancholy fears for the future prevailed among the Proteſtants. A degree of inſolence, proportioned to their ignorance and ſucceſs, appeared in the whole conduct of the Papiſts. To increaſe the terrors of the firſt, and raiſe the hopes of the latter, Tyrconnel arrived, with all his military powers, in Ireland. Officers and private men were diſmiſſed, without diſtinction, and frequently with inſults, upon various pretences. Though the King's inſtructions to the lieutenant-general contained no more than to admit all his ſubjects indiſcriminately, Tyrconnel had the imprudence to iſſue orders to receive none but Catholics. The lord-lieutenant himſelf, though devoted in his principles to the prero- Affairs o

[e] Leland, vol. iii.

CHAP. VII. 1686.

gative, was alarmed, as well as the Proteſtant part of the nation. He dreaded conſequences of the worſt kind from the jealouſies which the vehement conduct of the lieutenant-general had already raiſed; and he tranſmitted his complaints to the court of England [f].

Ireland.

SUNDERLAND, the King's worſt enemy, though now in his greateſt confidence, prevented the repreſentations of Clarendon from reaching his ears [g]. Having, by an artifice, turned the Earl of Rocheſter out of the office of treaſurer, he was reſolved to deprive his brother of the government of Ireland. In accompliſhing this point, he obtained another of more importance, the rendering his maſter unpopular, to haſten his ruin. He concealed from that deluded Prince ſome prudent expedients propoſed by Clarendon to reconcile the Proteſtant Iriſh to his government, by expelling their fears. No anſwer was returned to the lord lieutenant; and even complaints againſt himſelf were encouraged by the miniſter, and believed by the King. Tyrconnel came to England. He accuſed Clarendon of mal-adminiſtration in ſeveral inſtances. Though attached to the crown, he was not entirely ſuited to the wild projects of James, or the inſidious deſigns of his principal ſervant. To appoint a ſucceſſor to Clarendon became an object of deliberation. Tyrconnel, by ſtipulating to pay an yearly penſion to Sunderland [h], was, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, declared lord deputy of Ireland [i]. The news of Tyrconnel's promotion ſtruck the Iriſh Proteſtants with the utmoſt conſternation. They knew his violence, his prejudices, his abandoned character. Though deſtitute of veracity to a proverb, they could truſt his paſſions for the execution of his former threats againſt themſelves and their religion.

[f] Clarendon's Letters.
[g] Clarendon's Letters, vol. ii. Leland.
[h] 5000l.
[i] James II. Kennet, Leland.

WHILE

CHAP. VII.

1686.

Secret ſchemes of the Prince of Orange.

WHILE the religious enthuſiaſm of James was buſy in depriving him of the affections of his ſubjects, the ambition of the Prince of Orange was forming ſchemes for mounting his throne. He was even, in ſome degree, the author of the meaſures which had rendered his infatuated uncle unpopular. Sunderland, who had all along adviſed James, was in the pay of the Prince of Orange[k], and promoted, with a ſtrange kind of fidelity, his views. To encourage the King in his enthuſiaſm for Popery, was to furniſh him with the certain means of his own ruin; and the Earl managed this weakneſs with ſuch addreſs, that his deluded maſter deemed himſelf in a proſperous condition, while the ſceptre was ready to fall from his hands. To facilitate the intercourſe between the Prince of Orange and Sunderland, Sidney, the uncle of the latter, was ſent to the Hague[l]. Skelton, the Engliſh reſident, was ſo certain of this ſecret correſpondence, that he was afraid, for fear of a diſcovery, to write any thing to England againſt the Prince; ſacrificing thus his fidelity to James to his own motives of prudence. But though the affairs of England were haſtening to a criſis, they had not yet arrived at a point which could render certain the ſucceſs of the Prince. He, however, haſtened with unabating zeal his own deſigns. While he encouraged James in his moſt imprudent and arbitrary ſchemes, by the means of Sunderland, he kept Dyckfeldt in England to promote a revolt[m]."

His conduct in foreign affairs.

BUT the proſpect of obtaining, through the folly of James, the Engliſh throne, was not the ſole deſign which employed the thoughts of the Prince of Orange. The jealouſy which he had ever entertained of the too great power of France, had been lately inflamed, by perſonal injuries, on the part of Lewis the Fourteenth. The territory from which his family derived their title had been ſeized by that monarch unjuſtly; and it was ſtill retained

[k] James II. 1685. [l] D'Avaux, vol. iv. [m] Ibid.

by

CHAP. VII.

1686. by force. He was reſolved to be revenged, if he could not obtain juſtice. The famous league of Augſbourg, which took place in the year 1687, was projected by his abilities, and carried to a concluſion by his influence. This alliance united againſt France all her enemies in the preceding war. But ſtill the league was deemed imperfect, as long as England obſerved a neutrality; and though James was not inſenſible of the honour of his kingdom, it could ſcarce be expected that he would offend France, by abetting the views of the known rival of his power. Nor was the backwardneſs of his uncle the only obſtacle which the Prince had to ſurmount. Some members of the States of Holland, gained by France, or offended at his own arbitrary proceedings [n] as Stadtholder, obſtructed his preparations for war. He was even ſo ſenſible of their jealouſy, that he endeavoured to remove it by an ingenious artifice. He ordered a rumour to be ſpread, that, in his weak ſtate of body, he could not poſſibly live two years [o]. This ſerved the double purpoſe of his ambition. It prevented the oppoſition of his enemies at home, by the hopes of his death; and contributed to lull James into that ſecurity which ſoon after proved fatal to his power.

1687. Reflections on

THE ſchemes formed by his enemies againſt James, were leſs fatal to that deluded Prince than his own folly. His love of power, though great, was a ſecondary paſſion in his breaſt. Enthuſiaſm, that inherent diſeaſe of inferior minds, perverted his councils, and infected all his meaſures. The flatterers of this weakneſs were deemed his only friends. Men who warned him of the danger of his conduct were received with coldneſs, or conſidered as diſaffected. In his eagerneſs to accompliſh his own projects, he perceived not that they were diſapproved by his people; and he conſtrued that general ſilence, which ſprung from fears for the future, into a mark of affection for the preſent

[n] D'Avaux, vol. iv.

[o] Ibid.

ſyſtem

CHAP. VII.

1687.

ſyſtem of government. An outward appearance of national proſperity contributed to reconcile James to a continuance of his deſigns. Commerce flouriſhed under his patronage and protection. Fruitful ſeaſons had filled with plenty the kingdom. The rigours of the courts of juſtice had abated. Private property remained ſecure. The nation was protected by a powerful and well-appointed fleet; and though a ſtrict œconomy prevailed in every branch of government, the regularity of payments gave its full vigour and force to every part.

the conduct of James.

DELUDED by this ſpecious outſide, James perceived not the miſchiefs which lay lurking within. The very qualities by which he created, in ſome meaſure, this appearance of happineſs, rendered him, on account of his known principles, an object of terror. His attachment to the Papiſts ſubjected his beſt meaſures to the worſt conſtructions; and the ſuſpicions of the people roſe higheſt when he affected moderation the moſt. But, in the great line of his tranſactions, he ſeldom erred on the moderate ſide. In his extravagant affection for the prerogative, he took pleaſure in exerting it upon every occaſion. To obtain his point by addreſs, to gain it ſlowly, but with certainty, through eſtabliſhed forms, he deemed beneath his dignity. To command by influence, would be to own that mankind had ſome independent rights of their own; a poſition which this infatuated monarch ſeemed very unwilling to allow. He never conſidered that the perſonal authority of a Prince is in itſelf the gift of the people, and that it ceaſes to exiſt whenever their affections are changed.

February. Papiſts promoted.

THE ſucceſs which had attended his wild projects rendered James leſs cautious in his conduct. The fall of the Earls of Rocheſter and Clarendon furniſhed places of the higheſt importance for two of his Catholic friends. The Lord Bellaſis was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The privy-ſeal, vacant by the

CHAP. VII. 1687.

removal of Clarendon, was beſtowed on the Lord Arundel of Wardour. To open the field of preferment to all Papiſts, was the firſt object of the King's deſire. He had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to gain the conſent of parliament to the repeal of the teſts. Though he cloſeted the leading members, though he threatened much and promiſed more, they refuſed their concurrence to meaſures which they could not approve. He found himſelf at laſt obliged to have recourſe to the dangerous engine of the prerogative to effectuate his frantic deſigns. Though he had publickly declared, through his creatures, that the parliament was actually to meet on buſineſs on the fifteenth of February [p], he prorogued that aſſembly to the twenty-eighth of April; nor were there any hopes of their being even then permitted to ſit.

Indulgence in Scotland.

JAMES had hitherto availed himſelf of the ſervice of his Roman Catholic ſubjects, by particular diſpenſations from the penal ſtatutes. To prepare the nation for a more extenſive indulgence to the favourite ſect, the emiſſaries of the court were inſtructed to diſcourſe of the reaſonableneſs of a general toleration in matters of religion. The meaſure ſeemed to the King as prudent in itſelf, as it was ſuitable to his bigotry. He had loſt, in a great meaſure, the church of England, through jealouſy and recent injuries; and he hoped to balance their defection by gaining the Proteſtant Diſſenters. He reſolved, from a double conſideration, to make the firſt experiment in Scotland. A great majority of his ſubjects in that kingdom were averſe to the religion eſtabliſhed by law; and he had placed the government in the hands of men who were from principle enemies to prelacy. On the eighteenth of February, a proclamation was iſſued at Edinburgh, granting a general toleration to all religious ſects, ſuſpending all penal and diſabling laws, annulling and diſcharging all oaths by way of teſt, and breaking down all diſtinctions between ſubject and

[p] Journals, Feb. 15.

ſubject.

ſubject[p]. Though the language of the proclamation was highly deſpotic, and therefore imprudent, it ſcarce aſſumed any prerogative in eccleſiaſtical affairs that had not been lately conferred upon the crown by expreſs acts of parliament.

March. The ſame

THE lords of the Scotiſh privy-council expreſſed, by letter, in the moſt abject terms, their approbation of the general indulgence. The meaſure itſelf was not, however, received by the Preſbyterians with that joy which might have been expected from their former ſufferings. Intolerant in their own principles, and peculiarly averſe to the Papiſts, they looked with indifference upon that eaſe from perſecution, which they were to ſhare in common with a ſect whom they abhorred. But nothing could diſcourage James from proſecuting his religious deſigns. He declared in council, on the eighteenth of March, that he was determined to extend to England the general toleration which he had eſtabliſhed in Scotland. An uniformity of religion, he ſaid, had been forced, in vain, for four ſucceſſive reigns, upon the nation, by the joint efforts of the crown and parliament. The reſtraint upon Diſſenters, he continued, without producing a ſingle advantage, had brought many calamities upon the Prince and the people. He aſcribed to the intolerance of the eſtabliſhed church the misfortunes of his father's reign. He obſerved, that, as is uſual in perſecutions, the penal laws had increaſed rather than diminiſhed the number of Diſſenters; and he affirmed, that nothing could more conduce to the peace of the kingdom, and to the increaſe of the number and trade of his ſubjects, than an unlimited liberty of conſcience. He had always, he ſaid, entertained an opinion, that an entire freedom in matters of religion was moſt ſuitable to the mild ſpirit and principles of Chriſtianity; and he concluded with informing them, that he had directed his

[p] Gazette.

CHAP. VII. 1687.

attorney and ſolicitor-general to permit no proceſs to iſſue in his name againſt any Diſſenter whatſoever [q].

in England. April.

HAD James been ſincere in theſe ſentiments, they might have reflected honour upon his principles and moderation. But a Prince ſo notoriouſly attached to the opinions of one ſect, could ſcarce gain credit to his wiſhes for the eaſe of the reſt. His deſigns to ſerve only the Papiſts, were perceived through his profeſſions in favour of the Proteſtant Diſſenters. The declaration for England was publiſhed for the firſt time on the fourth of April. The Diſſenters received the indulgence with extravagant joy. Addreſſes came from all ſects and perſuaſions throughout the kingdom, filled with the moſt abject flattery, and the moſt rapturous profeſſions of loyalty. Anabaptiſts, Preſbyterians, and Quakers, crowded promiſcuouſly the royal preſence, and laid their offerings at the foot of the throne. James was compared to Cyrus, to Moſes, to ſeveral other deliverers of the people of God in the ancient world. His piety was praiſed, his moderation exalted, his magnanimity raiſed to the ſkies. The adulation of civil ſocieties yielded not to the vehement profeſſions of religious ſects. The grand jury and juſtices of Middleſex gave extravagant praiſes to the King, for his care and tenderneſs to the church of England. The benchers and barriſters of the Middle Temple wiſhed for the "voice of angels," to thank him for his condeſcenſion and clemency to all his ſubjects. They acknowledged their gratitude for the honour which he had conferred upon their profeſſion, by aſſerting his own prerogatives, which were the very life of the law. They aſſured him, that they were reſolved to defend "the DIVINE maxim, that the King derives all his power from God, and that all law proceeds from the King [r]."

[q] Gazette. Minutes of P. C.

[r] Gazette.

CHAP. VII.

1687.

WHILE James amuſed himſelf with the unmeaning addreſſes of an inconſiderable part of the nation, the body of the people, though ſilent, were offended. The Prince of Orange, who had long fixed his eye on the Engliſh throne, watched his motions, and made every advantage of his errors. When the Earl of Rocheſter was removed, and Tyrconnel ſent to Ireland, he reſolved to diſpatch a truſty perſon to England, to foment the jealouſy of the Proteſtants [s]. Dykvelt, a man of intrigue, and well known to the leaders of the party, was appointed for that delicate ſervice. The Prince formed, by an artifice, a ſpecious pretence for Dykvelt's embaſſy. The encroachments of the Dutch on the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, with regard to their commerce in Aſia, were reported to have raiſed the reſentment of James to a pitch that threatened the States with a war. Some naval preparations in England gave an appearance of juſtice to this tale; and the province of Holland, by the recommendation of Penſionary Fagel, employed Dykvelt as their miniſter extraordinary, to ſooth the King of England. Dykvelt, under a public character, reſided in England from February to the end of May. He held during that time a cloſe correſpondence with the Proteſtant leaders, and formed the outlines of that general revolt, which ſoon after precipitated the unfortunate James from his throne [t].

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange

JAMES was no ſtranger to the intrigues of Dykvelt. He even upbraided him for his conduct [u]; but miſtaking the profeſſions of a few for the voice of the nation, he became ſecure and confident in his councils. His chief object was to obtain for his favoured ſect a total abolition of the teſt and penal laws. He had uſed in vain all his influence with the leading members of the two houſes of parliament for this purpoſe; and he found, that thoſe who oppoſed him the moſt, were the greateſt friends of the Prince of

in England. May.

[s] D'Avaux, vol. iv. [t] Ibid. [u] Ibid.

CHAP. VII. 1687.

Orange. The King therefore reſolved to apply to the Prince for his conſent. His eagerneſs to gain England as a party in the alliance of Augſbourg, furniſh James with ſome hopes, that from a proſpect of obtaining that object, he would yield to his requeſt But by the very conveyance which carried his letter to the Hague, the Prince received other diſpatches that induced him to refuſe his conſent. The Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Devonſhire, Danby, Shrewſbury, and the Lord Churchill, committed to writing general offers of their ſervice; and referred him for particulars to Dykvelt [x]. This intelligence, together with the favourable accounts which Dykvelt gave of the ſtate of opinions in England, induced the Prince to refuſe his conſent to a meaſure, which even his moſt hearty concurrence could never perhaps accompliſh [y].

An attempt on Cambridge.

AN attempt to introduce Papiſts into the two univerſities, was one of the moſt imprudent meaſures of the preſent reign. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge received a letter, on the ninth of February, from the King, commanding the univerſity to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of Maſter of Arts, without exacting the oaths. Though it had been uſual with the two univerſities to confer honorary degrees, at the deſire of the King, on eminent ſtrangers, without any regard to religion; upon debating the matter in the conſiſtory, it was reſolved, that Francis could not be admitted without taking the oaths. A deputation was ſent to his Majeſty, to ſolicit him to withdraw his mandate. But the delegates applied to Sunderland, and they were neither admitted nor heard. The vice-chancellor was ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners. He was tried, and, on the ſeventh of May, ſuſpended from his office. The univerſity filled his place with a man of known ſpirit. To make a ſecond attempt

[x] Dalrymple's Append. [y] D'Avaux, paſſim.

would

would be only to renew the conteſt; and the King, with a prudence which he ſeldom exerted, deſiſted from any further attempt on Cambridge [z]. CHAP. VII. 1687.

DURING the dependence of the proceſs againſt Cambridge before the eccleſiaſtical court, another diſpute happened between the King and the univerſity of Oxford. Clerk, the preſident of Magdalene-college, dying in the end of March, a vacancy was declared by the vice-preſident, and a day was appointed for a new election. Farmer, a ſuppoſed convert to Popery [a], was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a diſpenſation from the uſual oaths. The members of the college, informed of this recommendation, diſpatched two of their number, Smith and Bagſhaw, with a petition to the King, humbly requeſting, that he would either withdraw his preſent mandate, or recommend ſome perſon of a leſs exceptionable character than Farmer. The delegates waited upon Sunderland on the tenth of April [b], and delivered their petition, together with a letter from the viſitor, the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Sunderland promiſed that the petition and letter ſhould be preſented to the King in council on the twelfth; but the delegates were informed, by a member of the council, that no mention at all was made of the affair. They, however, called upon Sunderland. He told them, in the moſt haughty and ſupercilious manner, that their petition and letter had been conſidered, and that the King ſent for anſwer, "that he expected to be obeyed [c]." Bagſhaw returned to Oxford. The college proceeded to election, and choſe Mr. Hough, a man of ſenſe, ſpirit, and integrity. The affair of Magdalene college.

THE King having never heard of the petition of the fellows, was highly incenſed at their contempt of his mandate. The preſidents June.

[z] Kennet, Ralph. [a] Rapin. [b] MS. account by Smith, penes me. [c] Ibid.

CHAP. VII. 1687.

ſidents of the college had, almoſt uninterruptedly, been recommended by the King. Clerk himſelf, the laſt preſident, owed his place to the mandamus of the late King. A citation was iſſued, for the college to appear before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, to anſwer for their diſobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing. Queſtions were propoſed by the commiſſioners. Time was given to the defendants to reply. They proved ſuch articles of folly and vice againſt Farmer, as juſtified their conduct in rejecting him, without having recourſe to the legal diſqualifications under which he laboured. The commiſſioners, however, proceeded to deprive Mr. Hough, and to ſuſpend the vice-preſident and Dr. Halifax, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his oppoſition to the royal mandate. The college, encouraged by the Proteſtant leaders, paid no ſubmiſſion to this ſentence. The King iſſued a formal inhibition againſt all elections in Magdalene college, till his further pleaſure ſhould be known. The bad character of Farmer rendering him unfit for the office of preſident, a new mandate was ſent to the college, to elect the Biſhop of Oxford to the vacant preſidentſhip; but an anſwer was returned, that no new election could be made till the former ſhould be LEGALLY annulled. The pride of James was inflamed at what he deemed the inſolence of this refuſal. He prepared himſelf for a more ſolid vengeance; and his enemies, who ſaw the ſlippery ground upon which he ſtood, encouraged the college to continue their obſtinacy [d].

July. Parliament diſſolved.

THE Prince and Princeſs of Orange having formally refuſed their concurrence to the repeal of the teſt and the penal laws, the King, deſpairing of a majority upon that ſubject, diſſolved the parliament on the ſecond of July [e]. The expectation of forming, through the means of the Diſſenters, a more pliant houſe of com-

[d] MS. account by Smith.

[e] James II.

mons,

CHAP. VII. 1687.

mons, induced the King to adopt this meaſure. Uncertain, however, of his ſucceſs in that deſign, he made no mention, in his proclamation, of any intention of calling another parliament. The Prince of Orange was alarmed. He was afraid that a packed houſe of commons might be procured, and that their authority, by approving of the King's meaſures, might confirm him on his throne. He ſent Zuliſtein [f], one of his creatures, to England, to enlarge the breach between James and his ſubjects. The correſpondence between the Proteſtant leaders and the Prince was renewed. The imprudence of the King contributed to render, every day, leſs neceſſary the conſpiracy againſt his power. Though the Pope, from his connexion with the Emperor and his allies, had paid little attention to the ambaſſador of James, he thought proper to ſend Ferdinando d'Adda, Archbiſhop of Amaſia, in the character of his nuncio, to England. This prelate was received in a public manner by the King at Windſor, and, two days after, with the like pomp by the Queen-dowager, at Somerſet-houſe. This ceremonious reception of the nuncio was attended with a circumſtance, which, by betraying the extreme bigotry of the King, offended the nation. The Duke of Somerſet, who was in waiting, as lord of the bedchamber, refuſed to attend the nuncio to his audience, as a ſervice contrary to the laws of the land. The King diſmiſſed him in wrath from his place, and deprived him at the ſame time of his regiment of dragoons [g].

Auguſt. The King's progreſs.

THOUGH the conduct of James was as weak as it was impolitic, he could ſcarce have the folly to hope to render the Romiſh faith the eſtabliſhed religion of his kingdoms. His utmoſt object, as he ſolemnly declared himſelf [h], extended no farther than to give an unlimited toleration to the ſect which he ſo much loved. Diffident of the force of his prerogative, which was only a temporary

[f] Auguſt. [g] Kennet, Ralph. [h] James II. paſſim.

preſſure

CHAP. VII. 1687.

preſſure on the eſtabliſhed laws, he could force no permanent ſafety to his ſchemes without the authority of the legiſlature. His repeated trials to ſeduce the majority of the houſe of commons into his meaſures had proved ineffectual; and he had lately diſſolved the parliament, in hopes to find among the people the confidence which their repreſentatives had denied. It was to ſolicit his ſubjects to return ſuch members as ſuited his views for repealing the teſt and penal laws, the King is ſaid to have made his progreſs, in the end of Auguſt, through ſome of the weſtern counties. He was received in every place with the utmoſt reſpect and joy; and the moſt ſubmiſſive aſſurances of compliance were made by all who obtained acceſs to his perſon. To gain the confidence of the electors, the King, upon every occaſion, declared, that he never meant any Catholic ſhould ſit in either houſe [1].

Sept. He courts the Diſſenters.

THE progreſs of the King in the weſtern counties was ſhort. In two weeks he rejoined the Queen, whom he had left at Bath; and having remained at that place a few days, he returned on the fourteenth of September to Windſor. But the ſucceſs of his progreſs, and the power of the crown in the boroughs, were not ſufficient to give to James a perfect confidence in the compliance of parliament, with regard to his favourite ſchemes. He found, from a near view, that a very great majority of the nation were extremely averſe to a toleration, which might place the power of the kingdom in the hands of the ſect they abhorred. He perceived that the abject addreſſes which he had received, were rather the effuſions of the intemperate joy of a few, than the voice of the people; and that the general ſilence of the nation was by no means to be conſtrued into an implicit approbation of his own conduct. He, however, reſolved to adhere to his meaſures. Having loſt the church of England, he endeavoured to balance their

[1] Ralph, vol. i. p. 963.

oppoſition

oppoſition by an attention to the Diſſenters. He affected to place them on the ſame footing with the Catholics. He tried to gain their affection by careſſes, and to ſecure their ſupport through the channel of intereſt. They were admitted to offices, to magiſtracies, to places of truſt. But this condeſcenſion was too little merited to be deemed ſincere [k].

Nov. He dines with the city.

THE Diſſenters, however, ſeemed ſtill to retain a grateful ſenſe of the late indulgence. Sir John Shorter, the new lord-mayor, who was of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion, invited the King to dine with the city on the day he was ſworn into the chair. To pay a compliment to James, the company of D'Adda, the Pope's nuncio, was alſo deſired. That miniſter was received with great ceremony by the ſheriffs, at Temple Bar. He was treated with reſpect by the lord-mayor. An intercourſe of civilities employed the attention of the court and city for ſome days. The Diſſenters and the Papiſts, being equally relieved from what they called perſecution, became in appearance warm friends. But this prepoſterous alliance was not deſtined to laſt long. Where religious opinions were ſo different, no political union could ſubſiſt. The Papiſts abhorred the republican principles of the Diſſenters; and no common intereſt could reconcile the latter to a ſect whom they deemed at once idolaters and ſlaves [l].

Proceedings againſt Magdalene-college.

DURING this coalition between the Diſſenters and the Papiſts, the church of England conſidered herſelf as perſecuted by the crown. The affair of Magdalene-college having lain dormant for ſome months, was again reſumed. A new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was iſſued to the Biſhop of Cheſter, the Lord-chief-juſtice Wright, and Jennour, one of the Barons of Exchequer. Attended by three troops of horſe, the commiſſioners repaired to Oxford on the twentieth of November, to take cognizance of the late proceedings

[k] Kennet, Ralph, Echard.

[l] State of Parties, 1687. MS.

CHAP. VII.

1687.

at Magdalene-college, as ſupreme viſitors. Hough, the preſident, refuſing to ſubmit to the viſitation, was, for contumacy, deprived. The fellows having determined not to ſubmit to the Biſhop of Oxford, that prelate was inſtalled by proxy, as preſident, by the authority of the commiſſioners. The court, not ſatisfied perhaps with the legality of their own commiſſion, ſhewed an inclination to accommodate matters without advancing to extremities. The college, encouraged by perſons who had entered into a correſpondence with the Prince of Orange, was obſtinate. The pride of James induced him to proceed. To yield in one point was to annihilate his diſpenſing power in all. He was ſenſible of the danger of advancing, but he could not with honour recede [m]. He ordered therefore the commiſſioners to exert their authority; and, on the twenty-ſixth of November, the vice-preſident, with all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the King's mandate, were deprived [n].

Dec. Reflections.

THIS arbitrary and illegal deciſion aroſe from the arts of the King's enemies as much as from his own violence. The preſidents of Magdalene-college had been almoſt uniformly recommended by the crown [o]; and James, had he not thrown the ſuppoſition of Popery on Farmer, by diſpenſing with the oaths, could ſcarce, with any colour of decency, be refuſed in his demand. The choice of Mr. Hough, without any anſwer made to the royal mandate, inflamed the reſentment of the King. Yet he ſeemed willing to avoid extremities, ſhould the fellows make a ſhow of ſubmiſſion, to gratify his pride. Had not the firſt petition of the college been ſuppreſſed by Sunderland, the affair of Oxford, like that of Cambridge, would have ſoon ſunk in oblivion. James himſelf had the imprudence to render his diſpute with Magdalene-college an object of the utmoſt importance in the eyes of the na-

[m] James II.
[n] MS. account by Dr. Smith, one of the fellows, penes me.
[o] MS. 1687.

tion.

CHAP. VII.

1687.

tion. When he came to Oxford, in the courſe of his progreſs, he deſcended from his dignity by a perſonal altercation with the fellows; and expected, from his own threats, a ſubmiſſion to his authority, which had not been paid to the deciſion of a court of law. Fretted with diſappointment, he gratified his enemies by an arbitrary exertion of power. He was led from ſtep to ſtep by the management of others, on his own unyielding maxims of government; and the miſchief was effectually done before he perceived the ſnare. Great collections were made for the fellows when they were expelled. The Prince of Orange, with his uſual policy, ſent two hundred pounds in the name of the Princeſs, his wife [p].

1688. Jan. The Queen declared to be with child.

REPEATED encroachments upon the conſtitution, from whatever cauſe they proceeded, could not fail to alarm the nation. They could aſcribe the King's meaſures to nothing leſs than a ſettled ſyſtem to introduce his own religion and an unlimited power in the crown. Their fears aroſe in proportion to the means which he poſſeſſed to accompliſh his deſigns. He had a numerous army by land, a formidable fleet ready to put to ſea. The intereſts of the powers on the continent were ſo well poiſed, that his importance abroad ſeemed to equal his authority at home. A careful manager of his revenue, he was in no difficulties for money; and therefore there was no appearance of his calling a parliament, unleſs packed and prepared for an entire ſubſerviency to his deſigns. The hopes of the timid and jealous aroſe only from his declining years. His death ſeemed no diſtant object; and they expected that a Proteſtant ſucceſſor would ſoon reſtore the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed religion, which the King's enthuſiaſm had diſcompoſed. But theſe hopes began ſuddenly to vaniſh,

[p] MS. 1687.

CHAP. VII. 1688.

when a proclamation for a public thankſgiving announced, on the fifth of January, that the Queen was with child [q].

Surmiſes ſpread of an impoſture.

THE unpopularity of James became extremely conſpicuous upon the preſent occaſion. The body of the people, averſe from his religion, and in fears for their own, were prepared to believe the worſt of a Prince, whoſe enthuſiaſm for Popery had appeared in all his meaſures. His enemies, now deeply engaged in the views of the Prince of Orange, determined to ſpread reports that the Queen's pregnancy was a fiction, and that the Papiſts were reſolved to ſupport their intereſt in the nation, by providing a ſuppoſititious heir for the throne. A dropſy, a tympany, a cuſhion, a pillow, the Queen's maladies, the debilitated conſtitution of the King, became the objects of converſation and the topics of ſatire. Though the ſame unmanly tale had been propagated by the excluſioniſts in the year 1682 [s], when the Dutcheſs of York was with child, the bulk of the nation became the dupes of this ſtale artifice. Even men of ſenſe and abilities, either blinded with zeal, or diſhoneſt from deſign, affected to give implicit faith to a fiction, which has been long exploded by the moſt poſitive and convincing proofs. The Prince of Orange himſelf deſcended from his dignity of character, to encourage ſurmiſes ſo favourable to his ambition. The firſt public doubt of the Queen's pregnancy was printed at the Hague; and though he probably obſerved his uſual prudence in his converſation upon the ſubject, he ſeemed to entertain doubts from his very ſilence [t].

Secret projects

THE ſchemes which the Prince purſued in ſecret for mounting the Engliſh throne, required all his addreſs to render them ſucceſsful. The birth of a Prince of Wales would perhaps deprive him of

[q] Vide Auct. citat. paſſim.

[s] Obſervator, Aug. 23, 1682.

[t] James II.

CHAP. VII. 1688.

ſome of his preſent friends, from their terrors for a diſputed title to the throne. The bulk of the nation, though utterly averſe from Popery, were invincibly attached to the line of ſucceſſion; and there is no reaſon to preſume, from the Prince's character, that, without a proſpect of gratifying his own ambition, he would riſk either his life or reputation to ſecure the religious and civil rights of the Engliſh nation. His conduct in a republic, where he obtained his authority by election, was no proof of his having any diſintereſted regard for public liberty. He had encroached upon the freedom of the towns[u]. He carried his own points in the aſſembly of the States, by means ſubverſive of their independence as the delegates of a free people. Though he had deſerved much of his country, he governed it more by his abilities and addreſs, than through the channel of its affection for his perſon. His influence, however, was unbounded and deciſive at home; and he had long employed the whole advantage of his ſituation, to acquire the kingdom, which he afterwards obtained abroad[w].

and negociations of

INFORMED of the ſchemes of James, to pack an obſequious parliament, the Prince of Orange, as early as the preceding Auguſt, had made preparations for invading England. He contrived, by an artifice, to poſſeſs himſelf of nine thouſand men and twenty-five ſhips of war, with which he could act upon any emergency without the previous conſent of the States[x]. He apprized the Engliſh malecontents of his deſigns. They landed continually at the Brill and Rotterdam. They went through bye-roads to his court, and conferred with him in ſecret. A reſolution was taken, that ſhould a new parliament agree to the repeal of the teſts and penal laws[y], he ſhould immediately throw off the maſk, and, at the head of the Proteſtant party, declare againſt them and the King. When the King failed in his project of an obedient par-

[u] D'Avaux, vol. iii. paſſim. [w] D'Avaux, vol. iv. [x] Ibid. Aug. 1687.
[y] Dalrymple's Append. D'Avaux.

liament,

CHAP. VII. 1688.

liament, the Prince laid aſide all thoughts of an open rupture, and reverted to thoſe ſecret practices with which he had managed, for ſeven years, the cabals of the Engliſh malecontents. The councils of James were, in the mean time, betrayed by his principal ſervants [z]. He himſelf, as if blinded by deſtiny, continued his unpopular meaſures, and diſregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears [a].

the Prince of Orange.

In ſuch a ſtate of affairs, the Prince of Orange behaved with his uſual prudence, in encouraging a fiction ſo favourable to his ambition. His plan was already ſo extenſively laid, that nothing but the birth of a male heir to the crown of England could poſſibly preclude him from an almoſt immediate poſſeſſion of the throne. He had the addreſs to render two thirds of the powers of Europe intereſted in his ſucceſs. The treaty of Augſbourg, formed to break the power of France, could not accompliſh its object without the acceſſion of England. The houſe of Auſtria, in both its branches, preferred their political views to their zeal for the Romiſh faith; and promoted the dethronement of James, as the only means to humble Lewis the Fourteenth. Odeſcalchi, who, under the name of Innocent the Eleventh, filled then the papal chair, was gained to the meaſures of the Prince of Orange by other conſiderations, as well as through his fixed averſion to France. The Prince ſent his intimate friend, the Prince of Vaudemont, to Rome, to procure the aid of the Pope. He explained to his Holineſs, that the Catholic Princes were in the wrong to expect any advantage to their faith from James, as his being a declared Papiſt rendered his people averſe to all his meaſures. As for himſelf, ſhould he have the good fortune to mount the Engliſh throne, he might take any ſtep in favour of the Roman Catholics without jealouſy; and he promiſed to procure a toleration

[z] D'Avaux, vol. iv. [a] Ibid.

CHAP. VII. 1688.

for the Papiſts, ſhould the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, favour his attempt. This negociation produced the deſired effect. Innocent contributed, with the money of the church, to expel a Roman Catholic Prince from his throne [b].

February. King inſulted by the Dutch.

THOUGH James was no ſtranger either to the deſigns of the Prince of Orange, or to the diſcontents of his own ſubjects, he altered not his conduct. He choſe rather to truſt his ſafety to fortune, than to ſeem to own, by conceſſions, his former errors. His ſituation was too delicate, for a Prince whoſe powers were perverted by religious zeal. Diſtruſt, diſaffection, and even reſentment prevailed at home; and his weight with foreign powers decreaſed in proportion as his authority among his ſubjects declined. The States of Holland, knowing that he could not exert the force of the nation againſt Proteſtants, diſregarded his remonſtrance, and treated him with manifeſt contempt. They refuſed to withdraw their protection from Engliſh fugitives. They openly abetted his enemies. They encouraged indecent libels againſt his perſon and government. To complete the misfortunes of this infatuated Prince, he was betrayed by his ſervants abroad, as well as at home. One White, an Iriſh Roman Catholic, who had received the title of the Marquis of Albeville from the Emperor, was his envoy at the Hague. He was a man of a profligate character, and ſuffered his fidelity to his maſter to be purchaſed by his enemies [c]. Through this unfaithful agent, James demanded, in the end of January, the ſix Engliſh and Scotiſh regiments that were in their ſervice. Inſtead of yielding to his requeſt, the States entered into argument upon the ſubject; and the utmoſt he could at laſt obtain, was a paſs for ſuch of the officers of thoſe regiments as ſhould chooſe to quit the ſervice.

[b] MS. 1688. [c] D'Avaux.

BUT

CHAP. VII.

1688. April. He renews his indulgence.

BUT neither contempt abroad, nor unpopularity at home, could prevent James from purſuing with eagerneſs his favourite deſigns. Men, determined on his ruin, once more tempted his weakneſs[d], and perſuaded him to renew his declaration of indulgence[e]. This act of power, as it was altogether unneceſſary, aſſumed in itſelf all the appearance of conſummate folly. But when, after a few days, an order was ſubjoined to the declaration, that it ſhould be read by all the clergy in all the churches and chapels, no doubts remained of its being a projected inſult upon the eſtabliſhed church. There was, however, a kind of precedent for this mode of promulgating the King's declaration. When Charles the Second diſſolved his laſt parliament at Oxford, in the year 1681, his declaration, containing the reaſons of his conduct, was ordered to be read by the clergy, after divine ſervice. They ſubmitted with cheerfulneſs to a command which was agreeable to the prejudices of their party. But the caſe was at preſent extremely different. The teſt and penal laws againſt Diſſenters were, in a great meaſure, procured by the church; and the clergy deemed any countenance they might give to the diſpenſing power, a deſertion of their own principles. They determined, therefore, not to obey orders of which they could not approve, and to riſk any danger that might ariſe from the reſentment of the King, for the preſervation of their own influence among the people[f].

May. The biſhops petition.

SIX prelates, ſoon after the order for reading the declaration was publiſhed, met the Archbiſhop of Canterbury at his palace at Lambeth, and, with all privacy, conſulted among themſelves. Diſobedience to the commands of the King was ſo inconſiſtent with the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, that it was difficult to reconcile preſent oppoſition to paſt ſubmiſſion. Their fears for themſelves contributed alſo to lengthen their debates. They, at laſt, reſolved to petition

[d] James II. 1688. [e] April 27. [f] Echard, Kennet, Ralph, et Auct. citat.

the

CHAP. VII. 1688.

the King, after extending their deliberations to fourteen days. Two days before the declaration was to be read, they preſented themſelves at Whitehall with their petition; in which, upon various grounds, but in ſubmiſſive terms, they requeſted his Majeſty not to inſiſt upon their reading a declaration, which was at once contrary to their principles and the eſtabliſhed laws. This unexpected oppoſition to his favourite meaſure, within two days of the time of its being carried into execution, raiſed the ſurpriſe and reſentment of James. He told them, that he did not expect ſuch conduct from the church of England. He informed them, that ſhould he change his mind, they ſhould hear from him; if not, he expected to be obeyed [g].

June. and are committed

WHILE the mind of the King was perplexed whether he ſhould deſert his prerogative or puniſh the biſhops, his doubts were ended by Jefferys, the chancellor [h]. He told his Majeſty, that they were liable to a legal proſecution for a tumultuary petition [i]; and he adviſed that they ſhould be ſummoned before the council on the ninth of June. James, eager to ſupport his authority, followed this pernicious advice. The conduct of the biſhops themſelves contributed to increaſe his reſentment. The copy of the petition, which they had delivered, he carefully kept in his own pocket [k]; yet it appeared in print the ſucceeding day. This convinced him, that they wiſhed to engage the nation in their own quarrel; a circumſtance leſs to be forgiven than their diſobedience to his commands. In the interval between the delivery of the petition and the appearance of the biſhops before the council, they acquired courage from the approbation of the people. They reſolved not to ſubmit on any terms. They refuſed to give recogniſances to appear before the King's Bench, to anſwer for this high miſdemeanor. James was ſenſible of the ſtrength of the ground upon which the biſhops ſtood. He deſcended from his

[g] Auct. citat. [h] James II. 1683. [i] Ibid. [k] Ibid.

CHAP. VII. 1688.

uſual ſtatelineſs, and wiſhed to get clear of the whole affair[l]. He begged them only to give a verbal promiſe for their appearance, in caſe of their being called[m]. They refuſed this moderate requeſt, and his pride aroſe. A warrant, ſigned by all the counſellors preſent, being twenty-four in number, and all of them Proteſtants, committed them to the Tower.

to the Tower.

THE circumſtances which attended the commitment of the biſhops might have convinced James of the folly and imprudence of his meaſures. Though they were carried by water to priſon, the people crowded to the river, and rent its banks with ſhouts of applauſe. The very ſoldiers, in whom the King had placed his laſt hopes, deſerted the principles of obedience ſuitable to their order, and joined in the general approbation of the impriſoned prelates. Tumult, confuſion, and noiſe prevailed. The King, whoſe temper was rendered more obſtinate by oppoſition, was neither to be intimidated nor perſuaded from his deſigns. He conſidered the populace as ſwayed by party more than by principle; and, with a ſpirit which might have been commendable in a better cauſe, he was reſolved never to adapt his meaſures to the fluctuating opinions of the vulgar. This ſeeming virtue was one of the great defects of his character. Political courage degenerated into a vice, in a mind diſgraced with weakneſs and bigotry. But his conduct on the preſent occaſion was ſcarce accountable by his uſual imprudence. He fell willingly into a ſnare laid by his enemies. He was informed, that, upon a double account, the biſhops would refuſe to enter into recogniſances, or even to paſs their words for their appearance. "A proſecution, they knew, would inflame the nation, and, at the ſame time, prevent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury from being preſent at the Queen's delivery[n]."

Birth of the Prince of Wales.

THE day after the commitment of the biſhops, the Queen was brought to bed, at St. James's, of a ſon. The ſurmiſes which

[l] James II. 1688. [m] Ibid. [n] James II. paſſim.

had

had been ſpread concerning a fictitious pregnancy, induced the King to eſtabliſh the validity of the birth by the moſt inconteſtible proofs. The delivery was made ſo public, that the common forms of decency were ſcarce obſerved. The utmoſt tranſports of gladneſs were exhibited by the adherents of the King upon the occaſion. The party of the Prince of Orange ſeemed, by their ſilence, to have been, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted. The news was received throughout the kingdom with real or well-diſſembled joy. Counties, corporations, and ſocieties, crowded the royal preſence with congratulations, expreſſed in the moſt extravagant terms of loyalty and ſubmiſſion. Some prayed with the utmoſt fervour, that God would beſtow a male poſterity of the SAME royal line, to ſway the ſceptre of England to the end of the world. Others were ſo tranſported with joy, that they knew not for what further bleſſing to pray. All flattered James upon his late meaſures. The moſt promiſed to ſend ſuch members to parliament as, to uſe their own words, ſhould unite his ſubjects in charity and Chriſtian correſpondence to repeal the teſts. Several of the clergy paid their court by blaming the ſeven biſhops; and, in ſhort, could faith be placed in addreſſes, no Prince was ever more beloved than James by his ſubjects [o].

CHAP. VII. 1688.

ON the fifteenth of June, being the firſt day of the term, the biſhops were brought by water to Weſtminſter-hall. The joy expreſſed for the birth of a Prince of Wales had not leſſened the attachment of the people to the cauſe of the opponents of the King's deſigns. The vulgar poured from every ſtreet to meet the perſecuted prelates. The better ſort were not unconcerned ſpectators on the preſent occaſion. They joined their ſhouts with the populace, and expreſſed, by their countenances and geſtures, the concern which they took in the conteſted cauſe. The lord chief juſtice Wright, a man of ſmall abilities, but devoted to the

Trial

[o] Gazettes, paſſim.

CHAP. VII. 1688.

court, appeared on the bench, aſſiſted by Holloway, Powel, and Allybone, as puiſne judges. The counſel on both ſides were themſelves a ſtrange example of the fluctuating politics of the times. Williams, the late patriot ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, who had been fined ten thouſand pounds for defaming the King, acted in his cauſe as ſolicitor-general. Sawyer and Finch, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as violent royaliſts when attorney and ſolicitor-generals, had loſt their principles with their offices, and appeared for the biſhops. After ſome legal altercations, in which perſonal abuſe was mixed with argument, the priſoners were admitted to bail. Their own recogniſances for their appearance that day fortnight were taken; five hundred pounds for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two hundred pounds for each of the other biſhops [p].

and acquittal

ON the twenty-ninth of June, being St. Peter's day, the ſeven biſhops were brought to their trial, upon an information for their publiſhing a libel concerning their refuſal of reading the declaration of indulgence. The trial continued from nine in the morning till near ſeven at night. The King's evidence, to the number of twelve, laboured to prove the hands of the biſhops to the petition. Sunderland, being examined upon the publication, gave an evidence ſuitable to his own ſecret deſigns. He carried, he ſaid, the biſhops to the King. They delivered a paper; but he could not affirm that it was the ſame on which the information was founded. The counſel for the defendants inſiſted, that the hands of the biſhops were not proved; and if they had, they averred, that the petition was no libel. Finch and Polexfen, in the courſe of the argument, inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the diſpenſing power. Sir Francis Pemberton ſaid, that what the biſhops did became them as peers; and he argued, with juſtice that if the diſpenſing power was againſt law, how came the de-

[p] Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1688, MS.

fendants to be criminals for not obeying illegal commands? Williams, notwithſtanding his former patriotiſm, was vehemently eager againſt the biſhops. He took the whole management of the argument; leaving only to the attorney-general the province of aſking ſome leading queſtion [q]. CHAP. VII. 1688.

THE bench itſelf was divided in opinion. The chief juſtice doubted as to the proof of the publication; but he declared that the petition was a libel. Allybone believed throughout, and doubted nothing. Powel declared himſelf, with great freedom, on the oppoſite ſide. He could not, he ſaid, find the petition to be a libel; for then it muſt be falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious. Falſe it was not, as the King could not legally claim a diſpenſing power; if he could, the ſtatute-books were mere lumber, and the parliament itſelf an uſeleſs aſſembly. Scandalous and malicious it was not, becauſe drawn with all privacy, and preſented with all humility. Holloway joined Powel in his opinion, and declared againſt the diſpenſing power, as inconſiſtent with all law. The jury withdrew; and through the obſtinacy of one Arnold, a brewer, who diſſented, returned not their verdict till nine of the clock next morning. When the words, "Not guilty," were pronounced, the populace, who filled Weſtminſter-hall and all Palace-yard, ſhouted thrice with ſuch vehemence, that the noiſe was heard as far as the Temple [r]. The army encamped on Hounſlow-heath are ſaid, but upon what foundation is uncertain, to have expreſſed, in repeated ſhouts, their joy at the acquittal of the biſhops. Though the event of the proſecution gave ſatisfaction to a great majority of the nation, the triumphs of the populace were, for the moſt part, confined to London. of the biſhops.

THOUGH James expected no favourable iſſue from the trial of the biſhops, he was highly offended at the freedom which Powel [r] July. Further projects of the King.

[q] Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1688, MS.

[r] Ibid.

and

CHAP. VII. 1688.

and Holloway had uſed with his prerogative. Holding for a maxim, that the judges ſhould ſupport the meaſures of the crown, he ever puniſhed, by removing, thoſe who deviated from what he deemed their duty. The fate of the refractory judges was foreſeen in their conduct. In leſs than a week after the trial, they were both diſmiſſed, and their places ſupplied with men of more accommodating minds. The King perceived that the fate of the diſpenſing power was decided by the acquittal of the biſhops. But to ſatisfy in ſome degree the demands of his pride, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were ordered to proceed againſt all the clergy who had not read the declaration. Citations were iſſued [s], but with ſuch languor, that there is ſcarce any probability in the opinion, that they intended to proceed. In the preſent diſpoſition of the nation, no obedience would be paid to the deciſions of a court univerſally deemed illegal. The commiſſioners were releaſed from the execution of an office, whoſe authority had totally declined by a ſudden reſolution of one of their own number. Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, though a ſedulous courtier, ſaw that a longer adherence to the religious meaſures of James would be attended with great unpopularity, and perhaps with danger. He begged by letter to be excuſed from his ſeat at their board [t]. A ſimilar panic ſeized the reſt. They adjourned their proceedings [u] to December; and it was univerſally underſtood, that they were never to meet again as a court [x].

[s] July 12. [t] Aug. 15. [u] Aug. 16. [x] Ralph.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Unpopularity of the King.——Intrigues and preparations of the Prince of Orange.——Security and imprudence of King James. ——He is betrayed by Sunderland.——Convinced at length of his error,—he endeavours to gain the people.——Charter of London reſtored.——Sunderland diſgraced.——Reflections.—— Prince of Orange takes leave of the States.—His declaration.— He ſails, and is driven back.——Engliſh fleet detained by the winds.——Dutch land.——Diſtreſs of the Prince.——Many join him.——Petition of peers.——King joins the army.—— Officers deſert.——Princeſs Anne flies.——A general confuſion. ——A deputation to the Prince.——Queen and Prince of Wales ſent away.——Dictatorial anſwer of the Prince.——Reflections.——The King flies.——He is ſeized at Feverſham.—— Confuſion in London.——Conduct of the Prince.——A council of peers.——King returns.——He is ſeized by the Dutch guards. ——He is ſent to Rocheſter,—and eſcapes to France.——Obſervations.——Prince of Orange in London.——Aſſembly of Peers.——Paper left at Rocheſter.——Peers and commons addreſs the Prince.——His ſecret intrigues for the crown.—— Intrigues of Halifax and Danby.——Convention meets.——Reflections.——They thank the Prince.——Arguments.——Grand reſolve.——Debates in the houſe of lords.——They amend the vote of the commons.——Reject a letter from James.——Prince of Orange declares himſelf.——Conference between the houſes. ——Crown conferred on the Prince and Princeſs.——Declaration of Rights.——Obſervations on the breach on the ſucceſſion.——Reflections on the reign of James.——His character, views, and ſituation.——Arguments for the Revolution.

CHAP. VIII.

1688. Unpopularity of the King.

THE conteſt with the biſhops completed the unpopularity of the King. But he derived the ſuddenneſs of his ruin from the birth of a Prince of Wales. That circumſtance increaſed the fears

CHAP. VIII. 1683.

fears of his ſubjects, in proportion as it raiſed his ſecurity and hopes. In the reign of a Prince to be educated under the prejudices of ſuch a father, nothing but a continuance of the ſame unconſtitutional meaſures could be expected. James, convinced in his mind of the indefeaſible right of Kings, transferred his own weakneſs to his people; and vainly hoped to retain them by their principles of loyalty, after he had, through repeated injuries, loſt their confidence and love. Guided in all his actions by a ſpeculative ſyſtem of policy, he ſeemed to ſuppoſe that monarchy muſt end where the firſt breach upon the hereditary ſucceſſion began. Neither mortification nor misfortune itſelf could convince this infatuated Prince of his error. While he dreamed of ſecurity from the birth of a ſon, he might perceive that his own fall was near. So low was his credit ſunk among his people, ſuch preſcience they all had of his fate, that the child had like to have died before a wet-nurſe to ſuckle him could be procured [y].

His political views.

In this ſtate of public indifference, James might have languiſhed through an unimportant reign, were there any proſpect that his ſyſtem of unpopular policy would have terminated with his own life. But the nation dreaded from the ſon thoſe grievances which they had experienced from the father. Though the deciſion of a court of law, though the concurring opinions of almoſt the whole nation had exploded the diſpenſing power, there ſcarce could remain a doubt, that James would embrace every favourable opportunity to exert it with zeal. He derived his attachment to this high prerogative from principle as well as enthuſiaſm. He believed that ſupremacy in matters of religion was an inherent right in the crown, which no regulation could alter, no act of the legiſlature extinguiſh. He conſidered the laws againſt toleration as obtained through faction, and carried into execution through envy. Beſides, he weakly deemed that the right of the

[y] James II. 1688.

crown

crown to the ſervice of every ſubject ought to ſuperſede all reſtrictions to the contrary; and that the King, as guardian of the peace of his people, might at pleaſure remit or execute laws calculated only for the ſafety of his own government. He averred upon every occaſion that he never meant to extend his diſpenſing power to civil affairs [z]. But men rightly judged, that when the barrier was on one ſide broken down, a door was opened for general ruin.

Intrigues

WHILE James was buſy in loſing the affections of his people, the Prince of Orange continued his ſchemes for mounting the throne. The church of England, by recent injuries, were thrown into his ſcale; and he himſelf, by declaring his wiſhes for a general toleration of worſhip, had gained the Diſſenters. Some men of high rank, who loved their country, afraid of the arbitrary ſchemes of James, favoured the Prince's ambition from patriot motives. Many through the love of novelty, ſeveral from diſappointment, ſome from hopes of raiſing themſelves, entered with eagerneſs into his deſigns. He, in the mean time, was employed with ſucceſs in putting himſelf in a condition to accompliſh his own views, as well as thoſe of his friends. He retained the fleet, which the States had placed in his hands in the preceding year. He provided himſelf with treaſure, by laying an embargo on the money produced by the levy on the two hundredth penny, impoſed by the States. He received the ſum of four millions of florins, by way of advance upon that tax, from the French refugees. Having the principal ſervants of James in his pay, he was minutely informed of the moſt ſecret tranſactions and even deſigns of that Prince. His intelligence came through Sidney, from Sunderland, who betrayed the very meaſures which he himſelf had adviſed [a]. The Prince had a fleet ready to ſail, and troops provided for action, before the beginning of June [b].

[z] James II. paſſim. [a] D'Avaux, vol. iv. [b] Ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

1688. and preparations

THE news of the birth of a ſon to James coming to the Hague on the fourteenth of June, the Prince was ſuddenly diſconcerted in all his meaſures. Deceived by his informations from London, he deemed that the Queen could not be brought to bed till the middle of the ſucceeding month. In the firſt ſurpriſe of the news, he diſpatched Zuyliſtein to congratulate James on the birth of an heir to the throne; and, by that means, gave publickly his countenance to a fact which he found ſoon after convenient to deny. Upon the arrival of Admiral Herbert, who had quitted the ſervice of James, the Prince of Orange repented of his complaiſance in felicitating his father-in-law. He took the ſudden reſolution to deny the birth of the Prince, and even to convince the States that he was a ſuppoſititious child. When the Engliſh envoy at the Hague gave a public entertainment upon the occaſion, the States, influenced by the Prince of Orange, refuſed to attend [c]. The envoys of the allies denied their preſence. Not one invited to the feaſt ſent even an excuſe for abſence. Advices from England induced the Prince to take this deciſive part. He found that the birth of the Prince had united all the Proteſtants in his own favour; and to prevent a relapſe from their zeal, he reſolved to own none nearer than his wife to the throne [d].

of the Prince.

BUT though the Prince was no ſtranger to the ſtrength of his party in England, he had hitherto received no formal invitation to paſs into that kingdom, to ſettle its affairs. Reſolved of himſelf to purſue the object of his ambition, he wiſhed to have the ſanction of the people to his important deſign. Many, who expected with impatience his preſence, were unwilling to commit themſelves to writing on a matter ſo full of danger. The Earls of Shrewſbury, Devonſhire, and Danby, the Lord Lumley, the Biſhop of London, and Mr. Ruſſel, are ſaid to have permitted Mr. Sidney to write an invitation, in their name [e]. This inſtrument, dated the very day that the biſhops were tried, was rather a

[c] July 20. [d] D'Avaux, paſſim. [e] Dalrymple's Append.

matter

matter of form than an object of encouragement. Though the four peers poſſeſſed the influence of their rank in their country, the popularity of their names chiefly recommended the other three. But the Prince was too prudent to reſt his whole hopes on ſpontaneous friends in England. He endeavoured to gain, through the channel of intereſt, thoſe whom principle had not attached to his party. Zuyliſtein, when in England, corrupted with money thoſe whom he could not perſuade by argument. All the powers of management and intrigue were exerted by the Prince; while James ſat in ſecurity on the edge of the precipice over which he was ſoon to fall [f].

1688.

THE Prince of Orange was perſuaded by Admiral Herbert, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to convince the people of England of an impoſture concerning a ſpurious Prince of Wales. The Prince himſelf found it equally neceſſary in Holland. He held a conference with the deputies of the States for ſecret affairs [g]. He repreſented to them the danger which threatened the Proteſtant religion ſhould the impoſture of a Prince of Wales be longer tolerated. The deputies giving no credit to this tale, Van Citters was brought to convince them from England. The Prince himſelf ordered a book to be written to prove the ſpuriouſneſs of the birth. He reſolved to enter his own proteſt. He promiſed protection to all thoſe who ſhould declare againſt the impoſture. To carry forward the political farce with ſome ſolemnity, he ordered into his preſence the preaching miniſters at the Hague. They recommended to his care the perilous ſtate of the Proteſtant faith. He anſwered them with a grave formality. He requeſted them to redouble their prayers to Heaven, for that religion was never in ſuch danger before. But, if the miniſters addreſſed themſelves to God, they alſo uſed their influence with men. They inflamed the vulgar to a degree of madneſs by their diſcourſes; and the

of Orange.

[f] D'Avaux, vol. iv. paſſim.

[g] Auguſt.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

deputies of Amſterdam, who, from patriot views, had long oppoſed themſelves to the aggrandizement of the Prince of Orange, durſt not obſtruct his preſent deſigns, for fear of being torn to pieces by the rabble [h].

for invading

A COINCIDENCE of fortunate events favoured, at the ſame time, the deſigns of the Prince of Orange. The death of the Elector of Cologne, by intereſting France and the allies in a new election, gave a colour to intrigues and preparations. Lewis the Fourteenth ſupported the pretenſions of the Cardinal de Furſtemberg. Prince Clement of Bavaria was abetted by the Emperor, the Dutch, and the court of Rome. The latter at length prevailed, through the partiality of the Pope [i]; and France threatened to recover by force what ſhe had loſt by intrigue. Under the pretence of danger from that ſide, the Prince of Orange formed a camp of twenty thouſand men, between Grave and Nimeguen, in the month of Auguſt. To make up this body of troops, he ſtript Dutch Flanders of all her garriſons. He left Bergen-op-Zoom itſelf expoſed. He continued, in the mean time, his preparations by ſea. He equipped for ſervice twenty ſhips of the line, without referring to the States. He ordered the artificers to work day and night, to fit out all the naval force of the United Provinces. Yet, amid all theſe extraordinary preparations, five only of the States were privy to his real deſigns. He had the addreſs to lull James into ſecurity; and though Lewis the Fourteenth long ſuſpected, and even was at length aſſured of the intended invaſion, he adopted no effectual means to obſtruct meaſures which, in the iſſue, proved highly detrimental to his own power [k].

England.

BUT though the States were not formally admitted into the ſecret deſigns of the Prince of Orange, they could not have been

[h] D'Avaux, vol. iv. paſſim.
[i] Hiſtoire d'Allemagne, tom. vii.
[k] D'Avaux, vol. iv.

ſtrangers

CHAP. VII. 1688.

ſtrangers to his real views. The body of the people, being highly inflamed againſt France upon various grounds, exhibited an irreſiſtible eagerneſs for every preparation for war. Their commerce had been diminiſhed one fourth [l], by reſtrictions on their uſual trade to France. Their religious zeal was kindled by the hardſhips impoſed by Lewis on the Proteſtants, by the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz. The terrors raiſed by the conduct of James in England had ſpread to Holland. His zeal for the Roman Catholic faith was exaggerated into the certain ruin of Proteſtantiſm. They ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with perils on every ſide; and they loſt the animoſities raiſed by the jealouſy of commerce againſt the Engliſh, in their pity for a people expoſed to the inroads of Popery and arbitrary power. One half of Europe had even entered into a conſpiracy againſt James, through the addreſs of his ſon-in-law. The power, and above all, the inſolence of Lewis, had conſpired with the memory of former injuries to inflame the houſe of Auſtria againſt France. The princes of Germany were united againſt her by their fears; and nothing but the gaining the aid of England, by the removal of James, ſeemed wanting to complete their revenge [m].

Security

WHILE the half of Europe combined againſt the King of England, while many of his ſubjects were bent to oppoſe, and ſome to diveſt him of his power, he repoſed himſelf in an unaccountable ſecurity. Lewis the Fourteenth, who had long received the moſt certain intelligence of the deſigns of the Prince of Orange, rouſed James in vain to attention, and offered to no purpoſe his aid. Having refuſed to accede to the league of Augſbourg, the King was publickly accuſed by his ſon-in-law with a private treaty with France. To convince his ſubjects of the falſehood of this charge, he declined to accept the offer of a French ſquadron to join his fleet. This offer, which was made in June, eſcaped not

[l] D'Avaux, vol. iv.

[m] Ibid.

the

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

the vigilance of Van Citters. He complained to the King, who anſwered, that he would make no uſe of a foreign force, unleſs obliged by his maſters [n]. Deceived by his ſervants, and betrayed throughout by the Earl of Sunderland, he had the weakneſs to believe, that the reports of an invaſion were raiſed to frighten him into a ſtrict connexion with France. Beſides, he gave credit to the repeated aſſurances of the States, that the armament prepared in their ports was not deſigned againſt England. He even believed the aſſeverations of the Prince himſelf, whoſe intereſt it was to deceive [o]. Sunderland deſcanted againſt the poſſibility of an invaſion. He turned to ridicule all thoſe who believed the report. Having, by the prior conſent of James, taken poſſeſſion of all the foreign correſpondence, he ſuppreſſed every intelligence that might alarm; and even all others whom James truſted, except Dartmouth [p], affected long to give no faith to a tale which ſeemed to be propagated by France to forward her own political views.

and imprudence

THE looſe and contradictory accounts ſent by Albeville contributed to confirm the unbelief of the King. This profligate and needy adventurer was placed by Sunderland, in the character of envoy, at the Hague, for the purpoſe of being gained. Like his patron, he was at once a penſioner of France and in the pay of the Prince. He betrayed his maſter to the Prince [q], and the Prince himſelf to Lewis. Skelton, who was in the ſame character at the court of France, was more faithful to his truſt. Having received certain information of the deſigns of the Prince of Orange from one Verace, who had been diſmiſſed from his ſervice, he ſent a circumſtantial account of the whole to the King. Sunderland, however, either concealed this intelligence, or deprived it of credit. The zeal of Skelton, however, continued. Alarmed at the ſecurity of James, without the communication of his court, he induced the King of France to order D'Avaux, his ambaſſador

[n] James II. 1688. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. [q] D'Avaux, vol. iii.

at

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

at the Hague, to preſent a threatening memorial to the States. D'Avaux obeyed his inſtructions on the thirtieth of Auguſt. He aſſured the States, that his maſter concluded the armament made in their ports was directed againſt the King of England. He informed them, that the ties of friendſhip and alliance which ſubſiſted between him and that Prince, would oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but even to conſider their firſt act of hoſtility as a declaration of war againſt himſelf [1].

of James.

THIS officiouſneſs of Lewis was no ſooner heard, than it was reſented by James. He knew that no private treaty ſubſiſted between himſelf and that monarch; and he was perſuaded by Sunderland, that the memorial was an artifice to force him into a connexion with France. Beſides, as he had aſſured the ambaſſadors of the allies in perſon, that he had entered into no alliance with Lewis, this event brought his honour in queſtion. While, at the ſame time, it alarmed his ſubjects, it furniſhed the Dutch with a good pretence to continue their preparations for war. Van Citters, who had returned to England to lull him into ſecurity, complained with vehemence of the ſuppoſed French alliance. A council was immediately called. The King, by the advice of Sunderland [2], reſolved to diſavow the proceedings of D'Avaux. Orders were iſſued to his miniſters at the different courts of the allies to deny that any ſuch alliance ſubſiſted; and to declare, that the French memorial was preſented without either the participation or knowledge of the King of England. He annexed to this weak meaſure an inſtance of vanity and folly. He deſired Albeville to inform the States, that he was too powerful a Prince to put himſelf under the protection of France; and that he had too much ſpirit, as well as too high a birth, to be treated like the cardinal of Furſtemberg. The Prince of Orange himſelf could not have dictated a declaration more ſuitable to his deſigns. James

[1] D'Avaux, vol. iii. Sept. 9, 1688.

[2] James II.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, anxious to inſpire his very enemies with courage [t].

September. He is betrayed by Sunderland.

COUNCILS ſo feeble and undeciſive left almoſt without regret a Prince devoted to ruin. The court of France, however, ſuſpected that the ſecurity of the King of England proceeded from the arts of his enemies. Sunderland was known by every one, except James himſelf, to have been all along in the intereſt of the Prince of Orange; and he was ſuppoſed to have cut off every channel of intelligence from his infatuated maſter. To deceive that bigotted Prince, he had made a public declaration of the Roman Catholic faith, in the month of July. This artifice had a deciſive effect on the apoſtolic weakneſs of James. His ſuſpicions of Sunderland vaniſhed upon his converſion. He would not believe that ſo good a Catholic could be ſo great a knave. But the art of Sunderland could no longer deceive. The invaſion from Holland was now obvious, and almoſt publickly avowed. A powerful fleet was ready to ſail. Several regiments fell down the Maeſe from Nimeguen to Rotterdam. They were replaced by German troops toward the Rhine. The tranſports, which had been hired in different ports, began to aſſemble. Cannon, arms, ammunition, horſe furniture, provender, and proviſions, were now openly embarked; and the miniſters at the Hague began already to ſolicit the bleſſing of Heaven on the projected invaſion [u].

Convinced at length of the invaſion.

THE King, at length convinced of the Dutch invaſion, left Windſor immediately, and came to London. He ordered the fleet to be made up thirty men of war, all third and fourth rates, together with ſixteen fire-ſhips. He commanded that the troops of horſe and dragoons, and the companies of foot, except the guards, ſhould be ſtrengthened, each with ten men. He iſſued commiſſions for levying new regiments of horſe and foot. He

[t] D'Avaux.

[u] D'Avaux, paſſim.

ordered

ordered the troop of guards, that of dragoons, and three battalions of foot, to march from Scotland. He ſent for three battalions, a regiment of foot, and one of dragoons, from Ireland. His troops, in all, conſiſted of forty thouſand men: "A force," ſays he, "ſufficient to deal with the Dutch and the Prince of Orange, had they retained their faith to their native King[x]." He conſulted his principal officers and his council, whether he ſhould ſend for the ſixteen ſail of men of war to Breſt. His friends, as well as his enemies, were equally averſe to an aid from France. The firſt dreaded that the meaſure would offend the nation; the latter, that it would diſappoint the deſigns of the Prince of Orange. The pride of James himſelf favoured their concurring advice. Though he wiſhed to be abſolute, he loved to owe his power to himſelf[y].

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

To gain his people by lenity when he prepared for war, he determined to alter his former conduct. He had declared in council, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, three weeks before he gave any credit to the invaſion, that he was reſolved to call a parliament, to meet on the twenty-ſeventh of the enſuing November. But the writs were not iſſued till the fifth of September; a delay which induced his enemies to aſcribe this popular meaſure more to neceſſity than choice. On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month he publiſhed a declaration, which ſeemed, in expreſs terms, to own the errors of his former meaſures. He declared, that it was his fixed purpoſe to endeavour to eſtabliſh a LEGAL ſettlement of an univerſal liberty of conſcience for all his ſubjects; that he had reſolved inviolably to preſerve the church of England; that his intention was, that Roman Catholics ſhould remain incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons; and he concluded with aſſuring his ſubjects, that he was ready to do every thing for their ſafety and advantage, as became a King, who will always take care of

He endeavours

[x] James II. 1688.

[y] Ibid. paſſim.

CHAP. VIII. 1638.

the happineſs of the people. On the twenty-ſixth of September, he authoriſed the lords lieutenants of the ſeveral counties to reſtore to office the deputy-lieutenants that had been removed. He declared, at the ſame time, that he had given directions to the lord chancellor to place in a new commiſſion of the peace ſuch gentlemen as had been lately laid aſide [z].

to gain the people.

In purſuance of his plan to regain the affections of his people by conceſſions, James publiſhed, on the twenty-ſeventh of September, a general pardon, with the exception of a few perſons of inconſiderable rank and influence. He acquainted his ſubjects the next day, by proclamation, of the certainty of the intended attempt upon his kingdoms from Holland. In a conference with ſeveral prelates on the ſame day, he took off the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop of London, and laboured to perſuade them of his unalterable reſolution to ſupport the church in all her immunities, privileges, and rights. Theſe general aſſurances being deemed inſufficient, the King thought proper to invite again the biſhops to aid his councils with their advice. He informed them by meſſage, that he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, and the civil rights of all his ſubjects. On the third of October, nine prelates, being the whole of the order then in town, waited upon the King at Whitehall. They were led by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Even Compton, the Biſhop of London, who had been reſtored three days before to his function, was one of the number. This prelate, though deep in the plot againſt the King, and in correſpondence with the Prince of Orange, preſented himſelf before him, with leſs ſincerity than policy, to offer his advice. Six out of the nine prelates were of the ſeven biſhops who had been committed to the Tower. Like good Chriſtians, they had for-

[z] Gazettes, paſſim.

given the injury; or they ſacrificed their private reſentment to the public good.

October. Charter of London reſtored.

THE ſecond of October was appointed for giving audience to the biſhops; but the King was employed on that day, and could not receive their advice. To gain the city of London was almoſt as neceſſary to the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as to recover the ſupport of the church. He ſent in the evening for the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and the ſheriffs, with ſeveral other eminent citizens. He declared, that, as a mark of his confidence, and to enable them to ſerve him with their uſual loyalty during the threatened invaſion, he had reſolved to reſtore the city to its ancient charter and former privileges. To give more ſolemnity to this conceſſion, the chancellor himſelf carried to Guildhall the inſtrument of reſtitution and confirmation, under the great ſeal of England. The aldermen that were ſuperſeded, after the judgment upon the *quo warranto*, took their former places. The vacancies were ſupplied by election, according to the ancient cuſtom of the city of London. When the charter was reſtored, with great formality, by the chancellor, the hall rang with repeated ſhouts of joy. An addreſs was immediately prepared, read, and approved. The lord-mayor, the aldermen, and ſheriffs, waited upon the King in a body. They gave their moſt hearty thanks for his Majeſty's great grace and favour for reſtoring their liberties and franchiſes; and they promiſed to ſupport the eſtabliſhed government to the utmoſt hazard of their lives and fortunes [a].

Advice of the biſhops.

THE biſhops comprehended their advice in ten articles. They requeſted his Majeſty to place the government of the ſeveral counties in the hands of perſons qualified by law. They adviſed him to annul the eccleſiaſtical court, to reſtore Magdalene-college, to ſet aſide all licences enabling perſons of the Popiſh communion

[a] Gazette.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

to teach public ſchools. They deſired him, with all humility, to deſiſt from the exerciſe of the diſpenſing power, and to inhibit the four foreign prelates, who ſtyled themſelves vicars apoſtolical, from invading the juriſdiction veſted by law in the biſhops of the church of England. They earneſtly ſolicited him to fill the vacant ſees with men of learning and piety, eſpecially the archiepiſcopal chair of York. They intreated his Majeſty to ſuperſede all further proſecution of Quo Warranto, to reſtore all corporations to their ancient charters, privileges, and franchiſes, to iſſue writs for a free and regular parliament, to ſecure the church of England according to the acts of uniformity. But at the ſame time they expreſſed their wiſhes, that proviſion ſhould be made for a due liberty of conſcience. They concluded, with earneſtly praying his Majeſty to permit his biſhops to offer ſuch arguments as, they truſted, would perſuade him to return to the communion of the church of England, in which he was baptized, in which he was educated, and to which it was their daily and earneſt prayer to God that he might be united [b].

The King retracts his meaſures,

THOUGH theſe propoſals, eſpecially the laſt, would have raiſed at any other time, the indignation of the King, ſo ſenſible he was of the danger of his ſituation, that he thanked the biſhops, and promiſed to comply with their advice. On the fifth of October he declared in council, that to protect the church of England, and to remove all ſuſpicions and jealouſies to the contrary, he had thought fit to diſſolve the eccleſiaſtical court. On the twelfth of the ſame month, the King alſo declared, that as an evidence of his reſolution to preſerve the eſtabliſhed church in all her rights and immunities, he had ſignified his pleaſure to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, viſitor of St. Mary Magdalene-college in Oxford, to reſtore the expelled preſident and fellows to their former functions. All

[b] Printed Advice.

corporations

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

corporations whoſe franchiſes had been invaded in the former and preſent reign were on the ſeventeenth reſtored to their ancient charters, liberties, and rights. Orders from the council were iſſued the ſame day, for removing and diſplacing all mayors, ſheriffs, recorders, town-clerks, aldermen, and common-councilmen, put in office by the preſent and late King, ever ſince the year 1679 [c]. In the article of recalling liberty of conſcience alone, the King adhered to his former meaſures. Sunderland adviſed him to recall his declaration of indulgence. But he now, though too late, ſuſpected the fidelity of that lord; and concluded, that he only wiſhed to diſoblige the Non-conformiſts now that the church of England was offended [d].

and makes conceſſions.

THESE conceſſions, though they reſtored the conſtitution to its former ſtate, were prized the leſs that they ſeemed to be extorted by fear. The conduct of the King in other reſpects was not anſwerable to the prudence of theſe conciliating meaſures. He raiſed one Hall, an obſcure city divine, to the vacant ſee of Oxford, for the only merit of reading the declaration of indulgence, when refuſed by a great majority of his brethren, in the dioceſe of London [e]. The Prince of Wales was baptized, on the fifteenth of October, in the Romiſh communion; and, as if fate urged the King to his ruin, the Pope, repreſented by his nuncio, ſtood godfather to the child. This conduct was conſtrued into an inſult upon a church which he had promiſed to protect. Men could give but little credit to his profeſſions in ſupport of a faith in which he determined not to breed the heir of the crown. But he had ſo utterly loſt the confidence of his ſubjects, that the whole nation were ready to receive impreſſions of the worſt kind. His enemies were diſperſed every where. The emiſſaries of thoſe who ſecretly conſpired againſt his authority were buſy with his reputation. They placed

[c] Gazettes, paſſim. [d] James II. 1688. [e] Kennet.

all

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

all his actions in the worſt light. They conſtrued his omiſſions into deſign; and his very follies were induſtriouſly repreſented as inſtances of depravity and vice.

Magdalene-college reſtored.

In ſuch a ſtate of publick opinion, the meaſures of the King muſt have been watched with jealouſy. His conceſſions, as they were haſty and apparently forced, were deemed temporary and uncertain. The greater, therefore, was the neceſſity to execute with preciſion what he affected to promiſe with ſincerity. The arts of his ſecret enemies, or perhaps only accident, furniſhed a new ſubject of diſtruſt to the nation. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, with a warrant for reſtoring Magdalene-college, left London on the fourteenth of October; but, inſtead of repairing to Oxford, he retired to Farnham. Urged, however, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he arrived in the univerſity on the twentieth, with the deſign of reſtoring the fellows the next day. But he had ſcarce gone to bed, when he received an official letter from the Earl of Sunderland, commanding his preſence in council at ten of the clock on the twenty-ſecond. This was no more than a general order, without ſpecifying the buſineſs, ſent to all the biſhops, to be preſent at enrolling the depoſitions concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. The meſſenger had gone to Farnham. He proceeded from thence to Oxford. The Biſhop, without reſtoring the college, returned to London. James, finding upon inquiry that the Biſhop had not executed his buſineſs, commanded him back, with expreſſions of ſome paſſion; and the preſident and fellows were, on the twenty-fifth of October, reſtored to their former functions[s]. This delay has been always produced as an irrefragable proof of James's want of ſincerity in his conceſſions. Upon the news of a ſtorm which had ſhattered the Dutch fleet, he has been ſaid to have retracted his popular

[s] MS. Oct. 21, 1688.

meaſures.

meaſures. There is no truth in the aſſertion. The letter which accidentally recalled the Biſhop of Wincheſter was written on the nineteenth of October: and the Prince of Orange was not driven back by the tempeſt till the twenty-firſt of the ſame month [h].

Birth of the Prince of Wales proved.

BUT of all the ſtories propagated with ſuch induſtry againſt James, none was ſo ruinous in its conſequences as the ſurmiſes ſpread concerning the birth of his ſon. This fiction, which had been ſupported with ardour by the Prince of Orange, was revived with vehemence when he was upon the point of entering upon action. New whiſpers were daily ſpread concerning the impoſture. The true mother of the pretended Prince was even ſaid to have made her eſcape to Holland; and ſhe was daily expected in the Dutch fleet. Theſe reports, and the ungenerous ſuſpicions entertained by his own ſubjects, reduced James to the humiliating neceſſity of proving judicially the birth of the Prince of Wales. An extraordinary council was called. The peers, both ſpiritual and temporal, were ſummoned. The Lord Mayor and aldermen of London and all the judges were preſent. A great number of the moſt reſpectable perſons of either ſex were examined. The evidence was ſtriking, poſitive, deciſive. No birth of a child was ever more circumſtantially proved [i]. The Princeſs Anne, though invited, refuſed, under the pretence of her being breeding, to attend [k]; though it was afterwards found, that ſhe was not at all with child. She had even gone to Bath in the preceding ſummer, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſolicitations of her father for her remaining in town, to be preſent at the delivery of the Queen [l].

Sunderland diſgraced.

THE depoſitions concerning the birth of the Prince were carried by the Earl of Sunderland, as preſident of the council, to the court of Chancery to be recorded. This was the laſt act of that lord, as miniſter. When he returned to the King, he was ordered

[h] D'Avaux, vol. iv. [i] Printed depoſitions. [k] Burnet. [l] James II. 1688.

immediately

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

immediately to deliver the ſeals, and to retire with diſgrace from the preſence. He perhaps owed his head to the perils which ſurrounded the King. James, when too late, perceived that he had been all along betrayed by his miniſter; and that his own folly had been flattered with a deſign to accompliſh his ruin [m]. His reſentment was equal to his injuries. But it was no time to puniſh, when he wiſhed the nation to forget former ſeverities. Diſgrace, however, was too ſlight an animadverſion upon the double part acted by this profligate lord. Artful and inſinuating by nature, he ſeemed to deceive for the love of treachery. He baniſhed all morality from politics; and, ſwayed by his own ſelfiſh views, he ſlighted all the ties which bind men of honour and virtue. He conſpired afterwards againſt William with the ſame deliberate apathy that he betrayed James to the Prince of Orange [n].

Reflections.

JAMES, however, was too late in his conceſſions to the nation, as well as in the diſcovery of the treachery of his ſervants. Had he retracted his illegal and unpopular meaſures upon the firſt ſurmiſes of an invaſion, in the preceding ſummer, had he even called a parliament, upon reſtoring their liberties and franchiſes to the corporations, prudence would have dictated to the Prince of Orange to lay up his fleet, and decline the projected invaſion. The moſt hoſtile houſe of commons could ſcarce have demanded more than an abſolute and legal confirmation of what James had already granted. But when he recalled the old, and iſſued no new writs for a parliament, men with great reaſon began to doubt his ſincerity. They concluded that he intended to recall, ſhould he ſucceed againſt the Prince, condeſcenſions evidently extorted from him by mere neceſſity. James however aſſerts the contrary. He affirms, that his only reaſon for putting off the meeting of parliament was, that he could not, though both were neceſſary,

[m] James II. 1688.

[n] MS 1694.

remain

remain at the head of the army, and attend at the ſame time the deliberations of the two houſes [o]. But in clearing himſelf of deſign, he admits the folly of his conduct; and proves his own infatuated ignorance of the terms upon which he ſtood with the nation. CHAP. VIII. 1688.

DURING theſe tranſactions in England, the Prince of Orange continued his preparations in Holland. Notwithſtanding his ardour for the expedition, nothing but a happy coincidence of events on the Continent could have made it prudent, or even poſſible. France, prepared for war, hovered on her own frontiers with her armies. The ſtorm was gathered; nor was it for a long time known where it was firſt to break. In this ſtate of uncertainty, the Dutch could neither ſpare the Prince nor their troops. The intelligence which the Prince of Orange held with Sunderland, through Sidney, removed an obſtruction which threatened the ruin of all his deſigns. Lewis the Fourteenth, by the advice of Louvois, wrote to James in his own hand, that, to divert the Dutch invaſion from England, he would lay ſiege to Maeſtricht with thirty thouſand men. James communicated the intelligence to Sunderland. That lord conveyed it to the Prince. Six thouſand men were thrown into Maeſtricht; and the deſign of Lewis, as being impracticable, was laid aſide [p]. Diſguſted with this want of retention in James, he turned his arms on the ſide of Germany. The Dauphin laid ſiege to Philipſburgh on the fifth of October; and Prince Clement of Bavaria, by throwing a ſtrong garriſon into Cologn, effectually ſecured the States of Holland from any ſudden danger from the arms of France [q]. The Prince of Orange

EVERY neceſſary preparation being made for his expedition, the Prince of Orange took a formal leave of the States of Holland. takes leave of the States.

[o] James II. paſſim. [p] MSS. 1688. [q] Auct. citat. paſſim.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

He acknowledged their kindneſs to him upon many occaſions. He took God to witneſs, that he had ſtudied their intereſt ever ſince they truſted him with the government. With the like awful appeal to Heaven, he took God to witneſs, that he had not the leaſt intention to invade or ſubdue the kingdom of England, much leſs to make himſelf maſter thereof, or to invert or prejudice the lawful ſucceſſion. He averred, on the contrary, that his ſole deſign was to aſſiſt the nation in re-eſtabliſhing the laws, in recovering their liberties, and in ſecuring their religion, by means of a free parliament. His intention, he ſaid, was to aid that aſſembly in making ſuch proviſion, in a legal way, as ſhould place religion and liberty on a ſolid and laſting foundation. His other great deſign, he affirmed, was to put the nation in a condition to concur with the common cauſe of Chriſtendom, and to reſtore and maintain the peace and tranquillity of Europe[r]. He recommended the Princeſs of Orange to the States, in caſe of his own demiſe; and he concluded with aſſuring them, that he would live their friend or die their ſervant[s].

His declaration.

Six days before the Prince took this formal leave of the States, he publiſhed a declaration, penned by Fagel, to be diſperſed upon his landing in England. This elaborate, but heavy performance, enumerated, in fifteen articles, the more notorious attacks made by James on the religion and laws of the Britiſh kingdoms. He concluded his charge againſt the Engliſh government, for he laid no blame on the King, with expreſſing the great and violent preſumptions, that the prince of Wales was not born of the Queen. He aſſured the world, that his expedition was intended for no other deſign but to procure a free parliament, to heal the breaches between the King and his ſubjects. This declaration was tranſlated by Burnet from the French of Fagel; and even printed, when intelligence arrived from England that the King had re-

[r] Neuville, tom. i. [s] James II. 1688.

tracted

tracted almoſt all the meaſures of which the Prince complained. A ſupplement was immediately added. The change in the counſels of James was perhaps juſtly aſcribed to fear. The Prince expreſſed his reſolution to procure a confirmation of the conceſſions already made, in a free parliament, which ſhould aſſemble under the ſhelter of his arms. This ſelf-denial of the Prince was too common to be deemed ſincere. But the ſolemnity with which he called God to witneſs his own diſintereſtedneſs, greatly facilitated the execution of his deſigns.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

HAVING finiſhed his preparations, the Prince ſailed from the Brille and Helvoetſluys on the nineteenth day of October. His fleet conſiſted of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, and as many fire-ſhips; with as many tranſports as made up, in all, ſix hundred ſail. The force on board conſiſted of fifteen thouſand two hundred men, including five hundred and fifty-ſix officers. The Prince himſelf, with the Mareſchal de Schomberg, embarked in a frigate of thirty-ſix guns, which carried the flag of England at the maſt-head. Vice-admiral Herbert, a man who covered the profligacy of his private life by pretenſions to public virtue, led the van; the Prince of Orange, with Boſtiens, the center. The Zealand ſquadron, under Evertſon, brought up the rear. This enormous body had ſcarce got out to ſea, when a dreadful tempeſt aroſe at ſouth-weſt, and drove the fleet to the north. The ſtorm raged for twelve hours. The ſhips were diſperſed. The Prince returned next day to Helvoetſluys, with four men of war and ſixty tranſports. Nine hundred horſes were thrown over-board. But that was all the loſs ſuſtained. In leſs than ſeven days the whole fleet returned; and the Prince, having remounted his cavalry, was, in twelve days, ready to ſail again[u].

Sails, and is driven back.

THE Prince of Orange endeavoured to derive advantage from this misfortune. To lull James into ſecurity, a moſt lamentable

He ſails again.

[u] D'Avaux, et Auct. citat.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

relation of the loſs of the Dutch was printed in their Gazettes. They averred, that nine ſhips of war were loſt; that many tranſports foundered at ſea. The moſt obnoxious of thoſe Engliſhmen who attended the Prince were ſaid to have been drowned. The States themſelves were diſmayed; and the Prince of Orange, they affirmed, would find it impoſſible to proſecute his deſign before the ſpring. James was elevated beyond meaſure at the diſaſters of his rival. He is ſaid to have aſcribed to the immediate hand of Heaven the ſtorm which ſhattered the Dutch fleet. He, however, had not long any reaſon to boaſt of ſupernatural aid. On the firſt of November, the Prince put again to ſea. The wind was at eaſt; and he intended to land in Burlington-Bay, or a little below Hull, in purſuance of the advice of the Earl of Danby. But the next day, having changed his reſolution, he ſuddenly tacked about, and drove weſtward right before the wind. On the third of November, he was diſcovered, between Dover and Calais, ſtretching down the channel with all his ſails. The ſhores were covered with multitudes of ſpectators, who felt alternately the reverſes of pleaſure and terror at ſuch a magnificent and awful ſight. Seven hours this enormous body continued to paſs, forming a line which extended ſeven leagues[x].

The Engliſh fleet detained by contrary winds.

WHILE this good fortune attended the Prince of Orange, James was perſecuted by his own adverſe fate. The Lord Dartmouth, who owed much to his favour, was inviolably attached to his perſon. He lay at the Gunfleet, with thirty-eight ſhips of the line and twenty-three frigates; a force more than ſufficient to give a good account of the Prince and his ſix hundred ſail. The tempeſts, which had raged for ſeveral weeks on the coaſt of Holland, prevented Dartmouth from viſiting the Dutch on their own ſhores. The ſame eaſt wind which gave a proſperous voyage to the enemy, confined the Engliſh to their own coaſt. When his ſcouts brought

[x] Printed accounts.

an

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

an account to Dartmouth, that the Dutch fleet had paſſed, his yards and top-maſts were down in a hard gale. Though the weather was foggy, ſix ſhips paſſed ſo near, that they were diſcerned from the Engliſh fleet. Three ſhips ſlipt their cables. They plied hard, and ſoon gave the ſignal of having diſcovered the Dutch. But the wind blew freſh and contrary. There was alſo a lee tide, and the admiral could not weigh till the next day, when he crowded all his ſails in purſuit of the Dutch. Some captains, who inclined to the Prince, held a meeting upon the occaſion[y]. But they concluded, that ſhould it come to an engagement, they all muſt fight. A ſudden calm, however, prevented any ſtruggle between their fidelity to James and their affection for his ſon-in-law. Dartmouth was ſuddenly ſtopt by this accident; and, ſoon after, a furious gale at weſt effectually prevented his further progreſs. The fate of the Revolution depended upon the winds. The deſtruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the Prince, would have intimidated his adherents, and ruined all his deſigns[z]. The Lord Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed reſolution to attack the Dutch as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was diſperſed. The tempeſt increaſed[a]. He himſelf was forced back to Spithead, in a ſhattered condition. Some of his ſhips were driven as far as the Downs.

Nov. 5. The Dutch land.

THE change of wind, which had ſtopt Lord Dartmouth in the purſuit, enabled the Dutch to gain Torbay, where the Prince had reſolved to land. The unſkilfulneſs of a pilot, or the ſtrength of the gale, had carried the fleet to the weſt of Dartmouth. No ſafe port remained on their ſide of Plymouth; and that town was at a great and inconvenient diſtance from the capital. To tack in the teeth of the wind would be to tempt their own deſtruction. The Engliſh fleet, they knew, was coming down with all their

[y] Lord Torrington's Memoirs. Dalrymple's Append. MSS.
[z] Auct. citat. paſſim. [a] James II. 1688.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

ſails, led by a man bound by gratitude as well as duty to the King. The ſame good fortune which had uniformly attended the Prince, deſerted him not on the preſent occaſion. While he was in the utmoſt perplexity, the eaſterly wind died apace away. A calm ſucceeded, but it laſted not long. A gentle gale roſe at ſouth. The whole fleet was carried into Torbay on the fifth of November; which, being the anniverſary of the gun-powder treaſon, was regarded by the ſuperſtitious as a fortunate omen [b].

James's preparations.

JAMES, apprized of the landing of the Dutch, called an extraordinary council. The declaration of the Prince of Orange having been received with ardour by the nation, he reſolved to print it, with animadverſions, by public authority. The remarks were drawn with great acuteneſs, and even ability. But the ſeaſon of perſuaſion was paſt. The people concluded, that the promiſes of Papiſts were no longer binding than their prieſts pleaſed. Beſides, men remembered that the King had paid little regard to the declarations made at his acceſſion to the throne; and therefore they placed no faith in profeſſions extorted from him by the perilous ſituation of his affairs. He, in the mean time, endeavoured to transfer the diſpute from argument to the ſword. He ſent his ſon, the Duke of Berwick, with a force to defend Portſmouth. He recalled his troops from the north. He ordered his whole army to randezvous on Saliſbury plain. He placed the Earl of Feverſham in the chief command, till he himſelf ſhould arrive, being determined to lead his troops in perſon to the enemy [c].

Nov. 9. Diſtreſs of the Prince.

THOUGH the Prince of Orange landed his troops in ſafety, he could not for ſome time boaſt of his good fortune. A great deal of rain had fallen. The roads were rendered almoſt impaſſable. He poſſeſſed neither cattle nor carriages to tranſport the baggage of his army. The ſoldiers were obliged to carry their tents and

[b] Burnet.

[c] James II. 1688.

CHAP. III. 1688.

proviſions. His officers were deſtitute of horſes, ſervants, and every kind of refreſhment. He, however, directed his incumbered march to Exeter; but not one joined him in his way. An emiſſary, whom he ſent before him to Exeter, was ſeized and confined. The gates were ſhut againſt him, though the town poſſeſſed no means of defence; and, when he entered, the mayor would not acknowledge him in any capacity, or liſten to his authority in any form. His army was diſcouraged [d]. In a council of war, his principal officers adviſed him to reimbark. He himſelf was, beyond meaſure, perplexed. The common diſcourſe of all was, that the Prince was betrayed; and he himſelf began ſeriouſly to think of abandoning his deſigns. During a week, which he ſpent at Exeter, no favourable change appeared. Impatient of diſappointment, he is ſaid to have declared publickly his reſolution to permit the Engliſh nation to ſettle their own differences with their King [e]; and to direct James where to puniſh, by tranſmitting to him the ſecret correſpondence of his ſubjects [f].

Many join him.

THE adherents of the court exulted upon obſerving the coldneſs with which the Prince was received. But their cauſe of gladneſs was not of long duration. One Burrington had the merit of joining firſt the Dutch; and he was followed by many of the gentry of the county of Devon. Sir Edward Seymour, the creature and favourite of James, during the latter years of his brother's reign, formed an aſſociation, which was readily ſigned by all. But ſtill the King might have prevailed, had the army continued firm. The Lord Cornbury began the defection among the troops, which ſoon after proved fatal to the authority of James. Upon his arrival at Saliſbury, he pretended orders from the King, and marched, with three regiments of horſe, to Blandford, Dorcheſter, and toward Honiton. Clifford, the major of his own regiment, diſtruſting his intentions, demanded, at length, a fight

[d] Auct. citat. paſſim. [e] Burnet. [f] Dalrymple's Append.

of

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

of his orders, or, at leaſt, to know his deſigns in making ſo ſpeedy and great a march toward the enemy. The farther he advanced, the more he was queſtioned; till he ſuddenly threw himſelf, with ſixty men, into the hands of the Dutch at Honiton. The two other regiments, finding themſelves betrayed, retreated in the utmoſt diſorder; and Clifford even brought back to the King's army the main body of his own regiment [g].

Petition of ſeveral peers.

THOUGH the number of the deſerters was inconſiderable, the defection of Cornbury was attended with important conſequences. A ſudden panic ſeized the army. Suſpicion, diſtruſt, and deſpondence prevailed. The adherents of the Prince were encouraged. The Prince himſelf became animated with additional hopes. James was ſtill at London. Feverſham, who had juſt arrived at Saliſbury, deeming the three regiments gone, ordered all his troops to retreat. March after march, he reſolved to move back toward Windſor. The city of London was ſtruck with apprehenſion and terror. James, by an expreſs, commanded the army to ſtop. Though he thought his own preſence neceſſary at the head of his troops, he was obliged to ſtay ſome time to ſettle the minds of the people. In the mean time, the moſt of the Proteſtant Lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, who were then in London, preſented a petition for the immediate meeting of a free parliament. He anſwered them, that what they aſked he himſelf moſt paſſionately deſired. He promiſed them, upon the faith of a King, that he ſhould call ſuch a parliament as they deſired, as ſoon as the Prince of Orange ſhould quit the kingdom; but that, at preſent, it was impoſſible a parliament could be free, when an enemy poſſeſſed a part of the country which returned near one hundred members [h].

The King joins the army.

THIS anſwer, though plauſible, contributed to ruin the King. Some conſtrued the delay into a fixed averſion to parliaments.

[g] James II. 1688.

[h] Nov. 17.

Others

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

Others diſtruſted the performance of his promiſe, when the force which extorted it ſhould be removed. Men in general juſtly deemed, that ſhould the Prince be obliged to quit the kingdom, James would become the ſole arbiter of his own conduct. His misfortunes might render him moderate; but it ſeemed dangerous to truſt implicitly a Prince whom misfortunes only could tame. The day on which the King received the petition, he began his journey to Saliſbury. Juſt before his departure, he called before him ſuch general officers as were then in town. The Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, Kirk, and others, attended; and he made to them a formal ſpeech. He told them what he had promiſed to the petitioning peers. He informed them, that he was willing to grant whatever more they ſhould demand. "But, after all," continued he, "if any of you is not ſatisfied, let him freely declare himſelf. I am willing to grant paſſes to ſuch as chooſe to join the Prince of Orange, and to ſpare them the ſhame of deſerting their lawful ſovereign [i]." But when the King ſhewed one inſtance of ſpirit, he committed a new act of imprudence. When he left London, he comprehended two Roman Catholics, the Lords Bellaſis and Arundel, with other perſons, in a commiſſion for the adminiſtration of affairs in his abſence. In return, he was attended by a Proteſtant chaplain in his progreſs; who, having obtained an order for diſlodging the prieſts, officiated in their ſtead [k].

Many officers deſert.

On the nineteenth of November the King arrived at Saliſbury. His officers, in a body, expreſſed their abhorrence of the deſertion of the Lord Cornbury in the ſtrongeſt terms. His deſign was to have advanced to Axminſter. But the Prince of Orange had already poſſeſſed himſelf of that place. He reſolved the next day to viſit the advanced quarter at Warminſter. A ſudden bleeding at the noſe prevented him from falling into captivity, and ſaved,

[i] James II. 1688.

[k] Ralph, vol. i. p. 1041.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

it is ſaid, his life. The night before he left London, a conſpiracy was formed by ſome of his chief officers to ſeize his perſon, and to deliver him into the hands of the Prince of Orange. The Earl of Rocheſter, the Lord Churchill, the Biſhop of London, Sir George Hewit, with ſeveral others, met privately at Mr. Hatton Compton's lodgings in St. Alban's ſtreet. After a long debate, concerning the means of ſerving, to the beſt purpoſe, the Prince of Orange, it was at length reſolved, that Rocheſter ſhould attend the King to Saliſbury, to betray his counſels to the Prince; that Churchill ſhould endeavour to ſecure the perſon of James; which could beſt be done when Maine was ſtaff-officer on duty[l]. Should Maine and the guards reſiſt, no ſafety remained but in diſpatching the King. Churchill, but perhaps very unjuſtly, is ſaid to have undertaken this barbarous ſervice. The deſign of ſeizing the King is aſcertained from various quarters: but an intention to ſtab or piſtol him, in caſe of reſiſtance, is too ſhocking to merit credit, without the moſt poſitive, clear, and deciſive proofs. The only evidence of the fact is the death-bed confeſſion of Sir George Hewit; who, after having received emoluments and honours from William, repented, in his laſt moments, of his conduct toward his former maſter[m].

He returns to London.

JAMES, ſuſpecting Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, once intended to have ſent them, under a guard, to Portſmouth[n]; but he judged that ſeverity, inſtead of aiding, would hurt his affairs. In a council of all the principal officers, the Earl of Feverſham, the Count de Roy, and the Earl of Dumbarton, entreated the King to retire to London. The Lord Churchill and his party declared their opinion for his remaining at Saliſbury. James reſolved to follow the firſt advice. The Duke of Grafton, Churchill, and many inferior officers, fled, under the cover of night, to the Prince. Succeſſive misfortunes poured, without intermiſſion, on the King. When he arrived at Andover, Prince George of Den-

[l] Reresby. James II. [m] MSS. 1688. [n] James II. 1688.

1688.

mark and the Duke of Ormonde fled. Trelawney, with all his captains, except Fox, deſerted from Warminſter. Kirk, though privy to the conſpiracy of Churchill againſt the King, ſtill adhered to his colours, but paid little regard to orders. Thirty common ſoldiers only attended the fugitive officers. The reſt, when ſolicited, refuſed to deſert their ſovereign [o]. The King, ſuſpecting the preſent and apprehenſive of the future, continued his march toward London. Every day diminiſhed the number of his officers; but the ſoldiers ſtill adhered to his cauſe [p]. Having left the remains of his army in quarters at Maidenhead, Windſor, Egham, and Colnbroke, he himſelf retired to London, on the twenty-ſixth of November [q].

Princeſs Anne flies.

To add to his misfortunes, he found, upon his return to London, that the Princeſs of Denmark had withdrawn herſelf ſecretly the night before. This defection in a daughter whom he had ever treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs and kindneſs [r], whom he loved to ſuch a degree, that he never troubled her, even upon the article of religion [s], overwhelmed him with aſtoniſhment and grief. His conſtancy gave way. Tears ſtarted from his eyes. He broke forth into terms expreſſive of his deep ſenſe of his own deſolate and loſt condition. "God help me!" he cried, "my own children have forſaken me in my misfortunes." To add to his diſtreſs as a parent, he was accuſed of being acceſſary to the death of his own child. Her nurſe, and her uncle the Earl of Clarendon, went up and down like diſtracted perſons, affirming that the Papiſts had murdered the Princeſs. They publickly aſked the Queen's ſervants, whither they had conveyed her; and they contributed to inflame the populace, whoſe zeal had already rouſed them to tumult and diſorder. It was, however, ſoon known that ſhe fled, under the conduct of the Biſhop of London, to Northampton. A

[o] James II. 1688. [p] Ibid. [q] James II. paſſim.
[r] Clarendon's Diary, Nov. 9, 1688. [s] Ibid.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

paper, bearing the title of a letter from the Princeſs to the Queen, appeared in print. But if this letter was really written, it was neither found in the apartments of the Princeſs, nor delivered to the Queen [t].

General confuſion.

LOADED with accumulated misfortunes, the firmneſs which James had hitherto preſerved gave way. Every day, almoſt every hour, brought intelligence of ſome freſh defection or diſaſter. His neareſt friends were his greateſt enemies. They whom he had moſt obliged, were the firſt to forſake his ſide. Commotion and tumult prevailed. The people roſe in various counties. The Lord Delamere was in arms in Cheſhire. The city of York was ſeized by the Earl of Danby. In Derby, the Earl of Devonſhire declared for the Prince of Orange. The Biſhop of London, under pretence of a guard, formed a kind of an army round the Princeſs Anne, in Northampton. The Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, held that place for the Prince. A general confederacy ſeemed to prevail againſt the King among all his ſubjects. Thoſe who oppoſed him not with open force, diſtracted, under the maſk of friendſhip, his counſels; and embarraſſed all his meaſures, by contradictory opinions and oppoſite demands. He threw himſelf, in the laſt reſort, upon the peers, who were then in London. An aſſembly of that order was called on the twenty-ſeventh of November. But, inſtead of extricating him from his misfortunes, they ſeemed to take advantage of his diſtreſs, and to urge him forward to that ruin, which he could not now avoid without their aid.

Advice of the peers.

SOME of the lords, with a freedom which bordered on inſult, blamed the King ſeverely for his former conduct [u]. Thoſe who loved him beſt, were the moſt offended at thoſe meaſures which had reduced him to inextricable diſtreſs. They moved him to

[t] James II. ut ſupra. [u] Clarendon's Diary, Nov. 27.

call

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

call a parliament, and to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. To enſure ſucceſs, ſome meaſures, as preliminaries, were propoſed. They adviſed him to grant a general pardon; and, as a mark of his ſincerity, to turn immediately all Papiſts out of employment. James, after hearing the debate, concluded the conference with a ſhort ſpeech. He told the peers, that he had heard them all; that they had ſpoken with great freedom, but that he was not diſpleaſed with what any had ſaid. He aſſured them, that he was reſolved to call a parliament; but that their other propoſals were of ſuch importance, that he would take one night's time to return his anſwer [x]. Writs for calling a free parliament, to meet on the fifteenth day of January, were the next day iſſued by the chancellor. A proclamation was publiſhed, that all peers, and ſuch as ſhould be elected members of the lower-houſe, ſhould have full liberty to ſerve and ſit in parliament, notwithſtanding their having appeared in arms, or committed any act of hoſtility. The King declared, that he would ſend commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of Orange: but as to the removal of Papiſts, he would leave that matter to be debated in parliament [y]. This reſerve, while it proved his enthuſiaſm, furniſhed his enemies with an argument againſt his ſincerity.

King ſends a deputation to the Prince.

On the thirtieth of November, James appointed the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin, his commiſſioners to treat with the Prince. Though the King ſuſpected their attachment to his own perſon [z], he was ignorant that all the three were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy againſt his power [a]. But, whatever faith the Prince of Orange might place in the inclinations of the commiſſioners, he ſhewed plainly, that he deemed the time of treating was paſt. They left London on the ſecond of December; but they were not admitted to an

[x] James II. 1688. [y] Gazette. [z] James II.
[a] D'Avaux. Dalrymple's Append.

CHAP. VIII. 1688. December.

audience till the eighth of the month. To wear down the time, that he might uſe to the beſt advantage the favourable events which daily aroſe, he amuſed the commiſſioners, by ſending them from place to place. Having at length admitted them to an audience, he deſired that they ſhould put their propoſals in writing. They informed his Highneſs, that they were commiſſioned to attend him by the King, for the ſole purpoſe of adjuſting matters neceſſary for the freedom of elections, and the ſecurity of the ſitting of parliament; that, in the mean time, the reſpective armies ſhould, to prevent apprehenſions, be reſtrained within certain limits, and at a proper diſtance from the city of London. The Prince, with great prudence, placed the burden of an anſwer upon a meeting of ſuch Engliſh peers and gentlemen as had eſpouſed his cauſe. Their debates were long and vehement. Though a free parliament was now the only object not obtained of all the articles of the Prince's declaration, a majority carried, that the writs iſſued for that purpoſe ſhould be ſuperſeded. The Prince rejected this part of the anſwer; and, contrary to his uſual caution, dropt an expreſſion which explained his deſigns, "We may drive away the King," ſaid he, "but it is not ſo eaſy to come by a parliament[b]."

Sends off the Queen and Prince of Wales.

JAMES, who had an hourly communication with his commiſſioners by expreſſes, perceived that no favourable anſwer could be expected from his ſon-in-law. Fears for his own perſonal ſafety were added to the deſpair which he entertained concerning his affairs. But what affected him moſt, was the terrors of the Queen for herſelf and her infant ſon. When intelligence arrived, on the ninth of December, that the whole affair was referred to men who were his avowed enemies, all the King's hopes of an accommodation vaniſhed. He reſolved to ſend off, that very evening, the Queen and the Prince of Wales. The latter had been juſt

[b] Clarendon's Diary.

brought

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

brought back from Portſmouth, whither he had been ſent to be conveyed abroad. But the Earl of Dartmouth, either from attachment or terror, refuſed to obey the King's expreſs commands for ſending away his ſon. The Queen and Prince croſſed the river in a boat, at Whitehall, in a ſtormy and rainy day. They were carried to Graveſend in a coach, under the conduct of the Count de Lauzun. A yacht, commanded by Captain Gray, which lay there ready for the purpoſe, ſoon tranſported them in ſafety to Calais [c].

His own diſtreſs.

WHILE this unfortunate Prince provided for the ſafety of his family, he himſelf was ſurrounded with inextricable difficulties. He was deſerted in his own palace. Men perceived that his fall was near, and they were afraid of being involved in the ruin. A melancholy ſilence prevailed around him, except when it was broken by the news of ſome freſh diſaſter. The Prince of Orange, when he affected to treat, came on with all the appearance of force and war. The King's advanced guards, ſtruck with a panic, fell back from Reading. The Scots and Iriſh, in whom he truſted, exhibited ſymptoms of diſaffection or fear. His own deſpondency had infected all his troops. The common ſoldiers, who had, for the moſt part, hitherto preſerved their fidelity, began to murmur and break from all command. A battalion of Douglas's regiment, in whom he confided the moſt, declared for the Prince. Deſerted, avoided, deſpiſed, feeling much and fearing more, his mind became unequal to the difficulties of his ſituation; and, though naturally poſſeſſed of a perſeverance, which obtained the name of firmneſs, he became wavering and diſtracted in all his counſels. His boaſted ſincerity was forced to give way to his fears. Deſerted by thoſe whom he deemed his beſt friends, he became ſuſpicious of all mankind; and, being ſo often betrayed, he himſelf began to deceive. To ſome he ſaid, he was almoſt certain of an

[c] James II. paſſim.

amicable

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

amicable accommodation; to others, that he was ſtill reſolved to decide the conteſt with the ſword. He now ſpoke of waiting for the enemy on Hounſlow-heath, and now of ſtopping their progreſs at Brentford-bridge [d].

The Prince's dictatorial anſwer.

THE reply of the Prince to the propoſal of the commiſſioners put an end to the perplexities and doubts of the King. The dictatorial air of the anſwer convinced him, that he had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear. He was required to remove all the Papiſts, to recall all the proclamations that reflected on the Prince and his adherents, and to diſcharge from cuſtody all perſons committed for aiding in the invaſion. The Tower was to be delivered to the city of London, for its ſafety; and Tilbury Fort, for the protection of its trade. It was ſtipulated, That, if the King ſhould think fit to remain in London during the ſitting of the parliament, the Prince might alſo be there, with an equal number of his own guards: That, ſhould James be pleaſed to reſide in any place from London, the Prince might remain at the ſame diſtance: That the reſpective armies ſhould remove thirty miles from the capital: That no more foreign troops ſhould be brought into the kingdom: That, in the mean time, to prevent the landing of French or other foreigners, Portſmouth ſhould be placed in ſuch hands as the King and Prince ſhould mutually agree: That ſome ſufficient part of the public revenue ſhould be aſſigned to the Prince, for the maintenance of his army, till the meeting of a free parliament [e].

Obſervations on the

THESE conditions, in fact, diveſted James of all authority. But the Prince of Orange would have been diſappointed in his views, had they been received. Though the nation in general were offended with the King, very few dreamed of depriving him of the throne. The pity of the people would at laſt ſupply

[d] Ralph, Kennet. Publications of the times. [e] Printed Anſwer.

the

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

the place of loyalty. Their preſent defection aroſe from their apprehenſions from the Popery of the King, and not from any averſion to the legal authority of the crown. That republican enthuſiaſm, which had overturned the throne forty years before, was either altogether extinguiſhed, or ſoftened down into the more practicable principles of limiting the royal prerogative. A breach upon the regular ſucceſſion, though perhaps the neareſt way to the abſolute ſecurity of public freedom, was neither underſtood nor deſired. Men judged of the future by the paſt. A diſputed title to the crown had dyed the annals of former ages with blood. No declaration of the legiſlature could alter at once the principles of mankind, or induce the nation in general to relinquiſh the firſt maxim of government delivered down from their anceſtors. Few had yet arrived at that philoſophy in politics, which gives its neceſſary weight to authority, without deeming obedience a moral duty.

conduct of both.

THE folly of James gave the only juſtifiable cauſe to the Prince of Orange to invade his kingdoms. His credulity and timidity paved for him the way to his own throne. Had he accepted even the harſh conditions offered by his ſon-in-law, had he continued, upon any terms, in England, the latter would have found himſelf obliged to remain in the character of a mediator, or to throw off the maſk, and ſeize the object of his ambition by force. But the panic, which had ſeized James, relieved the Prince from the neceſſity of adopting either alternative. Seeing himſelf diveſted of his authority, he reſolved not to continue, after the departure of his power, in a country in which he had reigned. His injuries from the Prince of Orange had made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he believed his own life in danger, ſhould he continue within the reach of his power[f]. He conſidered not, that he might, perhaps, derive from the Prince's prudence the ſafety which he did

[f] James II. 1688.

CHAP. VIII.

1688.

not expect from his humanity. The death of the King would only bring him one ſtep nearer to the throne. A nearer heir than the Princeſs, his wife, was ſtill ſafe; and James, therefore, might truſt his good ſenſe, ſhould he deem him otherwiſe capable of the atrocious crime of taking away his life. The Prince himſelf was not wanting in his endeavours to increaſe the fears of the King. The Marquis of Halifax, at the ſuggeſtion of the Prince, informed James, that there would be no ſecurity for his perſon in any part of the kingdom [g].

The King flies.

URGED by the fears of others, terrified by his own, ſupported by none, and diſtruſting all, the King reſolved, by withdrawing himſelf, to throw every thing into confuſion. His conduct upon the occaſion was marked with folly, as well as deſpair. He threw the great ſeal into the Thames. He left none with any authority to conduct affairs [h]. He ordered the Earl of Feverſham to diſband his troops. He vainly hoped to derive an advantage to his affairs from anarchy and diſorder. Under the pretence of retiring to reſt he privately quitted his palace. About twelve at night, on the tenth of December, he diſguiſed himſelf, took boat at Whitehall and croſſed the river. Sir Edward Hales, with another friend met him at Vauxhall with horſes. He mounted, and, conducted through bye-ways by a guide, took his way through night to the Medway; which he paſſed, by Ailesford-bridge. At Woolpeck he took freſh horſes, ſent thither before by Sheldon, one of his equerries, who was in the ſecret of his flight. He arrived at ten o'clock at Embyferry, near Feverſham, where a cuſtom-houſe hoy, hired by Sir Edward Hales, lay ready to receive them on board. But the wind blew freſh, and the veſſel had no ballaſt. The maſter, therefore, eaſily perſuaded the King to permit him to take in ballaſt at Shilneſs. It being half ebb when they ran aſhore, they deſigned to ſail as ſoon as the hoy ſhould be afloat [i].

[g] P. d'Orleans. Rereſby. [h] Auct. citat. paſſim. [i] James II. 1688.

BUT

CHAP. VIII.

1688.

But when the veſſel was almoſt afloat, ſhe was boarded by three fiſher-boats belonging to Feverſham, containing fifty men. They ſeized the King and his two companions, under the pretence of their being Papiſts, that wanted to eſcape from the kingdom. They turned up Feverſham water with the tide; but ſtill the King remained unknown. Sir Edward Hales placed privately fifty guineas in the hands of the captain, as an earneſt of more, ſhould he permit them to eſcape. He promiſed, but he kept not his word. On the contrary, he took what money they had, under the pretence of ſecuring it from the ſeamen; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of their all, he left them to their fate. The unfortunate fugitives were at length carried in a coach to Feverſham, amid the inſults, clamours, and ſhouts of the ſailors [k]. When the King was brought to the inn [l], a ſeaman, who had ſerved under him, knew him, and melted before him, in ſilence, into tears. James himſelf was ſo much moved at this inſtance of affection, that he wept. The other fiſhermen, who had treated him with ſuch indignity before, when they ſaw his tears, fell upon their knees [m]. The lower inhabitants of the whole village gathered round him with every mark of reſpect. The better ſort fled from his preſence. Their prudence overcame their affection; or the memory of his paſt miſconduct was not to be obliterated by his preſent misfortunes. The ſeamen formed themſelves into a guard round his perſon, and declared aloud, "that a hair of his head ſhould not be touched [n]."

He is ſeized at Feverſham.

Confuſion in London.

The Earl of Winchelſea, and moſt of the gentlemen of the county of Kent, were in the mean time aſſembled at Canterbury. The Earl, with ſome of his friends, repaired immediately to the King. Sir James Oxendon, under the pretence of guarding him from the rabble, came with the militia to prevent his eſcape.

[k] James II. 1688. [l] Ibid. [m] Dalrymple's Append. James II.
[n] James II. paſſim.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

The King found a change in his condition when he was taken out of the hands of the ſailors. The commanders of the militia ſhewed him no reſpect. He was even inſulted by the common men [o]. A letter, which he intended to ſend to London for clothes, a change of linen, and ſome money, was ſtopt by thoſe who pretended to protect his perſon. In the mean time, all things ran into confuſion at London. The news of the King's flight was received by all with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and ſurpriſe. Whiſpers, murmurs, tumult, confuſion prevailed. All government was at once unhinged. All commiſſions ſeemed to be at an end. The magiſtrate was ignorant by what authority he could act. The people knew not whom to obey. The rabble, relieved from the reſtraint of laws, blindly followed their paſſions and their prejudices. They demoliſhed the Popiſh chapels. They raſed to the ground the houſes of the ambaſſadors of Popiſh ſtates and Princes. Riot, devaſtation, and anarchy were ſpread every where. The whole body of the people felt one general commotion. London was on the point of ſuffering from its own inhabitants, all the miſeries experienced by other cities from foreign foes. To add to the public panic, the adherents of the Prince of Orange propagated a report, that the diſbanded Iriſh had begun a general maſſacre, and were advancing toward London with all the terrors of fire and ſword [p]. One Speke, a profligate native of the county of Somerſet, claimed afterwards the merit of this pernicious fiction.

Dec. 11. A council of peers.

DURING this ſcene of diſtraction, anarchy, and riot, ſuch peers, both ſpiritual and temporal, as were in London, repaired to Guildhall, to reſtore the public tranquillity, an office which now ſeemed beyond the power of the regular magiſtrate. They gave orders for raiſing the militia. They erected themſelves into a ſupreme council. They executed all the functions of royalty. They iſſued

[o] James II. paſſim. [p] Ralph.

their

their commands to the fleet. They ſent orders to the abandoned army of James. They extended their authority to all the garriſons in England. They iſſued a declaration, by which they unanimouſly reſolved to apply to the Prince of Orange to ſettle the affairs of the kingdom, which had been deſerted, through the influence of wicked counſellors, by the King. The aſſembled lords deputed one of each peerage to carry the declaration to the Prince, and to lay before him an account of what elſe they had done, to beſpeak his concurrence and approbation. The city of London trod in the path of the lords. They ſent an addreſs full of reſpect and gratitude to his Highneſs. The Prince lay in the mean time at Henley; and the whole weſtern road was covered with multitudes, who wiſhed to gain his favour, by an early tender of their ſervice [q].

Conduct of the Prince.

THE Prince, in the mean time, exerciſed in his own perſon the functions of royalty. He iſſued a declaration to the diſbanded army, to re-aſſemble themſelves. He ordered the ſecretary at war to bring to him a liſt of the King's troops. He commanded the Lord Churchill to collect his troop of horſe-guards. He ſent the Duke of Grafton to take poſſeſſion in his name of Tilbury-fort. The aſſembly of the peers adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall, and to give the appearance of legality to their meeting, choſe the Marquis of Halifax for their preſident. While this aſſembly were ſitting, on the thirteenth of December, a poor countryman, who had been engaged by James, brought an open letter from that unfortunate Prince to London. It had no ſuperſcription; and it was addreſſed to none. But it contained, in one ſentence, his own deplorable condition, when in the hands of a deſperate rabble. This poor meſſenger of their fallen ſovereign had long waited at the council-door, without being able to attract

[q] Sheffield's Works, vol. ii.

the

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

the notice of any who paſſed. The Earl of Mulgrave at length, apprized of his buſineſs, had the courage to introduce him to the council. He delivered his open letter, and told the wretched ſtate of the King with tears. The aſſembly were ſo much moved, that they ſent the Earl of Feverſham, with two hundred of the guards, toward Feverſham. His inſtructions were, to reſcue him firſt from danger, and afterwards to attend him to the ſea-coaſt, ſhould he chooſe to retire [s].

King returns to London.

THOUGH the council of lords could not, with any decency, refuſe this trivial aid to James, the Prince of Orange was offended at their conduct. He thought, that after they had invited him to take upon him the government of the nation, they departed from their duty in aſſiſting their late King [t]. Accounts of his father-in-law's being ſtopt at Feverſham, was carried to his Highneſs at Windſor. Diſappointed beyond meaſure at the news, neither he nor his followers could treat with common decency the gentlemen who, in their zeal, brought the intelligence [u]. The Prince ſent Zuyliſtein to deſire the King not to advance nearer London than Rocheſter. But he miſſed him on the way. The Earl of Feverſham, with the guards, had advanced to Sittingburn, whither James was conducted by the militia of the county of Kent. He ſent Feverſham with a letter to the Prince, to requeſt his preſence in London to ſettle the nation. He himſelf proceeded to that place, and arrived on the ſixteenth of December. Doubting the fidelity of the troops who were quartered at Weſtminſter, he choſe to paſs through the city to Whitehall. Never Prince returning with victory to his capital was received with louder acclamations of joy. All the ſtreets were covered with bonfires. The bells were rung. The air was rent with repeated ſhouts of gladneſs. All orders of men crowded to his coach; and, when he arrived at Whitehall, his

[s] James II. [t] Burnet. [u] Napleton's conteſt with Burnet.

apartments

apartments were filled with perſons who came to expreſs their joy at his return [x]. CHAP. VIII. 1688.

BUT this was only a tranſient gleam before the burſting of a ſtorm. James had ſcarce retired to his bed-chamber, from the crowds who felicitated his ſafe arrival, when Zuyliſtein came with letters from the Prince. He informed him, that what Feverſham had propoſed, was of too great conſequence to be immediately anſwered. He recommended to the King to remain in the mean time at Rocheſter. James replied, that had Zuyliſtein come before he left Rocheſter, he would have had no difficulty to comply with his nephew's deſire. But now he hoped that the Prince, who was then at Windſor, would come next day to St. James's, to confer on the propoſal ſent by Feverſham. "The Prince, I believe," ſaid Zuyliſtein, "will not come till YOUR troops are removed from town." The King wrote a letter to the Prince before he knew that Feverſham was confined by his Highneſs. He expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe to Zuyliſtein. He complained vehemently of this flagrant breach of the law of nations; and he earneſtly requeſted the Prince to releaſe his priſoner. But he was now in no condition to enforce his demands, and favours were not to be expected. The Prince, leaving Feverſham confined in Windſor-caſtle, advanced the next day to Sion. He even condeſcended not to anſwer the King's letter [y]. The Prince of Orange

On the ſeventeenth of December, at nine at night, James was alarmed with the approach of a part of the Dutch army. The Count de Solmes, he was told, was coming to take poſſeſſion of the poſts at Whitehall, with the Prince of Orange's guards. The King, however, ſuppoſed that the Count was only to take poſſeſſion of St. James's, where, in conſequence of his letter, he ex- forces him to retire

[x] James II. paſſim.

[y] James II. 1688.

pected

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

pected him the enſuing day. But he was ſoon undeceived. The Earl of Craven, who commanded the guards, came at eleven o'clock to the King, as he was going to bed, and informed him that Solmes was in St. James's Park, with three battalions of horſe and foot. He alſo told him, that Solmes had orders to take poſt at Whitehall. James ſent for Solmes, and told him that he believed he lay under a miſtake. He replied, that his orders were poſitive; and he placed them in the hands of the King. Craven, though then in the eightieth year of his age, reſolved rather to be cut to pieces than reſign his poſt to foreigners. The ſoldiers exhibited a ſimilar ardour. The Dutch were preparing for action. The King, explaining how little reſiſtance now could avail, perſuaded Craven and his troops to withdraw, and to give poſſeſſion without conteſt to Solmes [z].

under a guard.

WHILE the Dutch guards were advancing to ſeize the King, the Prince called at Sion a council of his Engliſh adherents. HIS reſolution was formed: but there was prudence in demanding THEIR concurrence. They adviſed the Prince, that the King ſhould leave Whitehall, and repair to Ham, a deſerted ſeat of the Dutcheſs of Lauderdale [a]. A difficulty aroſe, who ſhould carry this mortifying reſolution to the King. The Marquis of Halifax propoſed that it ſhould be ſent by ſome of the Dutch officers. The Prince, with ſpirit and prudence, replied, "The advice is yours, and you ſhall carry it YOURSELVES." With the ſame breath, he named Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere to execute that office [b]. The two laſt were with Solmes, in the Park. When the King removed his own guards, the other commiſſioners were joined by Halifax. They were introduced by the Earl of Middleton, about one o'clock, to the King, who was waked to receive their meſſage. James excepted to Ham, as the winter was extremely ſevere, and the houſe not furniſhed. He men-

[z] James II. paſſim. [a] Ibid. [b] Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 17.

tioned

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

tioned Rochester, as more suitable in itself, besides its being appointed before, in the letter, by Zuylistein. They obtained the consent of the Prince, with positive orders to the King to quit his palace by ten, the next day. He asked a guard of his own foot. Solmes placed round him an hundred Dutch soldiers. He signified his wish to be sent by water to Gravesend. Halifax with rudeness opposed his request. But Shrewsbury, with more civility, agreed to his desire[c].

to Rochester.

JAMES, surrounded by the Dutch guards, arrived at Rochester on the nineteenth of December. The restraint put upon his person, and the manner in which he had been forced from London, raised the indignation of several, and the compassion of all. Many, who were far from being fond either of his principles or government, were touched with pity, if not with regret. The English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur[d]. Their jealousy was kindled, and their pride began to rise. A spirit had gone abroad, which the precipitate folly of James could only prevent from turning to his advantage. Influenced by his own fears, or mortified at his present abject condition, he resolved to retire. He was convinced that he could not do a service more acceptable to his rival. The guards were not kept exact. The back-door of the house in which he lodged was left without any guard. The Prince forgot his usual prudence, in his eagerness for the flight of James. He sent public orders to the captain of the guards, not to look strictly after the King. James, however, was afraid either of poison or assassination[e]. He considered not, that his death, in either of those ways, would be more dangerous to the Prince than his life; and if he could not confide in his humanity, he might at least rely on his prudence. The flight of his uncle to France could alone secure to him the throne. The repub-

[c] James II. 1688. [d] Clarendon's Diary, Dec. [e] James II. passim.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

lican ſpirit which brought Charles to the block was by no means the characteriſtic of the preſent times. An enthuſiaſm ſimilar to his own, precipitated him from his throne, and not thoſe manly principles which deem every government unjuſt that is not free.

Being requeſted in vain to ſtay,

JAMES remained at Rocheſter three nights, in the midſt of a few faithful friends. The Earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Aileſbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, were there, and, with other officers of merit, the gallant Lord Dundee. They argued againſt his flight with united efforts. Several biſhops, ſome peers, and many officers entreated his ſtay in ſome part of England. Meſſage followed meſſage from London [f]. They repreſented that the opinions of mankind began to change. That events would riſe daily in favour of his authority. James was perplexed between his own fears and the zeal of his friends. While others reaſoned with calmneſs, Dundee added his native ardour to advice. "The queſtion, Sir," he ſaid, "is whether you ſhall ſtay in England, or fly to France? Whether you ſhall truſt the returning zeal of your native ſubjects, or rely on a foreign power? Here you ought to ſtand. Keep poſſeſſion of a part, and the whole will ſubmit by degrees. Reſume the ſpirit of a King. Summon your ſubjects on their allegiance. Your army, though diſbanded, is not diſperſed. Give me your commiſſion. I will gather ten thouſand of your troops. I will carry your ſtandard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their Prince." The King replied, "that he believed it might be done; but that it would raiſe a civil war; and he would not do ſo much miſchief to a nation, who would come ſoon to their ſenſes again." Middleton urged his ſtay, though in the remoteſt part of the kingdom. "Your Majeſty, ſaid he, may throw things into confuſion, by your departure; but it will be but the anarchy of a month:

[f] Original Papers, 1688.

a new

a new government will ſoon be ſettled, and you and your family are ruined [f].

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

THESE ſpirited remonſtrances produced no effect on a mind full of apprehenſion and fear. James reſolved to quit the kingdom. Having communicated his deſign to a few of his friends, he paſſed at midnight through the back-door of the houſe where he lodged, and with his ſon, the Duke of Berwick, and Biddulph, one of his ſervants, went in a boat to a ſmack, which lay waiting for him without the fort of Sheerneſs. When day began to appear, the ſmack weighed, and ſtood out to ſea. The wind blew hard at eaſt-north-eaſt. They durſt not venture to turn down any lower than the Buoy of the Nore. They were forced to bear up the river toward Leigh, and to anchor on the Eſſex ſide, under the lee of the land. All Sunday they lay in that place. The gale ſlackened at night; and, when the tide broke, they got under ſail. The weather being fair on Monday, without tacking, they reached the Buoy of the Narrows; but not being able to weather the Goodwin, they were forced to ſail through the Downs. Seven ſhips lay there at anchor; but the ſmack paſſed unqueſtioned along. Unable to fetch Calais, ſhe bore away for Boulogne. She anchored before Ambleteuſe. The King landed at three o'clock in the morning of Tueſday, the twenty-fifth of December; and, taking poſt, ſoon joined his Queen at St. Germains [g]. he eſcapes to France.

THE ambition of the Prince of Orange, the cabals of the diſcontented, the arts of private enemies, the treachery of ſuppoſed friends, and even the obvious neceſſity of circumſcribing a prerogative which had been carried beyond its legal bounds, might ultimately ſtrip the King of a part of his authority: but none but James could deprive himſelf of his throne. The deſertion of his Obſervations.

[f] Original Papers, 1688.

[g] James II. 1688.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

people proceeded more from a diſlike to his meaſures than an averſion to his perſon. Had he remained in England, his very misfortunes would have brought back the old, or created new friends. The ardour of his rival for poſſeſſing the regal power, had already overcome his uſual prudence and reſerve. Ungaining in his manner, perſevering in the purſuit of his own ſchemes, as negligent of friends as he was careleſs of enemies, the Prince was not likely to retain, for any length of time, the popularity which he had acquired. The utility of his public meaſures would be forgot in his private conduct. His actions would become daily more and more inconſiſtent with his declarations; and he would at length ſink into a mere mediator between the King and his people; or riſe to the throne through all the horrors of a civil war. But, fortunately for the Prince, the ignorance and timidity of James opened for him a peaceable acceſſion to a crown, which, though he might ſeize, he could never retain by the force of his arms.

The Prince arrives in London.

WHILE James was carried down the Thames, ſurrounded with Dutch guards, the Prince arrived at St. James's, with a numerous retinue of courtiers and friends [h]. The populace, who had received the King with ſuch acclamations two days before, transferred their ſhouts to his nephew, with their uſual inconſtancy. But notwithſtanding theſe outward expreſſions of ſatisfaction, the late meaſures of the Prince raiſed a ſecret diſguſt in the minds of the people. The reſtraint laid upon the perſon of the King, the time, the manner of his removal from his own palace, the poſting of the Dutch guards where Engliſh ſoldiers had ſtood with their arms, the taking poſſeſſion of the Tower with a foreign force, the quartering of troops all over and round the town, raiſed a kind of general jealouſy and ferment [i]. Whiſpers of diſſatisfaction went round. Men began to conſtrue "this ſpecious undertaking into

[h] Dec. 18, 1688. [i] Burnet.

a diſguiſed

a diſguiſed and deſigned uſurpation[k]." But in the midſt of this private diſguſt, public bodies expreſſed their zeal for the Prince and his cauſe. The clergy of London, the diſſenting miniſters, the city itſelf[l], and the lawyers, preſented addreſſes full of panegyric, and expreſſive of gratitude[m]. CHAP. VIII. 1688.

THE lords, who had formally aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs during the firſt evaſion of the King, deſiſted from the exerciſe of their power when the Prince arrived. During two days, no form of government ſubſiſted. But the expectations of mankind, and the authority of the Prince of Orange, preſerved effectually the public tranquillity. After deliberating the matter fully with his own intimate friends, he called upon the peers[n] for their advice and concurrence for the ſettlement of the kingdom. He laid before them his declaration, as the foundation of their deliberations. He withdrew, and left the matter to their own debates. Thanks were voted to the Prince. The aſſociation for the ſafety of his perſon, which had been framed at Exeter, was preſented, and ſigned by a great majority. The Duke of Somerſet, the Earls of Pembroke and Nottingham, the Lord Wharton, and all the biſhops except Compton, Biſhop of London, refuſed to ſign the aſſociation, on account of ſome expreſſions which it contained. To give more authority to their future deliberations, they reſolved to adjourn to their own houſe, where they met the next day[o], and choſe for their ſpeaker the Marquis of Halifax. Nothing material was however done. The King was ſtill at Rocheſter; and he had therefore ſtill many adherents in the aſſembly of the peers. Aſſembly of peers.

WHEN James reſolved to withdraw himſelf to France, he left incloſed in a letter to the Earl of Middleton, a paper, written in his own hand, containing the reaſons which induced him to fly. Paper left by the King at Rocheſter.

[k] Burnet. [l] Dec. 20. [m] Ralph, Burnet, Kennet.
[n] Dec. 21. [o] Dec. 22.

He

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

He complained of the Prince's refuſal to treat, and of the impriſonment of his meſſenger, the Earl of Feverſham, againſt the practice and law of nations. He dwelt on the hardſhips which attended his removal from his own palace. He propoſed as a queſtion to the world, How could he hope to be ſafe in the hands of a man who had invaded his kingdom without any juſt cauſe? who had traduced his character with the utmoſt malice, in the clauſe of his declaration which regarded the Prince of Wales? He appealed to mankind, he left it to the conſcience of the Prince himſelf, whether he believed him capable of the unnatural villany of impoſing a ſuppoſititious heir on his kingdoms. "What," concluded he, "had I then to expect from one who has taken ſo much pains to render me as black as hell to my people, as well as to all the world? I was born free," he ſaid, "and am reſolved to continue free. I have ventured often my life for my country; and, old as I am, I ſhall venture it ſtill to redeem my ſubjects from ſlavery." He inſinuated, that it was to avoid his perſon being ſo ſecured, as to prevent him from ſetting his country free, he had determined to retire; but that he would remain "within call," whenever the eyes of the nation ſhould become open to the impoſition put upon them by the ſpecious pretences of liberty and property. Notwithſtanding this appearance of ſpirit, he betrayed in the concluſion a degree of his former enthuſiaſm. "He hoped," he ſaid, "that when a legal parliament ſhould be called, among other things neceſſary to be done, a liberty of conſcience ſhould be granted to all Proteſtant diſſenters, and ſuch a ſhare of it conferred on thoſe of his own perſuaſion, as ſhould enable them to live peaceably in their own country [p].

rejected by the lords.

When the lords met, on the twenty-fourth of December, the Earl of Berkley moved, that the Earl of Middleton ſhould be

[p] Printed reaſons.

CHAP. VIII. 1688.

ordered to attend with the paper left by the King at Rocheſter. A debate enſued. But the Lord Godolphin aſſuring them that nothing contained in the paper would give ſatisfaction, the motion was dropt. In the courſe of this debate, it was urged, that the King, by withdrawing, had diveſted himſelf of his authority; and that government itſelf had ſuffered a demiſe in law [q]. A free parliament was declared to be the only means to obtain a ſettlement. The Earl of Clarendon moved that the declaration ſhould be conſidered, and the birth of the Prince of Wales examined. This nobleman had joined the Prince of Orange, from a firm perſuaſion that he would adhere to his declaration: but when he found that he aſpired to the crown, he deſerted his cauſe. The Lord Paget made a motion, that the Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared Queen. He was however overruled. The reſult of all was, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Prince of Orange, to take the adminiſtration of government, and to ſummon a convention to meet at Weſtminſter on ſome day in the enſuing January [r].

They and an aſſembly of commons

THIS addreſs, as far as the thing could be done by the peers, inveſted the Prince with a regal authority, though not with the name of King. The offer was too agreeable to be refuſed. But it was neceſſary to ſtrengthen the reſolution of the lords with the approbation of the commons. The Prince aſſembled at St. James's all thoſe in town who had ſat as members in the two laſt parliaments of Charles the Second. To theſe he joined the Lord Mayor of London, the court of aldermen, and fifty delegates, choſen from their own number by the common-council. In a formal ſpeech, which he read to this motley aſſembly, he explained the abſolute neceſſity of their coming immediately to ſome reſolution [s]. They retired to the houſe of commons in Weſtminſter. They choſe Mr. Powle for their chairman. They quickly agreed to

[q] Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 24.
[r] Publications paſſim.
[s] Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 26.

preſent,

CHAP. VIII.

1688.

preſent, in ſubſtance, the ſame addreſs with the lords. They preſented it accordingly the next day[t]. The Prince required time to conſider "this matter of weight," before he ſhould give his anſwer. He ſent for them on the twenty-eighth of December. He promiſed to exert his utmoſt endeavours to accompliſh their deſire. But he neither thanked them for the confidence which they had repoſed in his honour, nor for their voluntary ſurrender of the government into his hands[u].

addreſs the Prince to call a convention.

THE lords and commons, however, ſurrendered at this time no power to his Highneſs that he had not exerted before. He had aſſigned quarters to the King's forces by his own authority. He ordered Barillon, the French ambaſſador, to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and, when that miniſter applied for further time, he ſent him under a party of the Dutch guards to the ſea-ſide[x]. He iſſued his commands to the Engliſh troops, as if he had been already their King. He ordered the people to deliver back upon demand ſuch arms as they had received in exchange for neceſſaries and proviſions from the diſbanded troops. But theſe irregularities, though inconſiſtent with the avowed deſigns of the Prince, may be forgiven, on account of the diſtracted ſituation of the times. All government being in a manner diſſolved by his own invaſion, there was a kind of neceſſity for his aſſuming the authority which he had diſturbed. Beſides, the Prince, though he endeavoured to ſuit his behaviour to his intereſt, ſuffered frequently his love of power to appear. Harſh and untractable in the temper and diſpoſition of his mind, diſſimulation was a burden, which he often ſeemed to wiſh to lay down, though his natural coolneſs, and his determined reſolution to poſſeſs the object of his ambition, laid, in general, a kind of reſtraint on his conduct.

[t] Dec. 27. [u] Sheffield. [x] Publications of the times.

THE

CHAP. VIII.

1689.

THE important year 1688 ended with the Prince's firſt act of authority. He publiſhed a declaration on the thirty-firſt of December, empowering all civil officers and magiſtrates, not being Papiſts, to act in their reſpective offices, till the meeting of the convention. He diſpatched his circular letters to the various boroughs, counties, and corporations, for the election of repreſentatives. He ſent a printed invitation to each of the peers. That the members might be choſen without any colour of force or reſtraint, he ordered the troops to march out of their quarters where any election was to be made [z]. He at the ſame time applied to the city of London for a loan. The late diſtractions had either diſſipated the revenue, or prevented its being collected with preciſion. Forty thouſand pounds remained only in the Exchequer, when the Prince aſſumed the government. The Engliſh army, though they had ſacrificed their duty to the King to their fears for the Proteſtant religion, were by no means pleaſed with the Prince. They were offended at real or ſuppoſed indignities. Their natural jealouſy of foreigners added to their reſentment. Beſides, many of the officers were attached to James, through perſonal obligations. The Prince reſolved to model and reform the refractory corps. But this could not be effected without money to pay their arrears. He applied therefore to the city of London, and they reſolved to ſupply his Highneſs with a loan of two hundred thouſand pounds, to be repaid in ſix months [a]. His firſt acts of authority.

BUT public buſineſs employed not the whole attention of the Prince of Orange during the interval between his aſſuming the government and the meeting of the convention. Though he himſelf was cold and reſerved, his emiſſaries and friends were buſy in inſinuating his expectations from a people, who acknowledged Private intrigues of the Prince for the crown.

[z] Jan. 5. [a] Gazette.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

that he had extricated them from public miſery and political diſtreſs. The diſtance which he obſerved, and the very ſilence which he kept, though partly ſpringing from his natural temper, explained his views. The ſtate of opinions, even without either his force or his aid, ſeemed to promiſe the gratification of his hopes of the throne. The general defection of the nation from James, and even his own deſertion of the nation, had created a mutual diſtruſt, which rendered a reconcilement dangerous, as it could not be deemed ſincere. Beſides, the Prince, already poſſeſſed of power, became the only object to which the ambitious, who are naturally the leaders of party, turned their eyes. The Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Danby longed each to recover the political conſequence which they had poſſeſſed in a former reign. Though irreconcilable enemies themſelves, the only conteſt was to try which could moſt oblige the Prince. Theſe two noblemen led two parties in the kingdom, while a third, which perhaps at bottom were more numerous than both, loſt their ſpirit through their want of ſucceſs.

Intrigues of Halifax and Danby.

THE Marquis of Halifax, however, either through his own acuteneſs, or from better information, adopted views more judicious than thoſe of his competitor for power. He reſolved to make a preſent gift of the throne to the Prince, to gain his future favour. He juſtly judged, when once a breach was made on the ſucceſſion, that it mattered little how far the ſettlement of the crown ſhould deviate from the genuine line. The Princeſs of Orange had no better title than her huſband to the throne, while her father and brother were alive. Beſides, he perceived that he could add to the number of his own party, with the ſame meaſure which ſhould gratify the Prince. Men of republican principles highly favoured an alteration in the ſucceſſion, as the means of weakening, or perhaps aboliſhing monarchy. They were the chief

chief inſtruments in guiding, and even terrifying the people to the mode of ſettlement promoted by Halifax, who ſeemed himſelf to act only under the direction of the Prince's Dutch ſervants and friends. Their eagerneſs upon this head had led them into an error deſtructive of their own romantic views. They had even inveſted already the Prince with the firſt prerogative of the crown, the privilege of calling a parliament. Inſtead of iſſuing directions, when they met in convention, for the choice of a free parliament, they, with peculiar abſurdity, employed the Prince of Orange in accompliſhing that work; as if they could transfer to a foreigner, who poſſeſſed no office that the conſtitution recogniſed, a right, which they were afraid to exert themſelves.

1689.

THE Earl of Danby, though ſeemingly more moderate, was more abſurd than Halifax. He wiſhed to preſerve inviolable the claims of monarchy, yet reſolved to break the ſucceſſion. He endeavoured to gain the Prince, by transferring the crown to his wife, as the next heir. The folly which induced him to believe before, that the Prince of Orange invaded England for a leſs prize than the throne, gave him hopes that he would now reſt ſatisfied with the honour of having a queen for his conſort. Danby was not, however, deſtitute of ſupport in his opinion. The warm abettors of monarchy were half reconciled to an expedient, which overturned not quite their principles. The friends of James approved of a meaſure which tended to diſappoint the Prince in his ambitious views. The diſpute ran high between the parties; but the conteſt was unequal. The perſon moſt concerned was already in poſſeſſion of the whole force and revenue of the kingdom, and ſupported by a foreign army. He had not declared his ſentiments; but there was an eloquence in his ſilence, which ſufficiently explained his deſigns. Beſides, his Dutch friends, though they pretended to ſpeak from no authority, diſcovered his ſentiments. Fagel, at a meeting held at the Earl of Devon's, put

Danby favours the Princeſs.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

an end to the doubts of Danby. When that lord urged his own viſionary ſcheme of ſettling the crown, he was plainly told, that the Prince of Orange would not be his wife's gentleman-uſher[c].

Convention meets.

THE expectations of the Prince of Orange were ſufficiently known before the meeting of the convention, on the twenty-ſecond of January. The choice of the two ſpeakers fell, as before, on the Marquis of Halifax and Mr. Powle[d]. The firſt obtained the chair, after a competition with Danby; the latter without any oppoſition at all. A letter from the Prince was preſented to both houſes. He told them, that he had done every thing in his power for the public ſafety and peace. He even knew not that any thing was omitted for the preſervation of either, ſince the adminiſtration of affairs had been placed in his hands. As he had done HIS part, he ſaid, it lay with them to fix the foundations of a firm ſecurity for their religion, their laws, and their liberties. He doubted not, but from ſuch a full and free repreſentative of the people, the ends of his declaration would be obtained. He repreſented, that the dangerous ſtate of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland required a large and ſpeedy ſuccour. He affirmed, that the leaſt delay in their counſels might prove fatal, in the preſent ſtate of foreign affairs. He magnified the generoſity of the Dutch, by whom he had been enabled to reſcue the nation. He expreſſed his fears, that they would feel the bad effects of the aid which they gave. He requeſted their early aſſiſtance againſt a powerful enemy, who had declared war againſt the States. He was confident, he ſaid, that their cheerful concurrence to preſerve this kingdom, would merit its aſſiſtance to preſerve themſelves[e].

Reflections on the legality

TO men who endeavour to deduce all the political rights of mankind from precedent and law, the preſent aſſembly will not

[c] Dalrymple's Append. [d] Journal, Jan. 22, 1689 [e] Ibid.

appear

appear to be by either ſupported. The convention which reſtored Charles the Second, was by no means ſimilar to that which raiſed William the Third to the throne. The long parliament, however much they might have abuſed the authority, derived their own exiſtence from a ſource recogniſed by the conſtitution and laws. The two other eſtates of parliament having been excluded from their functions by the violence of others, their whole power devolved, in a regular ſucceſſion, upon the commons. They were *de facto*, though perhaps not *de jure*, the ſupreme authority in the nation; and, as ſuch, they had a kind of right to remit the people to the choice of a new repreſentative. In the preſent inſtance, the members of parliaments, regularly diſſolved, met upon the invitation of a perſon veſted with no authority recogniſed by the laws. They devolved a power, which they poſſeſſed not themſelves, upon a Prince who had not even the ſmall advantage of being a native of England. He exerted his fictitious authority, and ſummoned an aſſembly, who, by virtue of powers derived ſolely from himſelf, conferred upon him the crown.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

Necessity, however, has been urged as a ſufficient juſtification of this irregularity. The King, by deſerting the functions of his office, had diſſolved all government. Things reverted to their firſt principles; and the people had a right to eſtabliſh what authority they pleaſed to govern themſelves. But men have not conſidered, that there cannot happen a partial diſſolution of government. When the chain is broken in the upper link, confuſion pervades the whole. Upon the principle, that all authority is diſſolved, what right had a ſmall part of the nation, as the freeholders confeſſedly were, to determine upon a point in which the whole body of the people were concerned? Could THEIR excluſive privileges ſubſiſt, after the political fabric had fallen? But, if the freeholders at large loſe their relative privileges, by a total

of that aſſembly.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

total diſſolution of government, they can have no repreſentatives, as they can transfer no power. The truth is, the expediency of the thing muſt ſupply the place of right. The people at large are too unwieldy a body to act for themſelves. A kind of uſurpation is neceſſary to guide and even to command them to their own good. Beſides, they are never minutely tenacious of their natural rights. They voluntarily yield a ſuperiority to particular perſons; and their acquieſcence is afterwards conſtrued into duty.

Addreſs of thanks.

THESE arguments neither ſuggeſted themſelves to the convention, nor were they ſuitable to their views. They conſidered themſelves as poſſeſſed of the power, and they deemed that they had a right to ſettle the government. The two houſes voted an addreſs of thanks to his Highneſs. They appointed a day of thankſgiving for the deliverance. The power of executing the government, which the former convention had conferred upon the Prince, expired the moment the two houſes were formed. They beſought him, in their addreſs of thanks, to continue his adminiſtration; and the lords and commons, the greateſt compliment ever paid to a King, waited upon him in a body [f]. But neither the zeal of their profeſſions, nor their offer of power, ſeemed equal to the expectations of the Prince. He was ſtately, cold, and reſerved. He made no immediate reply; and, when he delivered his anſwer the next day, it partook more of the diſobliging dryneſs of his manner, than the warm gratitude which they had ſome reaſon to expect. He told them, that he was glad they were pleaſed with what he had done; and that, as they deſired him to continue the adminiſtration of affairs, he was willing to accept their offer. He again recommended to them the conſideration of affairs abroad, which rendered it fit for them to expedite their buſineſs at home [g].

[f] Journals, Jan. 22.

[g] Jan. 23.

THE

CHAP. VIII.

1689.

THE commons, inſtead of entering immediately either on foreign or domeſtic affairs, adjourned for three days [h]. When they met again, on the twenty-ſixth of January, they appointed the twenty-eighth for conſidering the ſtate of the nation [i]. On that day [k] they reſolved themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe. They choſe Hampden for their chairman. Mr. Dolben began the debate with a ſpeech. He endeavoured to prove, that the King's deſerting the kingdom, without appointing any perſon to adminiſter the government during his abſence, amounted, in reaſon as well as in law, to a demiſe. There was no novelty in this argument. It had been frequently urged without doors, ever ſince it was firſt mentioned in the aſſembly of the peers in December. Men more violent than Dolben objected to his motion of a demiſe, as too narrow a foundation for a firm and permanent ſettlement. They affirmed, that this political demiſe inferred, that the crown ought immediately to fall on the next heir. But as this would be attended with the ſame inconvenience which they wiſhed to remove, they inſiſted, that there could be no deſcent in the preſent caſe; and that the throne being vacated by the deſertion of the Prince, the royal authority had fallen to the diſpoſal of the people, from whom it originally aroſe. Finch, on the other hand, offered ſeveral arguments for a regency. Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and even Sir Edward Seymour, who firſt promoted the aſſociation at Exeter, urged ſtrenuouſly againſt the vacancy of the throne [l].

Arguments for and againſt a political demiſe.

AFTER a debate of many hours, the committee came to this memorable reſolution: They reſolved, that James the Second, having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution, by breaking the original contract between King and people, and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf, had abdicated the

Grand reſolve.

[h] Journals, Jan. 23. [i] Jan. 26. [k] Jan. 28. [l] Debates.

kingdom;

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

kingdom; and that the throne was thereby become vacant [m]. This complicated reſolution, after having been approved in the houſe, was carried up to the lords. The peers were divided into various parties. The high churchmen were for a regency. The Whigs were for conferring the crown upon the Prince of Orange. A third, but the moſt conſiderable party, adhered to the unfortunate King; ſome, from an affection to his perſon; but more, from a deſpair of the Prince's favour, which ſeemed to be altogether engroſſed by the Whigs. The lords reſolved themſelves into a committee of their whole houſe, to conſider the reſolution of the commons. The Earl of Danby was placed in the chair. The firſt matter conſidered was a regency [n]. Nottingham began the debate with moving, "not to agree with the commons, that the throne was vacant." He ſupported his motion with various arguments. He urged the precarioufneſs of the throne, ſhould the power of judging the King remain in the people. He argued, that the firſt breach upon the line of ſucceſſion would render, in fact, the crown elective. He declared for a regency, as the only means to exclude James, without ruining monarchy; and he affirmed, that all other expedients were only calculated to pleaſe the republican party, who deemed that the King was accountable to the people, from whom he derived his power.

Debates in the

THE lords who oppoſed the motion urged arguments ſtill more ſpecious. They affirmed, that a regency appointed without the conſent of the King, was a greater breach upon monarchy than the filling of the throne by election. They could find no difference, they ſaid, between dethroning the King and depriving him of all authority. They urged the manifeſt abſurdity of having two kings at the ſame time; the one poſſeſſed of the power, and the other of the title; eſpecially when, in the very

[m] Journals, Jan. 28. [n] Burnet.

nature

nature of the thing, they muſt be in perpetual oppoſition. A regency in the preſent caſe, they ſaid, would be more illegal, as well as more unſafe, than a King with even a diſputable title. The law of England, they continued, had provided for the ſecurity of the ſubject, in ſubmitting to the King in poſſeſſion; but no ſtatute had made any proviſion for the ſafety of thoſe who ſhould adhere to a regent againſt the lawful Prince. Should the government, they ſaid, be carried on in the name of James, the nation would conſider him ſtill as their real King; and ſhould any perſon endeavour, either by plot or inſurrection, to reſtore him to his authority, ſuch perſon could not be proſecuted, as for high-treaſon, for an act which the laws conſtrued into a duty. In the weakneſs or infancy of a Prince, for inſtance, they ſaid the caſe was extremely different. The will of the regent was then conſidered as the will of the King. But, in the preſent caſe, a perpetual conteſt muſt ſubſiſt between them; the one endeavouring to recover his power, the other to preſerve his authority. CHAP. VIII. 1689.

THESE arguments, or, what is more probable, the views of a majority of the lords, determined the queſtion againſt a regency, ſhould the throne be declared vacant[p]. The houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee the next day[q], to conſider further the vote of the commons. The ſubject of debate was, whether there was an original contract between the Prince and the people? A queſtion more ſpeculative and leſs important could ſcarce engage the attention of a deliberative aſſembly. When men are forced to return to firſt principles, there is a kind of ridicule in ſearching for precedents. Arguments from reaſon might be produced, that a kind of compact was underſtood to ſubſiſt between the ſubject and the ſovereign. But the actual exiſtence of ſuch a compact was as unneceſſary as the fact itſelf was untrue. Neither the conceſſions of anceſtors, nor the encroachments of former monarchs, can con- in the houſe of lords.

[p] 51 againſt 49. [q] Journals of the lords, Jan. 30.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

ſtitute any precedents againſt the natural rights of mankind. Freedom muſt not be received as a legacy. It is the property of human nature; and all men have a right to aſſert it with ardour. When either accident or force unhinges a government, expedience only is to be conſidered in the ſettlement of public affairs; and thoſe who beſt provide againſt future evils, by ſuch a ſettlement, deſerve the moſt applauſe. But men ſeldom act with ſufficient coolneſs upon ſuch occaſions. Their paſſions interfere with their deliberations; and the reſult proceeds from accident more than from wiſdom. The queſtion was decided, after a long debate, for an original contract; and the houſe almoſt immediately reſolved, that James had broken that contract[r].

They amend the vote of the commons.

THE lords, on the ſame day[s], took under their conſideration the word ABDICATED, contained in the vote of the commons. No inquiry was made in the debate which enſued, whether the King withdrew himſelf voluntarily, or was terrified away from his kingdom by open force[t], or by the fears of private violence. The peers ſoon concluded, that DESERTED was a more proper word. The next queſtion concerned the vacancy of the throne. The bench of biſhops, the Tory peers, thoſe who were diſcontented with the Prince, or who derived no hopes from his power, recurred to the trite maxim of law, that the King never dies. As a proof of this poſition, they urged the oath of allegiance, which binds the ſubject to the heirs of the King as well as to himſelf. The adherents of the Prince affirmed, that the oath of allegiance regarded only a natural demiſe; and they juſtly obſerved, that there was no proviſion made in law for a civil demiſe. Upon this foundation the whole ought to reſt. No one could deny but the convention might make a precedent upon a new matter as well as their anceſtors. But men were inflamed by prejudices; and they

[r] Journals of the lords, Jan. 30.
[s] Clarendon's Diary, Jan. 30.
[t] Ralph, vol. ii.

wandered

wandered to ſlight quibbles from ſolid reaſon. The reſult of the whole was, by a majority of eleven [u], that the words, "the throne is thereby vacant," ſhould be expunged from the vote of the commons. But from this deciſion a new queſtion aroſe. If the throne was not vacant, by whom was it filled? James was excluded already; and it was not yet agreed who was the next heir. A motion was made, that, inſtead of "the throne is hereby vacant," ſhould be inſerted, "that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen." This alſo, upon a diviſion, was rejected by a majority of eleven votes [x]. CHAP. VIII. 1689.

THESE important amendments upon their vote were ſent down on the firſt of February to the commons. When the peers met the next day, a letter was placed in the hands of the Marquis of Halifax, their ſpeaker, by the directions of the Lord Preſton. This letter was underſtood to have been ſent by the King from St. Germains. Some demanded it ſhould be read. Others forbad it with clamour. The enemies of James prevailed. But the letter ſoon found its way to the preſs. The King, to a recapitulation of reaſons, which he had already given, for withdrawing from Rocheſter, added new matter. He complained, that the Prince of Orange had intercepted and ſuppreſſed the copies which he had ſent to his privy-council and peers. He wondered not, however, that all arts were uſed in concealing his ſentiments from his ſubjects. He affirmed, that it was to prevent the hearing of propoſals, which would pleaſe all reaſonable men, the Prince choſe to expel him from Whitehall. But for his part, he ſaid, whatever crimes ſhould be committed, he was reſolved to remain innocent. He aſſured them, that he was ready to return whenever he could return with ſafety. He reſolved, that nothing ſhould be omitted which could tend to the abſolute redreſs of all diſorders, Feb. Reject a letter from James.

[u] 55 againſt 44. [x] 52 againſt 41.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

in a free and legal parliament, held without conſtraint. He promiſed to ſecure the church of England, to give ſuch indulgence to Diſſenters as ſhould prevent all jealouſy, to heal by the advice of parliament all diviſions, to cover with oblivion all faults, to reſtore the happineſs of his people, and to lay their liberties on a ſolid and laſting foundation. Theſe bleſſings, he affirmed, could never be effectually derived from any other power[y].

Prince of Orange declares himſelf.

THE Prince of Orange, who affected to remain an unconcerned ſpectator of the conteſts in the convention, was alarmed by the laſt vote of the lords. The natural phlegm of his diſpoſition, as well as his pride, and perhaps his prudence, had hitherto kept him ſilent. But finding that he was likely to loſe the chief object of his ambition, he at length broke through his ſeeming apathy and reſerve. He called together Halifax, Shrewſbury, Danby, and ſome other leaders. He told them, that to prevent all reſtraint upon the deliberations of the commons, he had hitherto avoided to interfere with their debates. He informed them, that he had heard ſome were for placing the government in the hands of a regent. He would not oppoſe the meaſure, he ſaid, but he aſſured them, that he was reſolved not to be THAT regent. He told them, that others ſeemed inclined to place the Princeſs on the throne, and to confer upon him, by courteſy, the name of a King. He aſſured them, that though he eſteemed the Princeſs, he was determined not to owe to HER that favour; and he deſired them to reſt ſatisfied, that he would not take the title of an office, of which he poſſeſſed not the power. He inſinuated, that he expected the crown ſhould be ſettled upon him for life. That if they ſhould think fit to act otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe their deſigns: but he aſſured them he would return to Holland, and interfere no more with their affairs[z].

[y] Printed letter. [z] Burnet, Ralph.

THESE

CHAP. VIII.

1689. Conference between the houſes.

THESE threats might have had weight, had they been deemed ſincere. But the Prince reſted not upon them all his hopes. Though diſtant, cold, ſtately, and reſerved himſelf, his agents were extremely buſy in ſoliciting votes. The Dukes of Ormond, Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland, who firſt declared for a regency, were either perſuaded out of their former principles by argument, or gained through the channel of intereſt. The commons had, by a conſiderable majority [a], rejected the amendments of the lords, upon their grand reſolve. To ſhew their adherence to the Prince of Orange, they thanked the clergy who had oppoſed the encroachments of James. They thanked the fleet and army, for deſerting his cauſe [b]. On the fifth of February, a conference was held between the two houſes. The conference was managed with more ingenuity than ability. The debate conſiſted of a mere play upon words. ABDICATE, DESERT, and VACANCY, were the ſubjects of conteſt, when the fate of the kingdom depended upon the debate. The diſpute was more ſuitable to the pedantry of ſchools than to the dignity of the two houſes of parliament. Both ſides were obſtinate. The parties who managed the conference, retreated, without bringing any thing to a concluſion, to their reſpective houſes [c]. When the report was made to the lords, a violent debate aroſe. Halifax and Danby profited from their conference with the Prince; and urged vehemently for cloſing with the commons. The managers of the conference maintained their former opinions with heat and obſtinacy. The Earl of Nottingham diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon the occaſion, though he was one of thoſe who invited the Prince of Orange. The queſtion at length was put; and, notwithſtanding the influence of the court, it was carried to agree with the commons only by two votes [d].

[a] 282 againſt 151. [b] Journals, Feb. 1. [c] Feb. 5. [d] Ralph, vol. ii.

WHEN

CHAP. VIII.

1689.

Lords declare the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen.

WHEN the difficulty was removed, the Marquis of Halifax made a motion, that the crown ſhould be immediately conferred upon the Prince of Orange. He was ſeconded by the Lord Colepepper: but the houſe remained ſilent. He then made a motion, "that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen of England." This queſtion was carried by a majority of twenty votes. The lords the next day [e] declared, that the Prince and Princeſs ſhould enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the ſurvivor. That the ſole and full regal power ſhould be in the Prince. That, after the deceaſe of both, the throne ſhould be filled by the heirs of the body of the Princeſs. That, in default of ſuch iſſue, the Princeſs of Denmark and the heirs of her body ſhould ſucceed. That, in default of theſe, the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange ſhould poſſeſs the throne. That, in caſe of a failure of theſe, the crown ſhould paſs to the perſon that ſhould be limited and regulated by act of parliament; and, in default of ſuch limitation, to the lawful heirs of the Prince of Orange. The lords ſent this declaratory vote to the commons. But the lower houſe, though they ſeemed eager for a vacancy, were not ſo precipitate in filling the throne. They deemed it indecent to transfer the kingdom from their former ſovereign, without gaining ſome points for the people. They ought to conſider, that when they conferred the crown, they might have given it upon their own terms. A committee had been appointed to draw up the claims of the ſubject, under a new ſettlement, a precaution which the lords had neglected, in the violence of their debates. The report conſiſted of two branches. The firſt was declaratory of ancient rights. The ſecond, introductory of new laws. The firſt only was annexed to the vote of the lords, to which the commons agreed on the eighth of February [f].

[e] Feb. 7. [f] Feb. 8.

THE

CHAP. VIII.

1689.

THE limitations propoſed by the commons were by no means agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Though too prudent to appear an enemy to public freedom, he wiſhed to receive the crown with all its prerogatives. When the lower houſe heſitated to accede to the vote of the lords till the claims and demands of the ſubject were known, he became apparently uneaſy. He ſent the Lord Wharton to the leaders of the commons. He ordered him to acquaint them, that if the convention inſiſted upon new limitations, he would leave them to the mercy of James [s]. This threat, which had ſo good an effect upon the lords, ſerved his views with the commons. They dropt for the preſent the claims introductory of new laws, and contented themſelves with annexing the former demands of the ſubject to the vote which raiſed the Prince of Orange to the throne. But this complaiſance of the commons finiſhed not the buſineſs of the ſettlement. The lords made amendments. The commons approved of ſome and rejected others. Great heats ſtill prevailed in the upper houſe. The final vote was with great difficulty carried [h]. It was even propoſed by the minority, to leave in a body the houſe, as a kind of perpetual proteſt [i]. The Earls of Nottingham and Pembroke overruled this dangerous deſign. They perceived the neceſſity of a ſettlement; and they were reſolved, for the public good, to ſupport a government of which they did not approve. The whole was finiſhed on the twelfth of February; and on that very day the Princeſs of Orange arrived at Whitehall, from Holland. She took poſſeſſion of her father's palace, and his very apartments, with an air of levity and unconcern, that gave great offence to her beſt friends [k].

The commons agree, after ſome heſitation.

THE two houſes of convention, led by their reſpective ſpeakers, went in ſtate, on the thirteenth of February, to make a tender of the crown to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange. To a pre-

Declaration of rights.

[s] Great Britain's juſt complaint. [h] Burnet. [i] Echard.
[k] Burnet. Mem. of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

amble, containing a detail of the grievances of the preceding reign, they annexed the claims of ancient rights and liberties. They declared that the diſpenſing power, as it had been lately aſſumed, was illegal. That the late eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was contrary to law. That the levying of money without the authority of parliament was unlawful. That the ſubject has a right to petition the King. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army in the time of peace, except by the conſent of parliament, is againſt law. They aſſerted the right of ſubjects, being Proteſtants, to poſſeſs arms. They declared that the election of members and the debates of parliament ought to be free. They affirmed that exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed. They declared, that jurors, in matters of treaſon, ought to be freeholders. That all grants and promiſes of fines and forfeitures before conviction are illegal and void. They inſiſted, that parliaments ought to be held frequently, for the redreſs of grievances, and for amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving the laws. The declaration of his Highneſs, they ſaid, had encouraged them to this demand; and, having an entire confidence in the Prince of Orange, they hoped that he would ſtill continue thoſe rights which he had already preſerved[1].

Obſervations.

No hereditary monarch could refuſe his aſſent to this declaration, which was preſented to an elected King. The rights that were claimed had been recogniſed in the moſt arbitrary reigns, though they were ſometimes evaſively invaded. Great omiſſions, it was urged by many, were apparently made in this new ſettlement of the crown. A King was choſen: but he received the prerogatives, as well as the throne, of former Kings. He was armed with the ſame powers. The people were equally ſubject to his ambition and arbitrary views. A great alteration was made. But men only, and not meaſures and ſecurities, were changed.

[1] Journals.

The

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

The convention altered the ſucceſſion upon republican reaſons. They eſtabliſhed the new ſettlement upon high monarchical principles. In vain, they ſaid, the people aſſumed the power of making a King, if the work of their own hands ſhould become independent when made. They obſerved, that the elected Prince poſſeſſed the ſame authority with his predeceſſors over parliaments, who are accounted the guardians of public freedom. Their elections remained as inſecure as before. Their meetings were as uncertain. They were not made the maſters of their own ſeſſions. No proviſion was made for their meeting annually, duennially, or even once in three years. Their whole conſtitution, it was affirmed, remained precarious. Their beſt meaſures were liable to be defeated by adjournment, prorogation, and diſſolution. Even the preſent popularity of the Prince, his very attachment to Proteſtantiſm, his being choſen in the name of the nation, ſeemed to require ſtricter limitations than a monarch, whoſe meaſures, from their being ſuſpected, were certain of being oppoſed.

in the ſucceſſion.

But men who argued in this manner ſeem not to have perceived, that the change in the ſucceſſion was a great point obtained for the people againſt the crown. The reverence with which ſome political zealots looked up to the ſovereign, muſt naturally have been diminiſhed, when he ceaſed, according to their ridiculous maxim, to derive his right to their allegiance from God. The line of monarchy coming down without interruption from antiquity, even excited a kind of veneration dangerous to freedom, among the body of the people. They were unable to ſeparate the duty which they owed to the kingly office from the perſonal authority of the King. But when the chain was once broken, the monarch could poſſeſs no more power than what the eſtabliſhed laws beſtowed. The crown was reſpected more than the Prince. It was no longer conſidered as private property, ſince the hands which gave might reſume it again. Beſides, the Prince

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

himſelf would derive moderation from the very circumſtance of his owing to others his power. His diſputed title would naturally throw him on his people; as their adherence only could preſerve the authority which they conferred. The popularity of William was ſcarce an objection to his elevation. It ſprung from accident, and was not likely to laſt. His ungracious addreſs, his forbidding manner, the phlegm of his diſpoſition, and even the ungracefulneſs of a ſickly and emaciated form, were by no means qualities either to gain or retain the affections of the vulgar. He however derived ſecurity from the ſtate of the times, as well as from his own parts. Men could leſs forgive James for the injuries they had done to that deluded Prince, than for thoſe which he himſelf was ſuppoſed to have done to the laws.

Reflections

SUCH was the end of the reign of James the Second, a Prince, whoſe impolitic conduct deprived, in a great meaſure, his very misfortunes of regret. He met with the common fate of the unfortunate: he was more blamed than he deſerved. His enthuſiaſm in favour of a religion which his ſubjects abhorred, was a ſpecies of madneſs rather than a crime. There is, however, ſcarce any reaſon to believe that he himſelf, with all his bigotry, ever entertained hopes of eſtabliſhing the Romiſh faith in England [m]. He was evidently hurried into ſome of his worſt meaſures by ſervants, who were bribed by his enemies to betray him to his ruin. The Popiſh cabinet, who firſt adviſed the diſpenſing power [n], was formed by Sunderland, then in the pay, as well as privy to the views, of the Prince of Orange; and the violence of Jefferys kindled a difference with the biſhops, which haſtened his maſter's ruin [o]. His attack upon Magdalene-college, in Oxford, though ſufficiently expreſſive of his dangerous principles, was carried to extremity more through the arts of Sunderland, than by his own violence. Though he avowedly deſigned that college as a ſeminary for his favourite

[m] James II. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid.

ſect,

ſect[p], there is ſcarce any reaſon to doubt, had he heard of the first petition of the fellows, but he would have dropt his perſecution of Oxford, as he had relinquiſhed his attempt on Cambridge. CHAP. VII 1689.

on the reign,

He is, however, by no means to be excuſed in many other parts of his conduct. His haughtineſs to his parliament when they ſat, his tampering with them afterwards, to favour his views, his keeping on foot a great army, without the excuſe of domeſtic diſturbances or foreign war, were irrefragable proofs of his arbitrary principles, and ultimately of his deſigns. His interference with the common courſe of juſtice, by diſplacing judges who interpreted not the laws according to his inclination, was a dangerous grievance, and raiſed, with juſtice, the jealouſy, and even the indignation of his people. His partiality to Papiſts, to the excluſion of his other ſubjects, was full of injuſtice and weakneſs. His own open profeſſion of the Romiſh faith, his encouraging the prieſts of that religion to appear at his court in the habits of their reſpective orders, his licenſing places of worſhip for his favourite ſect, his erecting Popiſh ſchools, to ſeduce the children of his ſubjects from Proteſtantiſm, were inſtances of inſult to his people, as well as of folly in himſelf. His whole reign, in ſhort, was full of imprudencies in his own conduct, and with attacks on the favourite prejudices of his people.

and character.

In many reſpects, it muſt be owned that he was a virtuous man, as well as a good monarch. He was frugal of the public money. He encouraged commerce with great attention. He applied himſelf to naval affairs with ſucceſs. He ſupported the fleet, as the glory and protection of England[q]. He was alſo zealous for the honour of his country. He was capable of ſupporting its intereſts with a degree of dignity in the ſcale of Europe. In his private life he was almoſt irreproachable. He was an indulgent parent,

[p] James II. [q] Ibid. paſſim.

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

a tender huſband, a generous and ſteady friend. In his deportment he was affable, though ſtately. He beſtowed favours with peculiar grace. He prevented ſolicitation by the ſuddenneſs of his diſpoſal of places. Though ſcarce any Prince was ever ſo generally deſerted, few ever had ſo many private friends. Thoſe who injured him the moſt were the firſt to implore his forgiveneſs; and even after they had raiſed another Prince to his throne, they reſpected his perſon, and were anxious for his ſafety. To theſe virtues he added a ſteadineſs of counſels, a perſeverance in his plans, and courage in his enterpriſes. He was honourable and fair in all his dealings. He was unjuſt to men in their principles, but never with regard to their property. Though few monarchs ever offended a people more, he yielded to none in his love of his ſubjects. He even affirmed, that he quitted England to prevent the horrors of a civil war, as much as from fear of a reſtraint upon his perſon from the Prince of Orange. His great virtue was a ſtrict adherence to facts and truth in all he wrote and ſaid, though ſome parts of his conduct had rendered his ſincerity in his political profeſſions ſuſpected by his enemies.

views.

THERE is, however, nothing more certain than that the people found themſelves aggrieved; and that, conſequently, they had a right to do juſtice to themſelves. Though, in England, apprehenſions for the future were much greater than preſent grievances, yet that conduct in the Prince, which raiſed thoſe apprehenſions, ought to be oppoſed. There is reaſon to believe, that the preference given to a ſect, whom the people in general abhorred, raiſed more indignation than actual fears of the eſtabliſhment of the Popiſh religion. The thing itſelf was, even at the time, deemed, by men of ſenſe, impoſſible[r]. The Papiſts ſcarce bore the proportion of one to two hundred Proteſtants in the nation. Scarce one in fifty of the army, which created ſo much terror and

[r] Marquis of Halifax to the Prince of Orange.

jealouſy,

jealouſy, was of the Popiſh perſuaſion. Though ſeveral of that ſect were in office, they were men of mean abilities; and they even ſeemed afraid of violence. The enthuſiaſm of the King was the great object of diſguſt to the nation. The appropriation of all confidence to perſons whom their religious opinions only recommended, diſappointed men who, from a former poſſeſſion of power, were ſtill fond of office. The abilities of thoſe, working upon the fears of others, had actually diſarmed James at home before he was invaded from abroad. His wild projects were effectually defeated by a jury at London, before he was diſcomfited by the terrors of a Dutch army. He had made the moſt ample conceſſions for the injuries done to the laws. He left the conſtitution much better than he received it from his brother's hands. Nothing remained to confirm the liberties of the nation but the ſanction of a parliament, whoſe elections were now entirely independent of the will of the King. CHAP. VIII. 1689.

and ſituation of James.

BUT his neglecting to call a parliament, however ſpecious his excuſes might be to the contrary, juſtly alarmed a people, who wiſhed to render themſelves ſecure againſt his future views, and, perhaps, againſt his reſentment. Men foreſaw, that, ſhould James defeat the Prince of Orange in the field, he might either refuſe or adhere at pleaſure to his conceſſions. Though they placed ſome confidence in his natural ſincerity, they could never truſt his enthuſiaſm. Their very prejudices againſt his religion ſuggeſted terrors, which proved fatal to his authority. They believed him capable of making a ſhow of yielding, to recover the power of doing more harm. Upon this principle was founded that general deſertion which, without aſſigning this reaſon, might be deemed unaccountable, if not diſgraceful. A more honourable conduct might certainly have eſtabliſhed liberty on a ſolid foundation. Had the officers declared for a free parliament, inſtead of quitting their colours, when a foreign enemy was in the kingdom,

CHAP. VIII. 1689.

kingdom, a doubt can ſcarce be formed that the hands of James might be ſufficiently tied from effecting further miſchief. An era of liberty might have commenced without the expence, or even danger of a change. The power of the crown might have been more circumſcribed than when the ſceptre was placed in the hands of the Prince of Orange. James had loſt all influence among his ſubjects, except that which he derived from the adherence of ſome to the line of ſucceſſion. Even theſe would have yielded to any regulation that ſhould not deprive him of the name of King.

Arguments for the Revolution.

His flight to France, however, muſt change the whole ſtate of the argument. He was in the hands of a powerful monarch, whoſe ambition would take advantage of what chance had thrown in his way. With more than two thirds of Europe leagued againſt Lewis the Fourteenth, it was his intereſt to procure at leaſt the neutrality of England. To render James uſeful to his views, he might find it neceſſary to aid him in the recovery of his former power. An army might be eaſily tranſported into the kingdom of a Prince already in his intereſt. The Prince of Orange, diſappointed in his ambition, would either leave the nation to their fate, or place the crown upon his own head by conqueſt. Dangers threatened from every ſide. The neceſſity of an immediate ſettlement was obvious. A foreign force was in poſſeſſion of the capital. The national army was either diſperſed, without a leader, or under the orders of the candidate for the crown. No reſource remained, but to grant with a good grace what he otherwiſe might command for himſelf, or throw in diſguſt, and without any terms, at the feet of his rival. Upon this obvious ground of neceſſity the convention ought to have proceeded, and to leave puerile quibbles about words to the idle declamation of the ſchools.

CHAP.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

CHAP. IX.

Reflections.——Promotions.——King's first speech.——Convention converted into a parliament.——Transactions in parliament.——Commons refractory.——Coronation.——Affairs of Scotland.——Administration conferred on the Prince of Orange.——Convention meets.——Letters from the two Kings.——A secession.——Settlement of the crown.——Affairs of Ireland.——Strange neglect of that country.——Commotions.——Rout at Drumore.——James arrives in Dublin.——Wretched state of his army.——Proceedings of the parliament of England——War with France.——State of Europe.——English fleet defeated.——Discontents.——Parliament adjourned.——Affairs of Scotland.——Military operations.——Battle of Killicranky.——Death and character of Dundee.——A violent opposition.——Irish affairs.——James before Derry.——He holds a parliament at Dublin.——Their proceedings and violence.——Coin debased.——Siege of Derry.——De Rozen's cruel order.——Siege raised.——Rout at Newton Butler.——Factions at court.——Distress of James.——Schomberg's invasion.——James offers battle in vain.——Both armies retire to winter-quarters.——Foreign affairs.

CHAP. IX.

1689.

Reflections.

THOUGH Mary was comprehended in the royal title, she neither possessed the authority of a Queen, nor the influence of a wife. Her unambitious and easy temper had been long subdued by the stern severity of a husband, whom few of her sex would

CHAP. IX. 1689.

would admire. Habit had reconciled her mind to implicit obedience; and her paſſions, which were never ſtrong, had yielded to an opinion of duty. Removed from her native country and from her father when very young, her affections for both had greatly declined. Brought up in a manner under the tuition of her ſpouſe, in ſome degree confined by his orders [a], accuſtomed to adopt his political maxims, and even his very thoughts, ſurrounded by his creatures and perſons of an inferior degree [b], he guided, with no difficulty, a mind which he himſelf had formed. In her want of importance with HIM, ſhe ceaſed to be an object of conſequence in the eyes of the nation. The whole authority of the crown was now veſted in William, by the opinion of the people, as well as by the declaration of the convention. The conceit of ſubjoining the name of Mary to her huſband's title, was a puerile ſubterfuge; and the circumſtance therefore deſerves no further attention in the hiſtory of the preſent reign.

Promotions.

WILLIAM began his reign with iſſuing a proclamation [c], continuing in office all Proteſtants who had been in place on the firſt of the preceding December. The eagerneſs with which the nation looked up to the new King's meaſures, induced them to perceive a ſingularity in a paper of mere form. They obſerved that a Prince, who had juſt received the crown by the election of the people, expreſſed himſelf, in the firſt ſentence of his firſt public deed, as deriving his right from God. On the ſeventeenth of the month he formed his privy council. The liſt chiefly conſiſted of ſuch perſons as had been moſt active in raiſing him to the throne [d]. To gratify as many as poſſible of his friends, the ſeveral boards, and even the chancery, were put into commiſſion. The benches of the Exchequer and common law were filled with perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the meaſures of the late King. The Earl of Nottingham, who had ſo violently oppoſed

[a] D'Avaux, vol. iii. [b] Ibid. [c] Feb. 14. [d] Feb. 17.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

the elevation of William, and the Earl of Shrewſbury, who had adhered to his views, were made ſecretaries of ſtate. The Marquis of Halifax and the earl of Danby, though rivals in policy, were admitted into the cabinet; the firſt as lord privy ſeal, the latter as preſident of the council. His Dutch and foreign friends were not in the mean time forgot by the King. Bentinck, his favourite, was made a privy-counſellor, groom of the ſtole, and privy purſe. Auverquerque was appointed maſter of the horſe. Zuyliſtein received the office of maſter of the robes. Schomberg was placed at the head of the ordnance [c].

William's firſt ſpeech as King.

THOUGH theſe inſtances of gratitude were perhaps neceſſary to William, they were far from pleaſing the generality of the nation. The prejudices of the people were ſtrong againſt foreigners. The Tories, who had departed from their principles to ſerve the King, were offended at their being excluded from his favour. Theſe diſcontents roſe only gradually, as the new appointments were made. While places remained vacant, the hopes of ſome kept in ſilence the whole. The firſt advice demanded by William of his privy-council was, Whether the convention might be legally converted into a parliament? A majority having expreſſed themſelves in the affirmative, the King, for the firſt time, went in ſtate to the houſe of lords on the eighteenth of February. He told the two houſes, in a ſpeech from the throne, that he was very ſenſible of their kindneſs. He aſſured them, that he highly valued the confidence which they had repoſed in his conduct; and that he was reſolved never to do any thing that might juſtly leſſen their good opinion. He recommended to their care the perilous condition of Holland. He ſhewed the neceſſity of a good ſettlement at home. He repreſented the dangers which threatened Ireland. He left it, he ſaid, to them to conſider of the moſt

[c] Kennet, Ralph, Gazette.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

effectual means of preventing the inconveniencies arising from delays, and to judge of the forms most proper to attain the good of the nation, which, on his part, he should be always ready to promote [f].

The convention converted into a parliament.

WILLIAM had scarce left the house of lords, when a bill was brought in to prevent and remove all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the present parliament. The bill was read twice immediately, and the next day [g] passed. The commons, in a committee of their whole house, fell into a violent debate, "Whether a King elected, by coming to and consulting with the lords and commons, did not constitute as complete a parliament as if such King had ordered new elections to be made by writs." Several members insisted, that the King's writs were as necessary to form the legality of a parliament as his presence. Some argued, from precedents, against this position. Others, with more reason, affirmed, that the present state of affairs required expedition; and that after all the loss of time which should be incurred by the new election, the parliament would remain upon the same footing of legality as before. The majority of the house, afraid of the trouble of re-elections, seemed to incline to the latter argument. The resolve already mentioned was in the mean time brought down from the lords. The bill was read immediately for the first time. Great opposition was made. But the bill passed the house on the twenty-second of February, and received the next day the royal assent. The malecontents among the commons were so much exasperated, that they declared, in the course of the debate, they would give no countenance, by sitting in it, to such an illegal parliament. They accordingly retired to the country, in appearance to adhere to their professions. But their enemies affirmed, that they only retired to avoid taking the oaths to the new King [h].

[f] Journals, Feb. 18. [g] Feb. 19. [h] Publications of the times.

CHAP. IX.

1689.

THE ſame day that William gave his aſſent to the act for converting the convention into a parliament, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, for entering, prior to the King's ſpeech, upon a conſideration of grievances. A bill was brought in, for taking away the court holden before the council and preſident of Wales[i]. But before the houſe proceeded further in a line which circumſcribed the power of the crown, the adherents of the court prevailed, upon the ground of neceſſity, that the ſpeech ſhould be firſt conſidered. A queſtion was accordingly propoſed, Whether the revenue was expired, or whether it devolved on the preſent King? The eagerneſs with which the commons raiſed William to the throne ſeemed to have already abated. The miniſtry urged with vehemence, that the revenue, together with the crown, devolved on their preſent Majeſties. But the houſe reſolved, notwithſtanding, that the revenue of the late King expired with his power. When this queſtion was carried, the committee broke up abruptly. A motion was made when the houſe was reſumed, that a revenue ſhould be ſettled upon the King. Day after day the commons, under various pretences, avoided to come to a deciſion. The crown, now deſtitute of reſources, was in their power. They ſeemed inclined to obtain thoſe ſecurities which they had neglected when they elected a new King. The neceſſity of the times broke in part through this procraſtination of the commons. William acquainted the houſe, by meſſage, that Ireland was threatened with a French invaſion, under the late King. Four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds were voted to be levied by a monthly aſſeſſment; a ſum as inadequate for the ſervice of the kingdom, as it was beneath the expectations of the King[k].

Frugality of the commons.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frugality of the commons, they exhibited an inſtance of extraordinary complaiſance to William. They waited upon him in a body, with an offer of their lives and

The *Habeas corpus* act ſuſpended.

[i] Feb. 23. [k] Feb. 28.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

fortunes in ſupport of his alliances, in reducing Ireland, and in defending their religion and laws. Upon a meſſage from the King, they even condeſcended to ſuſpend, by a temporary bill, the *habeas corpus* act, the chief bulwark of the liberties of the ſubject. James himſelf never preſumed to ſtop the operations of this ſalutary law, nor even demanded a ſuſpenſion of it, by means of an obſequious parliament, when a double rebellion ſhook his kingdoms. The lords were ſtill more complaiſant than the commons. They addreſſed the King, to take an extraordinary care of government in the preſent conjuncture. They deſired him to ſecure all diſaffected perſons; and they declared, notwithſtanding an expreſs law to the contrary, that he might retain perſons ſo committed to the firſt day of the enſuing term. The commons, with ſome ſpirit, refuſed their concurrence to an addreſs that eſtabliſhed in the crown the diſpenſing power, which they had recently condemned. They ſent a bill to the upper houſe, in anſwer to their demand of a concurrence in their addreſs. The act of *habeas corpus* was ſuſpended, by an expreſs law, till the ſeventeenth of April, arming thus, in a conſtitutional way, the government with powers to protect itſelf.

William endeavours to gain the commons.

WILLIAM endeavoured, by a popular conceſſion, to ſecure the continuance of the favour of his parliament. He ſent a meſſage to the commons, giving up [l], upon a promiſe of being ſupported in another way, the hearth-money, a tax which had been long regarded as a grievance. This produced an addreſs of thanks. But the generoſity of parliament equalled not their profeſſions of duty. Their expreſſions of gratitude led the King to demand large ſupplies. He repreſented [m] to them the exhauſted ſtate of Holland, and the deſperate condition of Ireland [n]. He deſired that the expence of an expedition which had delivered England from Popery and ſlavery, ſhould be refunded to the former. He

[l] March 1. [m] March 8. [n] Ibid.

urged

CHAP. IX. 1689.

urged that the latter could not be reduced without an immediate proviſion of an army of twenty thouſand men. Inſtead of granting immediately the demanded aid, the commons reſolved, the next day, to bring in a bill for appropriating, for little more than three months, the revenue paid to James to the ſervice of the crown. The expence of the Dutch expedition was ſoon [o] after laid before the houſe. The ſum amounted to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. The commons granted but ſix hundred thouſand. They either thought the account unreaſonable, or they wiſhed to ſhew their own power. They exhibited the ſame frugality in their other grants. They provided but for ſix months for the army deſtined for Ireland. They gave ſcarce more than half the ſum demanded for the charge of the navy. William aſcribed this conduct to a diſlike to his perſon, more than to the patriotiſm of the commons.

Tottering condition of the new government.

THE new government, it muſt be confeſſed, trembled through all its frame. William, through want of health or inclination, interfered but little in the affairs of the nation [p]. Ireland had been ſtrangely neglected, either through inattention or deſign [q]. The King ſeemed to fall into the weakneſs of his predeceſſor, in encouraging diſſenters againſt the eſtabliſhed church. The prejudices of James, in favour of the Papiſts, were almoſt equalled by thoſe of William, for the Calviniſts. Halifax and Danby, who had raiſed him to the throne, caballed with the other ſide [r]. They perceived that the people, with the ſame levity that induced them to deſert their former ſovereign, were beginning to be diſcontented with the reigning Prince. Every thing ſeemed to tend to a change. Halifax himſelf declared, that were James to conform with the Proteſtants, he could not be kept four months from reaſcending his throne [s]. Danby averred, that were the late King to give

[o] March 14. [p] Rereſby. [q] Dalrymple's Append. [r] Rereſby.
[s] Ibid.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

ſatisfaction for the ſecurity of religion, it would be difficult to oppoſe his reſtoration. Both wiſhed to provide for their own ſafety, a circumſtance deciſive with regard to the diſtracted ſtate of the times. The emiſſaries and friends of James aſſumed boldneſs from the apparent diſcontents of the nation. They tampered with the ſervants of the crown. They inflamed the army. They alarmed the former with a proſpect of a ſudden change. They rouſed the latter into indignation, by the manifeſt preference given by William to his own countrymen, the Dutch.

A mutiny quelled.

WILLIAM, perceiving the diſcontents of the army, reſolved to tranſport to Holland the regiments whoſe ſpirit ſeemed moſt dangerous. The States had demanded their own troops. But the King was not willing to part altogether with ſoldiers upon whoſe fidelity he could rely. The royal Scotiſh regiment of horſe, and Dumbarton's regiment of foot, the command of which had been conferred upon Schomberg, were ordered to Ipſwich, to embark for Holland, to replace the Dutch battalions that William choſe to keep in England. The horſe almoſt totally deſerted. They were followed in a body by five hundred foot, headed by five captains [t]. They directed their march toward Scotland, with drums beating and colours flying, carrying alſo along four field-pieces. William, upon receiving intelligence of this mutiny, ſent a meſſage upon the ſubject to the two houſes [u]. He, in the mean time, diſpatched, under the command of Ginkle, three regiments of Dutch dragoons, in purſuit of the deſerters. The mutineers exhibited neither conduct nor courage upon an occaſion where both were neceſſary. Damped either by the treachery or cowardice of other corps, who had promiſed to ſupport them, they ſurrendered to Ginkle at diſcretion. They were brought back with every mark of diſgrace; and, by way of puniſhment, ſent to Holland according to their former deſtination. Both parties were pleaſed: the

[t] Kennet, et Auct. citat. paſſim.

[u] March 15.

Scots,

Scots, for eſcaping ſo well, and William, for having quelled with ſuch facility a mutiny, which, if conducted with ſpirit, would have endangered his throne. CHAP. IX. 1689.

THE ſuppreſſion of this ill-concerted and frivolous revolt neither intimidated the enemies of William, nor ſecured his authority. All the biſhops except eight, and many temporal peers refuſed, under a pretence of conſcience, to take the oaths to the new government. The houſe of commons, though far from being unanimous in favour of the Revolution, were leſs ſcrupulous in their ſentiments. Under the ſhelter of a ſtatute of Henry the Seventh, which provides, that no perſon for adhering to a King in poſſeſſion ſhall be impeached or attainted, ſwore allegiance to William and Mary. The King, offended at the refractorineſs of the church of England, in her biſhops, began openly to indulge his own prejudices in favour of the Diſſenters. Having come to the houſe of lords, to paſs ſome bills, on the ſixteenth of March, he made a ſpeech, to urge the neceſſity of admitting all Proteſtants indiſcriminately into the public ſervice. He told his parliament, that he had ſomething to communicate, which would conduce as much to their ſettlement, as the ſettlement would to the diſappointment of their enemies. He informed them, that he was employed in filling up the vacancies in offices of truſt; and he hoped that they were ſenſible of the neceſſity of a law to ſettle the oaths to be taken by ſuch perſons as ſhould be admitted into place. As he doubted not, he ſaid, that they would ſufficiently provide againſt Papiſts, ſo he hoped that they would leave room for the admiſſion of all Proteſtants that ſhould be willing and able to ſerve *. Parliament refractory.

HIS predeceſſor, in all his frantic ſchemes of religion, could not have propoſed a more impolitic meaſure. The ſacramental teſt, which excluded all Diſſenters, was deemed the great ſecurity Reject a propoſed comprehenſion.

* March 16.

of

CHAP. IX. 1689.

of the eſtabliſhed church. The conduct of William was compared, with diſadvantage, to the indiſcriminate tolerance of James; as more ought to be expected from the former than from the latter. The adherents of the church complained, that the ruin, which they feared from the Papiſts, in the preceding reign, was now to be dreaded from the Proteſtant Diſſenters. They affirmed, that if the eſtabliſhed religion was to be deſtroyed, it mattered little by whoſe hands it muſt fall. A majority of the two houſes adhered with vehemence to the church. A bill, brought in by the miniſtry, for abrogating the former oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, was rejected. An attempt to diſpenſe with the ſacramental teſt was made without ſucceſs in another form. The court-party propoſed, that any man ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for office, by producing a certificate of his having received the ſacrament in any Proteſtant congregation. But this motion was alſo rejected in the houſe of lords by a great majority. Diſappointment rendered William more obſtinate. He repeated his attempts of a comprehenſion. But he was ultimately unſucceſsful; and, as his perſeverance in this line was conſtrued into a kind of enthuſiaſm for Calviniſm, the jealouſy of the church continued to increaſe. The commons, however, were at firſt more favourable than the lords. They endeavoured to intimidate the latter, by agreeing to an amendment upon the oath-bill, when ſent down from the peers, to oblige the clergy to take the oaths before the firſt of Auguſt[y].

Coronation.

DURING the tedious dependence of this bill before the two houſes, another was introduced by the commons, for ſettling the coronation-oath. The church party, who ſeemed to be the majority, inſerted a clauſe highly favourable to themſelves. To the part of the oath where the King ſwore to maintain the Proteſtant religion, they ſubjoined the words "as eſtabliſhed by law." This addition ſeemed, by an artifice, to exclude the Diſſenters from his

[y] Journals of the commons, March 16.

protection.

protection. The miniſtry were diſconcerted. The King himſelf was offended. He had entered with vehemence into the ſcheme of a comprehenſion, which ſeemed to argue that his conſcience was concerned. The friends of the court, ſupported by the adherents of the Diſſenters, endeavoured by an addition to defeat the amendment made by the church-party upon the motion. They could not however prevail. The queſtion was carried againſt them by a conſiderable majority [z]. The bill was paſſed, and ſent to the lords. The lords, already favourable to the church, were ready to agree to any thing which ſuited either her intereſt or even her prejudices. An oppoſition, though ineffectual, was made. The bill, however, in its firſt ſtate, received the royal aſſent on the ninth of April. Two days after, the King and Queen were crowned at Weſtminſter. William is ſaid, by his enemies, to have diſcovered an apparent unwillingneſs to ſwear to maintain the church of England, as eſtabliſhed by law [a]. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, declined to aſſiſt at the ceremony, not chooſing to acknowledge the new ſettlement of government. His refuſal had been foreſeen. A clauſe in the coronation-act gave power to the King to be crowned by either an archbiſhop or biſhop; and therefore the Biſhop of London was choſen to officiate upon the occaſion [b].

CHAP. IX. 1689.

WHILE William was eſtabliſhed in the throne of one of the Britiſh kingdoms, another was haſtening to lay her crown at his feet. The religious jealouſy, which had rouſed the Engliſh nation againſt James, prevailed with equal fervour, though not with equal juſtice, among the Scots. The ſeverities of the preceding reign had been very much mitigated, even before a general indulgence freed the adherents of the covenant from the animadverſion of the penal laws. The memory of paſt perſecutions, the comparative lenity of the preſent times, had raiſed ſentiments of grati- Affairs

[z] 138 againſt 118. [a] Caveat againſt the Whigs. [b] Gazette.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

tude in the breaſts of the Preſbyterian miniſters. They had addreſſed James with expreſſions of ſubmiſſion and thanks. They executed the duties of their function with freedom; and an unuſual tranquillity prevailed in a kingdom, long diſtracted with the perſecuting zeal of government and the fanatical fury of an ignorant populace. The civil affairs of Scotland were, in the mean time, tranſacted with unuſual mildneſs. The privy-council had ceaſed to be a board of inquiſition. The laws were leſs frequently converted, by thoſe in power, into the means of gratifying either revenge or avarice. Commerce was encouraged, by the mercantile genius of James; and the people might have been happy under him, had they not been inflamed with a religious enthuſiaſm ſimilar to his own. He aſſumed no new powers in Scotland, notwithſtanding the abſolute air of his declarations. The nation had, by their repreſentatives, reſigned their liberties to the crown; and it is remarkable, that thoſe proclamations which have given ſo much offence, are only a tranſcript of the words of the acts which inveſted the King with an abſolute power in eccleſiaſtical affairs [c].

of Scotland.

BUT the ſame weakneſs which had induced James to place his affairs in the hands of Roman Catholics in England, guided his choice of his principal ſervants in Scotland. Though he joined ſome perſons of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion with his favourite ſect, in the adminiſtration of government, his conduct in that reſpect was aſcribed to deſign. The people, in the abſence of flagrant oppreſſions, were ſilent. But their jealouſy of the King, and their rooted averſion to Papiſts, rendered them ripe for any change. Several Scotſmen, either perſecuted by government, or to pay their court to a Prince who ſeemed deſtined one day to mount the throne, had retired to Holland. Theſe, by their emiſſaries, inflamed the prejudices of the people, and kept alive their fears. The Prince of Orange diſperſed by their means his decla-

[c] Mem. of Scotland. Woodrow. Ralph. Acts of parliament.

ration in Scotland. The zeal of the majority of the nation for the religious tenets of Calvin, had long prevailed over their attachment to the ancient line of their Kings. The Prince was of their own perſuaſion, a circumſtance which rendered him extremely popular. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England. He had diſavowed all ſelfiſh deſigns in his expedition. The news of his landing in England was proclaimed in the weſtern counties with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. The army having marched by order to England, no power remained to repreſs the fury of the populace, or to protect the government. The perſons who compoſed the regency were either hated or deſpiſed. Beſides, they had quarrelled among themſelves. The Marquis of Athol formed a party againſt the Earl of Perth, and forced him to reſign his office. To facilitate the views of the Prince of Orange, they reduced, by their own authority, the few troops that remained in Scotland. The populace, when this check was removed, became inſolent and outrageous; and the Marquis of Athol, who in ſome degree had raiſed the ſtorm, exerciſed a kind of government in the midſt of anarchy and confuſion [a].

Confuſion at Edinburgh.

THE Marquis, in the mean time, deeming that his deſigns were ripe, aſſembled the council. He propoſed a warm addreſs to the Prince of Orange; but it was rejected by the majority, for one more moderate. Diſappointed in his views, he repaired to London. The remaining part of the council, under the protection of a few guards, who had not been diſbanded, aſſumed an appearance of authority. A kind of languid obedience was paid in the capital to their orders. The reſt of the kingdom knew not whom to obey. The Earl of Balcarras had been diſpatched to London ſome time before, to lay the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom before the King. He arrived in that capital the day after James firſt withdrew himſelf from Whitehall. Defeated in the purpoſe

[a] Publications of the times.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

of his journey, he applied to the Duke of Hamilton, a man of temporizing principles. The violence of the Duke for the Prince of Orange roſe in proportion to his opinion, that James was never to return. He demanded from Balcarras the letter of the regency to the King; and when his requeſt was refuſed, he left his Lordſhip and ſome other privy-counſellors in a rage. His raſhneſs upon the preſent occaſion was ſucceeded by an inſtance of meanneſs. When the King unexpectedly returned to London, he endeavoured, through the mediation of the Lord Dundee, to be reconciled to the reſt of the lords. He excuſed in perſon his former paſſion, and offered his future ſervice. He even aſſiſted at the only council which James held at Whitehall after his return. But when that unfortunate Prince was ſent under a guard to Rocheſter, he reſumed his former zeal for the Prince of Orange [e].

The adminiſtration conferred on the Prince of Orange.

THE intrigues of the Duke, the influence of the Prince, the hopeleſs condition of James, and the neceſſity of a ſettlement, ſoon produced a favourable change in Scotiſh affairs. Thirty peers and near eighty gentlemen, then in London, waited, in the beginning of January, on the Prince of Orange. Without any authority from the regency, ſtill ſubſiſting in Edinburgh, they formed themſelves into a kind of convention. The Prince of Orange, in a formal manner, aſked their advice. He withdrew, and they adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall. The Duke of Hamilton was unanimouſly choſen their preſident. He explained, in an extraordinary ſpeech, the diſtracted ſtate of Scotland. He repreſented, that diſorders, anarchy, and confuſion prevailed; and he urged the abſolute neceſſity of placing the power ſomewhere, till a convention of ſtates ſhould be called, to form a ſolid and laſting ſettlement. A debate enſued; and the meeting adjourned to the next day. When the heads of their addreſs to the Prince of Orange were ſettled, and ordered to be engroſſed, the Earl

[e] Balcarras's Memoirs.

of

of Arran, the Duke of Hamilton's ſon, unexpectedly roſe. He propoſed to invite back the King. A general ſilence prevailed. None ſeconded his motion. The meeting however adjourned. When they reſumed the ſubject the next day, Sir Patrick Hume, encouraged by the contempt ſhewn to Arran's propoſal, arraigned his conduct. Hume's motion, however, was deemed officious and unneceſſary. The meeting adhered to their former advice to the Prince; and requeſted him to take into his hands the adminiſtration. They waited upon him in a body, and he thanked them for the truſt which they had repoſed in him [f]; a condeſcenſion which he had not ſhewn to the lords and commons of England, upon a ſimilar occaſion [g]. A convention was ordered to meet at Edinburgh on the fourteenth of March; and a proviſion was made, that no exception or limitation whatever ſhould be made, except that the members ſhould be Proteſtants [h].

The convention meets.

THE current of the people turning toward a revolution, a great majority of the members choſen to the convention, were men diſaffected to James on the ſcore of religion. His adherents were either diſpirited by the ſtate of the times, or averſe from joining an aſſembly which they deemed illegal. The convention, however, met not without ſome apprehenſions for their own ſafety. The Duke of Gordon, a Roman catholic, ſtill held the caſtle of Edinburgh for the King. But, being a perſon of a timid character, they hoped to terrify him into a ſurrender of that fortreſs. The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Athol, who had contended at London for William's favour, were now candidates for the office of preſident of the convention. The Duke had the good fortune to prevail. The firſt buſineſs of the convention was to ſummon the Duke of Gordon to quit the caſtle in twenty-four hours. The Earls of Lothian and Tweedale were the bearers of this requiſition. The Duke, yielding to his fears, promiſed to

[f] Jan. 9. [g] Auct. citat. Balcarras's Mem. [h] Printed paper of advice.

obey,

CHAP. IX. 1689.

obey. But he was afterwards induced to retract, by the Earl of Balcarras and the Viſcount Dundee. To evade his engagement to the two noble meſſengers of the convention, he demanded terms, which could not with decency be granted. Several meſſages were interchangeably ſent upon this buſineſs, and the Duke demanded twelve days to conſider of a ſurrender. The reſult was an open rupture; and the convention ſummoned him by the heralds at arms, in all their formalities, to ſurrender the place, under the pain of treaſon. The Duke having refuſed to obey, was, on the ſame day, proclaimed a traitor at the market-croſs of Edinburgh[i]. Aſſuming an appearance of ſpirit upon the occaſion, he diſmiſſed the mutinous part of his garriſon; but their place was amply ſupplied by volunteers[k].

Letters from the two Kings.

THE day after the Duke of Gordon was declared a traitor, a letter from William to the convention arrived by expreſs from London. A letter from James was at the ſame time preſented to the preſident, under a motion to be read. A violent debate enſued. The majority ſeemed inclined that both letters ſhould be read; and the Earl of Lothian finiſhed the conteſt, by obſerving, "that ſince they met by the deſire of the King of England, it was proper to pay him the compliment of reading his letter firſt." William informed the convention, that he was highly ſenſible of the kindneſs and concern that many of their nation had evinced for HIM and his undertaking; and that he doubted not of their confidence in his conduct, as ſuch a conſiderable number of their nobility and gentry had already deſired him to aſſume the adminiſtration of affairs. He left, he ſaid, a ſettlement to their own deliberation and wiſdom. He recommended an union with England, as the two kingdoms had one common intereſt of religion and liberty. James with eagerneſs endeavoured to retain his Scotiſh ſubjects in their duty, and to recall thoſe that had ſtrayed, to their alle-

[i] Balcarras's Mem. Ralph. [k] Auct. citat. paſſim.

giance.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

glance. He had applied, he ſaid, with ſucceſs to his ancient people, in his greateſt misfortunes. He requires them again to ſupport his royal intereſt againſt the uſurped authority of the Prince of Orange. He exhorted them not to ſuffer themſelves to be either frightened or cajoled out of their duty to their lawful Prince. He entreated them to avoid the infamy and diſgrace of rebellion in this world, and its puniſhment in the next. He told them, that to act the moſt dutiful was the ſafeſt part. He aſſured them of a ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance; and he ſolemnly promiſed to ſecure to themſelves and their poſterity, in a parliament to be legally called, their religion, laws, properties, liberties, and rights. He inſinuated, that though Almighty God might, for a time, permit "the blackeſt of uſurpations, the moſt unjuſt and unnatural attempts to prevail, and the wicked to proſper, confuſion muſt in the end overtake the workers of iniquity." He promiſed a general pardon to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty before the laſt day of March; and he threatened ſuch as ſhould ſtand out in rebellion with the rigour of the law[l].

A ſeceſſion from the convention.

THIS vehement letter produced no favourable effect for the dethroned King. Crane, an Engliſhman, who had brought it to the convention, was ordered into cuſtody. He was, however, ſoon after diſmiſſed, with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer[m]. One reſource ſtill remained to the royal party. The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viſcount Dundee, were authoriſed, by an inſtrument ſigned by James, then in Ireland, to call a convention of eſtates at Stirling. This meaſure was firſt diſappointed by the wavering diſpoſition of the Marquis of Athol, and afterwards by the delay and folly of the party. The Marquis had reſumed his loyalty to James, on account of diſappointments from William. He was, however, irreſolute and fluctuating in his conduct. The time of the departure of the royaliſts was deferred. An accident

[l] Gazette. [m] Ralph.

effectuated

CHAP. IX. 1689.

effectuated it at laſt with an abruptneſs which diſconcerted all their views. The Viſcount Dundee, terrified with an information of a deſign formed by the covenanters to aſſaſſinate him, left Edinburgh, at the head of fifty horſe. When he paſſed under the walls of the caſtle, the Duke of Gordon made a ſignal to call him to a conference. He ſcrambled up againſt a precipice, and informed the Duke of all his deſigns, and conjured him to hold out the caſtle, under a certainty of being relieved. The novelty of the ſight collected multitudes of ſpectators. The convention were alarmed. The preſident ordered the doors to be locked, the keys to be laid on the table. The drums were beat to alarm the town. A parcel of ill-armed retainers were gathered together in the ſtreet by the Earl of Leven. Dundee, in the mean time, rode off with his party. But when they found themſelves ſecure, the Duke of Hamilton adjourned the convention, which relieved the adherents of James from dreadful apprehenſions for their own ſafety. Fifty members retired from Edinburgh; and that circumſtance procured a kind of unanimity in all the ſucceeding reſolutions of the convention [n].

Crown ſettled on William.

To encourage his friends, and to intimidate his enemies, William had ordered from England four regiments of foot and one of dragoons. Theſe forces were under Mackay, appointed commander of the troops in Scotland. The convention were not idle in ſecuring themſelves. They ordered by proclamation all perſons between the age of ſixteen and ſixty to be ready to take arms. They gave the command of the militia to Sir Patrick Hume. They raiſed eight hundred men for a guard, under the Earl of Leven. They ſent the Earl of Mar, who had deſerted the adherents of James, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Stirling. They required, by their macer, the attendance of all their members. They empowered the preſident to ſecure all diſaffected and ſuſpected per-

[n] Balcarras's Mem.

ſons.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

ſons. A committee, conſiſting of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgeſſes, was appointed to prepare the plan of a new ſettlement of the kingdom [o]. This committee conſiſted of men of ſpirit, as well as abilities. Inſtead of amuſing themſelves in nice diſtinctions, and the latent meaning of words, they agreed that James had FOREFAULTED his RIGHT of the crown; and that the throne was become vacant. The term FOREFAULTED was meant to imply a perpetual excluſion of James and his whole race from the crown. The convention approved of the reſolution, and they ordered the committee to prepare another act, for raiſing William and Mary to the vacant throne, to conſider of the deſtination of the crown to other heirs, and to form an inſtrument of government, for ſecuring for the future the people againſt the grievances of which they at preſent complained. On the eleventh of April, the King and Queen were proclaimed at Edinburgh. The Duke of Hamilton, to ſhew his zeal for the new government, read in perſon the act of the convention. The Earl of Argyle, in the name of the lords, Sir James Montgomery, for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple, for the burgeſſes, were ordered to repair to London, to inveſt William with the government; and the convention, having appointed a committee to preſerve the public peace, adjourned to the twenty-firſt of May [p].

Affairs

THE impolitic conduct through which James loſt the two Britiſh thrones, had been carried to exceſſes ſtill more alarming, in his management of the affairs of Ireland. The Earl of Tyrconnel, having, by corrupt means, obtained the intereſt of Sunderland [q], was raiſed, in the year 1687, to the government of that kingdom. Tyrconnel was a man of profligate abilities, violent in his temper, and, through faction more than religion, a bigotted Roman-catholic. His arrival in Ireland was attended with a general con-

[o] March 26. [p] Balcarras's minutes of the convention. Ralph. Burnet.
[q] James II. Mem. of Ireland.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

ſternation among the Proteſtants, and an intemperate joy among the Popiſh party. The firſt dreaded a renewal of all the violence of former times. The latter, who formed a great majority of the nation, hoped to regain the importance of which they deemed themſelves unjuſtly deprived. The new lord-deputy ſeemed, by his conduct, to juſtify, in a great meaſure, the prior opinions of the people concerning his principles. Having received, on the twelfth of February 1687, the ſword of ſtate from the Earl of Clarendon, he entered upon the exerciſe of his government. The army had already, in a great degree, been purged of the more obnoxious proteſtants. The next meaſure was to place the civil power in the hands of Papiſts. The admiſſion of that ſect into the ſeveral corporations, proceeded languidly under the government of Clarendon; who, though a ſubmiſſive royaliſt, was a ſtrict Proteſtant. To place the power of modelling all parliaments in the hands of the Papiſts, was to inveſt them with the whole power of the kingdom. Quo warrantos were iſſued againſt many corporations. The judges, and perhaps the juries were parties. In the ſpace of two terms judgments were pronounced. Dublin itſelf was forced to ſurrender its charter. Other corporations yielded with a good grace what they could not retain by the forms of juſtice. Though Proteſtants were admitted indiſcriminately with Papiſts, the former could bear no proportion to the latter in a kingdom, where five in ſix parts of the inhabitants were Roman catholics[r].

of Ireland.

THOUGH Tyrconnel confined his meaſures in general to the ſtrict forms of law, it was only becauſe the laws themſelves were now in his power. Diſtruſt, jealouſy, and even a degree of violence, prevailed. Many Proteſtant families deſerted the country. The induſtry of thoſe who remained was greatly diminiſhed, on account of the ſuppoſed inſecurity of their property. The revenue

[r] Secret conſults. Mem. of Ireland. Ralph. Leland.

began

began ſuddenly to decreaſe; a circumſtance ſufficient, when known, to overcome, in the mind of a Prince ſo frugal as James, even his predilection for Popiſh meaſures. The Catholics of England, being men of moderate principles, were highly offended at the violence of their ſect in Ireland. The King himſelf, who never entertained any affection for Tyrconnel[s], began to liſten to complaints againſt his conduct. Informed by his patron, the Earl of Sunderland, that James was adviſed to appoint a more prudent governor of Ireland, the lord-deputy obtained leave to meet his Majeſty, on his progreſs to Cheſter[t]. He left his government in the hands of Fitton, the chancellor, a perſon of a profligate character, and of the Earl of Clanrickard. He himſelf repaired to England. Rice, the chief baron of the Exchequer, a man of plauſible abilities, attended him to Cheſter. Rice gave ſuch an account of the ſtate of Ireland to James, as was beſt calculated to recommend his patron. To confirm the King in the opinion that Tyrconnel was unjuſtly traduced, he brought ſeveral addreſſes from the Proteſtants of Ireland. The reſult of all was, that James, diſtruſting the informations which he had received, remitted Tyrconnel to his government[u].

CHAP. IX. 1689.

THE intrigues againſt Tyrconnel, however, continued. The Earl of Caſtlemain had fixed his views on the government of Ireland; and both he and his party found means to convey the miſmanagements of the lord-deputy to the King. Tyrconnel was again alarmed. To gain the favour of James through the channel of intereſt, he offered to his conſideration a ſcheme, which, though wild, unjuſt, and dangerous, ſeemed calculated to eſtabliſh his views. He propoſed to call a parliament, which, in conſequence of the late uſurpations on the charters of corporations, muſt have proved entirely devoted to government. Under the plauſible pretence of relieving ſome diſtreſſed and really injured

An attempt to break the acts of ſettlement.

[s] James II. [t] Aug. 1687. [u] MSS. 1688. Leland. Ralph.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

Papiſts, a bill was framed, which ſhould artfully deſtroy the whole ſettlement of the kingdom. To gain his protection and aſſent to the bill, he complimented the King with the diſpoſal of almoſt all the lands in Ireland. The lord chief baron Rice, who had formed the ſcheme, was, with others, commiſſioned to lay it before the Engliſh council. To ſecure ſucceſs, the Earl of Sunderland, together with Father Petre, were gained by promiſes of great advantage[x]. James liſtened at firſt to the propoſal; but when the matter came to be debated in council, he changed his mind. The majority of the lords preſent, and even the Catholics, argued with great vehemence againſt the meaſure. Sunderland and Petre, perceiving that the current was changed, remained ſilent. The Iriſh commiſſioners were diſmiſſed with contempt by the council. The populace, informed of their want of ſucceſs, treated them with indignities, and hooted them from London with ſcorn[y].

Diſappointed in England.

THIS diſappointment mortified the Catholics, and terrified Tyrconnel with the fear of a change. He derived moderation from the uncertainty in which he was placed. But though no glaring acts of oppreſſion were committed, the terrors of the Proteſtants continued. Their jealouſy of the Papiſts, the loſs of thoſe excluſive rights, which had ſo long eſtabliſhed the authority of the few over the many, the partiality of the lord-deputy to his own ſect, the memory of the paſt and apprehenſions for the future, all conſpired to render them unhappy in the midſt of tranquillity. They complained of the inſolence of the Papiſts. They were afraid of their injuſtice. The timid reſigned themſelves to deſpair. The prudent remained quiet, though they entertained little hopes of being ſoon relieved from their fears. In this ſituation affairs continued during the greateſt part of the memorable year 1688. A reiteration of an intention of altering the acts of

[x] Secret Conſults, p. 117, 118.

[y] Publications of the times.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

ſettlement, mentioned by ſome writers, is neither well authenticated nor probable. When the Prince of Orange landed in England, the terrors of the Proteſtants were transferred to the Papiſts. Though they firſt affected to deſpiſe both the Prince and his invaſion, the accounts of his ſucceſs and the misfortunes of James induced them to change their tone. Inſtead of perſecuting the Proteſtants, they endeavoured, by acts of friendſhip, to gain their protection. Tyrconnel himſelf deſcended from his pride to flattery. He boaſted of the impartiality of his own government. The truth is, though he has been accuſed of tyranny, few authentic facts have been produced to juſtify the charge. His manner was more blamable than his meaſures. In perpetual fears of being ſuperſeded, he obſerved, in general, a conduct more cautious than could have been expected from his political principles, and the known violence of his natural diſpoſition [z].

William's ſtrange neglect of Ireland.

DURING the troubles in England, which terminated in plaeing William on the throne, the two parties in Ireland were kept in a kind of tranquillity by their mutual fears. The Proteſtants were terrified at the proſpect of another maſſacre. The Papiſts expected every day to be invaded by the joint force of the Engliſh and Dutch. But the terrors of the Roman Catholics were ill-founded. A ſtrange neglect prevailed in the counſels of the Prince of Orange, with regard to Ireland. Though Tyrconnel ſent ſeveral meſſages to the Prince, that he was ready to deliver the kingdom to any force that might render a ſurrender decent, his offers were rejected. William was perſuaded by the Marquis of Halifax, that ſhould Ireland yield, no pretence could remain for keeping an army in pay; that ſhould he have no army to protect his authority, he might be as eaſily *turned out*, as he had been *brought in*; that the Engliſh nation could never be pleaſed long; and that he might perceive they began already to be diſcontented [a]. Theſe

[z] MS. 1688.

[a] Dalrymple's Append.

inſidious

CHAP. IX. 1689.

inſidious arguments, combining with William's determined reſolution to retain by force what he had received by an appearance of choice, encouraged in his mind that neglect of Ireland, which is juſtly deemed one of the greateſt blemiſhes of his reign. His enemies, but perhaps with no good reaſon, aſſign a worſe cauſe for his negligence. He knew, ſay they, that ſhould England be confirmed under his government, Ireland could not long reſiſt his arms; and that, in the mean time, the obſtinacy of his Iriſh enemies would give a pretence for forfeitures to gratify his Engliſh, and eſpecially his foreign friends [b].

The Proteſtants take arms.

TYRCONNEL, diſappointed in his views of ſurrendering Ireland to the Prince of Orange, affected to adhere to James. The whole regular force of Ireland ſeemed very inadequate to ſuch a hazardous undertaking. The army conſiſted only of four thouſand men. Not above ſix hundred of theſe were in Dublin. Their own ſafety prevailed over their attachment to the King. They ſeemed all willing to quit the ſervice. The lord-deputy iſſued new commiſſions for levying forces. Theſe were indiſcriminately granted to all. An half armed rabble, rather than an army, roſe ſuddenly in various parts of the kingdom. Without any pay from the King, they affected to appear in his ſervice. Diſcipline was little regarded. Thoſe privileged marauders ſupported themſelves with a ſpecies of depredation. A falſe information of a maſſacre gained credit, from the violences committed by the new levies. The Proteſtants in the North of Ireland, who had before prepared to oppoſe the government, now armed themſelves in their own defence. The city of Londonderry, relying on its ſituation and a ſlight wall, ſhut its gates againſt the new-raiſed troops of the King. Tyrconnel was diſconcerted by this unexpected oppoſition. He diſpatched the Lord Mountjoy, who was a Proteſtant, to reduce the refractory city. His Lordſhip

[b] Publications of the times.

was received as a friend, rather than an enemy. They admitted him, upon conditions. He aſſumed the command, but leſs with a reſolution to ſerve James than to aid his rival. The ſpirit of the inhabitants of Londonderry animated all the northern Proteſtants. They roſe every where. Parties aſſembled, under various leaders in Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan. They publiſhed declarations. They declared their reſolution to unite in ſelf-defence, to preſerve the Proteſtant religion, to continue their dependence on England, and to promote the meeting of a free parliament[c].

They are routed at Drumore.

WHILE theſe aſſociations were formed in the North, Tyrconnel reſigned himſelf to political fears in Dublin. The majority of his council were ſtruck with ſimilar terrors. The ſword of ſtate ſeemed ready to fall from the lord-deputy's hands. But William was neither ready nor willing to receive what Tyrconnel wiſhed to reſign. To preſerve appearances, more than from any hopes of ſucceſs from the meaſure, the King of England began to practiſe ſecretly with the governor of Ireland. He ſent General Hamilton, an Iriſhman and a Roman Catholic, to treat with that lord. But, inſtead of perſuading Tyrconnel to yield to William, he adviſed him to adhere to James. The latter Prince, in the mean time, aſſured the lord-deputy, by a truſty meſſenger, that he was ready to ſail from Breſt with a powerful armament. His party aſſumed ſpirit from their hopes of aid. Hamilton marched againſt the northern inſurgents. They abandoned Newry. They were routed, with conſiderable ſlaughter, at Drumore. Hillſborough, where they had fixed their head-quarters, was taken without reſiſtance. The inſurgents endeavoured to make ſome ſtand at Coleraine; but the enemy forced the paſſage of the river Bann, and drove them, through various routes, to Derry. The Lord

[c] Publications of the times.

Mountjoy

CHAP. IX. 1689.

Mountjoy having been ſent to France, by the artifice of Tyrconnel, the government of Derry devolved on Lundy. This officer, who ſeemed at firſt to temporize, caught, at length, the ſpirit of the inhabitants, and reſolved to hold the place againſt the Iriſh Catholics to the laſt extremity [d].

James arrives in Ireland.

HAMILTON's breach of faith, and the dangerous ſtate of Ireland, rouſed William, at length, from his unaccountable inactivity. He iſſued a declaration on the twenty-ſecond of February, requiring all the Iriſh to ſubmit to his government, by a certain day in April. Thirty ſhips were, in a few days, put into commiſſion, and the command conferred on Admiral Herbert. This armament proceeded with languor. In five weeks, ſcarce a third part of the fleet deſtined for Ireland was ready to put to ſea. James, in the mean time, prepared himſelf for an expedition into that kingdom, by the aſſiſtance of France. Lewis the Fourteenth furniſhed that unfortunate Prince with an aid better calculated to continue for ſome time, than to finiſh ſuddenly the war. The whole force of the expedition conſiſted of fourteen ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and three fire-ſhips. Twelve hundred of his native ſubjects, in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, compoſed the whole army of James. The Count de Lauzun was intended for the chief command. But, through ſome diſguſt, he declined to accept of that honour. The Mareſchal de Roſen, a German by birth, was ſubſtituted in his place. James ſailed from Breſt on the ſeventh of March. He landed without oppoſition at Kinſale, on the twelfth of the ſame month [e], and was received in that place with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy [f]. The Iriſh Catholics were peculiarly elevated with the preſence of a Prince, who had loſt his two other kingdoms for his predilection for their religion.

[d] Publications of the times. [e] James II. 1689.

[f] Mſs. Journals, corrected by James himſelf, 1689.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1689.

THE firſt care of James was to ſecure, in the fort of Kinſale, the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought from France. The very aids, which he received from that kingdom were proofs of his abject dependence on the French court. One part of theſe ſupplies was furniſhed by the department of M. de Luvois; the other, by that of Seignelai, and each ſent his own commiſſaries, who were only accountable to their principals for their diſburſements. James formed a kind of cabinet-council at Kinſale, into which D'Avaux, the ambaſſador of France, was admitted. He ordered the Iriſh officers, particularly Sir Thomas Nugent, the lord chief juſtice, and the Lord Mount-Caſhel, who had come to receive him, to lay before him the ſtate of Ireland. They magnified the ſervices of the lord-deputy. They repreſented the zeal and loyalty of the native Iriſh. They affirmed, that, by means of commiſſions promiſcuouſly given by Tyrconnel, one hundred thouſand men were already in arms. They aſcribed the inactivity of William to his fears from their own preparations. They, however, owned that great inconveniencies had proceeded from their meaſures. The troops, they ſaid, having had no pay, were forced to live on the people. Terror, they allowed, and a degree of tyranny, prevailed. The diſarming of the Proteſtants, they ſaid, though a neceſſary meaſure, increaſed the inſolence and injuſtice of the Catholics, who deemed themſelves juſtified, upon this change of fortune, to render back thoſe ill-offices which they had formerly received at their hands. This, they owned, provoked the Proteſtants, already inclined to revolt. Theſe, under the pretence of ſafety, they ſaid, had formed themſelves into troops; and committed diſorders in the North, of which the informants greatly complained [g].

Informs himſelf of the ſtate of that country.

HAVING left Kinſale in ſome ſtate of defence, James advanced to Cork. Tyrconnel arrived ſoon after, and brought intelligence

His tranſactions at Dublin.

[g] MS. Journal, paſſim. James II. 1689.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

of the rout at Drumore. Pleaſed with his attachment and ſervices, the King raiſed him to the rank of a Duke. He himſelf advanced toward Dublin. The condition of the rabble, that poured round him, under the name of an army, was not calculated to raiſe his hopes of ſucceſs. The moſt of them were only provided with clubs; ſome with ſticks tipt with iron. The troops who were armed the beſt, had at moſt but two muſkets in a hundred fit for ſervice. At Dublin, James was received with every appearance of a general joy. He proceeded immediately to buſineſs. He ordered, by proclamation, all Proteſtants who had abandoned the kingdom to return. He commanded, in a ſecond proclamation, all Papiſts, except thoſe in his army, to lay up their arms, to put an end to the robberies and depredations, which they had committed in their violence and zeal. He invited the country to provide his troops, for their money, with proviſions. He raiſed the value of the currency, by a proclamation; and he ſummoned a parliament to meet at Dublin, on the ſeventh of May, to ſettle the diſtracted affairs of the kingdom. The Proteſtant clergy repreſented their grievances, in an addreſs. The univerſity of Dublin appeared with complaints and congratulations at the foot of the throne. He aſſured the firſt of his abſolute protection, and a full redreſs. He not only promiſed to defend, but even to enlarge the privileges of the latter[h].

Wretched ſtate of his army.

JAMES, ſoon after his arrival at Dublin, found that he had been too much flattered[i], in the accounts which he had received of the ſtate of Ireland. He was ill-informed of the number and reſolution of the Proteſtants. He was convinced of the neceſſity of finiſhing the diſorders of Ireland, before he could extend his views to Britain. He reſolved to ſtrengthen Hamilton, to enable him to take Coleraine. He ordered the Marquis de Puſignian, with a numerous detachment, to march to the North. While

[h] Leſley's Anſwer to King. [i] James II.

this

this reinforcement were preparing themſelves for their general rendezvous at Charlemont, James conſulted with his principal officers concerning the ſiege of Derry. He examined the magazines; but they were totally deſtitute of every implement of war. Workmen were employed to make the neceſſary tools and inſtruments for a ſiege. Few ſkilled in that craft could be found; and ſuch as were, being Proteſtants, proceeded ſlowly, from their averſion to the buſineſs. Cannon were no more to be found than tools. There was not one piece of battery ready mounted in all Ireland. Twelve field-pieces and four mortars formed the whole artillery of the kingdom, and theſe were already in the poſſeſſion of Hamilton. James, in an appearance of proſperity, was involved in the utmoſt diſtreſs. His army were naked and undiſciplined, ſubject to panic, and averſe from command. Their very numbers haraſſed their ſovereign, and ruined the country. He therefore reſolved to diſband the moſt of the half-armed rabble, who aſſumed the name of an army. More than one hundred thouſand already were on foot, in different parts of the iſland, and of theſe he reſerved only fourteen regiments of horſe and dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot. The reſt he ordered to retire to their reſpective homes. He ſupplied, in a great meaſure, the remains of his troops with arms. To encourage his friends, as well as to terrify his enemies, he reſolved to place himſelf at the head of the reinforcement, which he had committed to the charge of the Marquis de Puſignian[k].

April. Proceedings of the Engliſh parliament.

WHILE James was thus ſtrengthening himſelf in Ireland, the parliament of England was chiefly engaged in religious diſputes. The avowed patronage of the court to Diſſenters, though hitherto unſucceſsful, had not abated. The members, who had ſeceded from the houſe of commons, reſumed their ſeats. The ſuppoſed danger of the church called forth, a ſecond time, men who had

[k] MS. Journals, 1689. James II.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

retired, in a perfect deſpair of the ſtate. Joining with thoſe who adhered to the eſtabliſhed faith, they formed a majority againſt the court, in all matters where religion was concerned. A bill to reſtore corporations was read in the lower-houſe, and committed. A motion was made to inſtruct the committee, that none ſhould be admitted to any office of magiſtracy, without having received, within a twelvemonth before, the ſacrament, according to the church of England. The court-party oppoſed a meaſure, which indiſcriminately excluded all Diſſenters; but the oppoſition prevailed, by a majority of two voices [l]. The adherents of the church carried further their victory. They procured an addreſs to the King, to iſſue writs for a convocation, to adviſe him in eccleſiaſtical matters. The lords, after a violent debate, gave their concurrence to this addreſs. William, in his anſwer, promiſed to protect the church. He promiſed to call a convocation; but he ſpecified no fixed time for the meeting of that aſſembly [m]. The church-party, however, prevailed in the two houſes; and the Diſſenters, who expected to be gratified with offices, were obliged, at length, to reſt ſatisfied with being relieved from the penalty of certain laws.

Addreſs for a war with France.

To ſtrengthen his own intereſt, by removing the fears of his enemies, William recommended to his parliament to paſs an act of general indemnity. The two parties which divided the nation were unanimous in their thanks for this meſſage. The Whigs, who were ſtill the court-party, wiſhed to gratify the King. The Tories were anxious to ſave themſelves. While this temporary unanimity prevailed, the ſubject of a war with France came under the diſcuſſion of the commons [n]. Without one diſſenting voice, they promiſed to ſupport the King. Hampden, who had made the firſt motion for taking into conſideration the war, was placed in the chair of the committee appointed to form

[l] 116 againſt 114. [m] April 19. [n] April 16.

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the addreſs on the vote of the houſe. The addreſs itſelf, when preſented to the houſe, conſiſted of a ſtring of invectives againſt the French King. But however juſt the reflections might be deemed in themſelves, they ſeemed too undignified to be adopted by the commons at large. A more temperate paper was framed and preſented on the twenty-ſixth of April. The commons laid before the King the deſtructive methods taken by the court of France againſt the trade, quiet, and intereſt of the kingdom. They complained of the invaſion of Ireland, and the ſupport given to REBELS in that iſland. They promiſed to give ſuch aſſiſtance, in a parliamentary way, as ſhould enable the King to reduce France into ſuch a condition, as might prevent her for the future from violating the peace of Europe. William was cautious in his anſwer. He conſidered the war as no longer a matter of choice, but of neceſſity. He relied, he ſaid, on their promiſe of ſupport; and he aſſured them that they might rely upon him in applying their aids to the proper uſe.

War declared.

THESE matters being thus adjuſted, war was declared againſt France upon the ſeventh of May. The declaration contained ſome reaſons that were merely ſpeculative, and others that were founded in fact. Many of the cauſes that were alleged bore no relation to England. But the neceſſity of a rupture was apparent, as Lewis, though languidly, ſupported James in Ireland: yet his eſpouſing the cauſe of that unfortunate Prince, can ſcarce be comprehended in thoſe acts of perfidy which are enumerated in the declaration. His ſuppoſed attachment to France, as much as his bigotry in religion, accompliſhed the ruin of the late King. Could the allies on the Continent have ſeduced him into their party, his ſubjects would have been left to ſettle their own differences at home. The urgency of the meaſure was not neceſſary to recommend a war againſt the French to the Engliſh nation. Their enmity was ancient and hereditary.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

hereditary. Envy was joined to the memory of former injuries. The Engliſh were hated for their wealth and happineſs by the French. The French were abhorred by the Engliſh for their ambition and their ſtupendous power. The ſeeds of war ſeemed to have been ſown between both by the hand of nature; and William could not have conferred a greater favour upon his ſubjects, than by gratifying his own reſentment againſt Lewis, in turning upon that monarch the whole weight of England.

State of Europe.

THE arts of M. de Louvois, combining with the vanity and inſolence of Lewis the Fourteenth, united the arms of all Europe againſt France. The diet of Ratiſbon had declared the French King and the Cardinal de Furſtemberg enemies of the empire. The Elector of Brandenburgh took up arms againſt a nation, whom he called the common enemies of Chriſtendom. Denmark and Sweden were reconciled among themſelves, and gained to the grand alliance. The houſe of Auſtria in both its branches were the irreconcilable enemies of France. The Empire and Spain, remembering former injuries, ſeemed anxious for preſent revenge. An alliance offenſive and defenſive was formed between the Emperor and the States of Holland. They ſtipulated to co-operate with all their forces againſt the French King. They engaged themſelves, that neither ſhould enter, upon any pretence whatſoever, into a ſeparate treaty. That no peace ſhould be made till the objects of the treaties of Weſtphalia, Oſnaburgh, Munſter, and the Pyrenees, ſhould be vindicated. That, in caſe of a treaty by common conſent, an interchangeable communication of the tranſactions ſhould be ſtrictly maintained. That the Emperor ſhould invite the court of Madrid, the States, and the crown of England, into a participation of this treaty. That, in caſe of the death of the King of Spain without iſſue, the States ſhould, with all their forces, aid the Emperor to mount his throne; and that

CHAP. IX. 1689.

they would uſe their endeavours with the electors, their allies, to raiſe Joſeph, the Emperor's eldeſt ſon, to the dignity of King of the Romans[o].

May. Engliſh fleet defeated.

WILLIAM muſt have long foreſeen the neceſſity of the war which he now openly declared againſt France. But his preparations at ſea, where that kingdom was moſt vulnerable, were ſlow, neglected, and unſucceſsful. Though James, in his care of the marine, had placed the navy of England upon a reſpectable footing, he ſeems to have expended his naval ſtores in the great effort which he made to defeat the Dutch invaſion, by the means of his fleet. Beſides, the ſeamen ſhewed an almoſt invincible unwillingneſs to ſerve againſt the late King[p]. Of the thirty ſhips put in commiſſion in the end of February, twelve only were ready for ſailing in the middle of April. Herbert was ordered, at the head of his ſquadron, to go in queſt of the French fleet, which was preparing for another voyage to Ireland, by way of convoy to ſome tranſports, laden with arms, ammunition, and money. Driven by ſtreſs of weather into Milford-haven, he remained there a few days to refit. Reinforced with ſome ſhips, he took advantage of the firſt eaſterly wind, and ſtood away for the port of Kinſale[q]. His whole ſquadron conſiſted of eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. On the twenty-ninth of April, his ſcouts made a ſignal, that they diſcovered a fleet keeping their wind. To prevent their getting into Kinſale, Herbert did the ſame. The French, however, ſailed into Bantry-bay. Herbert ſtood in to the bay on the firſt of May. The French, conſiſting of twenty-eight ſhips of war, weighed anchor when the Engliſh firſt appeared. They formed their line, and bore down on Herbert with a full ſail. He endeavoured to gain the wind, but in vain. A ſmart engagement, which laſted two hours, enſued. Château Renault, who commanded the French, behaved with ſpi-

[o] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii. [p] Gazettes. [q] April 24.

rit.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

rit. Herbert was obliged to yield to ſuperior force, and he ſtood off to ſea, leaving a victory obtained with little bloodſhed to the enemy. Château Renault landed his ſtores in ſafety, and returned in triumph to France [r].

June. Diſcontents.

BUT neither the diſgrace thrown upon the arms of England, nor the dangerous ſtate of Ireland, were capable to create that unanimity in parliament which the times required. Though the commons had authoriſed William, with a promiſe of ſupporting his meaſures, to declare war againſt France, they ſhewed no inclination to furniſh him with ample ſupplies. The King himſelf diſcovered an inactivity unſuitable to the high opinion which had been formed of his character. He exhibited no ſymptoms of ardour for proſecuting a ſea-war againſt France. His preparations for the relief of the Proteſtants in Ireland, were languid and inſufficient. The commons were diſappointed in their own hopes, and offended with the King. They openly blamed his miniſters. They appointed a committee to inquire into the miſcarriages with regard to Ireland [s]. The diſtreſſes of the Iriſh Proteſtants, who had been forced to take refuge in England, employed their firſt care. They addreſſed the King to furniſh them with an immediate ſupply. They diſcovered an inclination to retaliate upon the Popiſh abſentees in England, the hardſhips which had fallen on the fugitive Proteſtants of Ireland. The King promiſed to grant their requeſt. But he took advantage of ſome treaſonable papers which had been intercepted to demand a further ſupply. The elder Hampden made a motion for that purpoſe. But ſuch was either the œconomy or diſcontent of the houſe, that he was not ſo much as ſeconded. The diſappointment of William was aggravated by an inſult upon his nation; for when Hampden urged the neceſſity of an aid, to ſave the nation from the Iriſh and French, another member deſired him to "add the Dutch."

[r] Gazettes. [s] June 1.

THESE

CHAP. IX.

1689. in the houſe

THESE marks of diſcontent proceeded more from a diſlike to William, than from any affection for James. The reſolutions of the commons ſeemed firm and violent againſt the excluded King and his adherents. They voted, that the moſt conſiderable Papiſts ſhould be taken into cuſtody. They reſolved, that their horſes and arms ſhould be ſeized. They ordered impeachments againſt ſeveral perſons for compoſing and publiſhing a declaration from the late King. They voted, that the declaration itſelf ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. A bill for the attainder of ſeveral perſons was introduced. A clauſe was inſerted, to apply to the relief of the Proteſtants the eſtates of the Popiſh Iriſh now in arms for the late King. But theſe reſolutions againſt the friends of James increaſed not the generoſity of the commons in favour of William. He inſinuated in perſon the apparent neceſſity of a further ſupply. He reminded the houſe of the neceſſity of a timely proviſion of the money for the States of Holland. To the firſt requeſt the commons made no reply. They anſwered the ſecond, by inſtructing a committee to inquire into the cauſe why the Dutch fleet had not ſooner joined that of England. This inquiry, however, ſeemed to have proceeded more from the ill-humour of the houſe, than from neceſſity. Thirty Dutch ſhips of the line had joined the Engliſh fleet, on the ſixth of June, at St. Helens. The combined fleet, conſiſting of near ſeventy men of war, hovered on the enemy's coaſt. The French having accompliſhed their purpoſe, by landing James in Ireland, kept themſelves ſafe in their ports; but their privateers in the mean time annoyed the trade of England with great ſucceſs [t].

of commons.

THE ill-humour of the commons appeared in meaſures where frugality was nowiſe concerned. The bill of rights had been introduced into the houſe, to convert the ſeveral articles which had been preſented to William with the crown into a regular law.

[t] Journals of the commons, May and June.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

The ſettlement of the crown upon the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, the Princeſs of Denmark, and their children, was to be confirmed by the ſame act of the legiſlature. The diſpenſing power was totally extinguiſhed by an additional clauſe, except in caſes where a diſpenſation is expreſsly allowed by the ſtatute. The bill paſſed the commons. But it was eſſentially amended by the lords. To the clauſe which diſabled Papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown, they added the words, "or ſuch as ſhould marry Papiſts." Sophia, Dutcheſs of Hannover, and her poſterity, were inſerted in the line of ſucceſſion by the lords. The lower houſe rejected both amendments, under various reaſons. The lords adhered. The commons continued obſtinate. Conference followed conference. The peers at length declared that they would admit of no further debate on the ſubject. The lower houſe flew into violent heats. They adjourned [a] for two days; and, when they met, they appointed a committee to inſpect the Journals, whether there was any precedent for a conference where the freedom of debate was refuſed. The King, perceiving the vehemence of the commons, endeavoured to ſooth them with a meſſage, which, however, contained a kind of reproach. He informed them, that he was ſo ſenſible of their diſpoſition, that he was willing that no further proceedings upon raiſing of money ſhould be undertaken till their meeting in winter [x].

and in that of the lords,

THE commons, inflamed with the delay in granting them permiſſion to inſpect the council-books, paid little regard to this conceſſion. In a committee of the whole houſe, they proceeded, on the third of Auguſt, to conſider the ſtate of the nation. They reſolved, that there had been unaccountable delays in ſending a neceſſary aid to Ireland. That adequate preparations had not been made for ſending a force into that kingdom, and that ſeveral ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy, for want of a ſufficient pro-

[a] July 31. [x] Journals, Aug. 2.

tection

CHAP. IX. 1689.

tection from government. The lords exhibited ſymptoms of the ſame vehemence. They had appointed a committee of inquiry. They applied for leave to inſpect the minutes of the council. But, notwithſtanding the apparent ill-humour of both houſes, they avoided to proceed to extremities. Miniſters were accuſed, but not puniſhed. Officers, who had been proved to have neglected their duty, eſcaped without cenſure. They paſſed from the affairs of Ireland to the ſettlement of the revenue, and to the completing the bill of indemnity. Neither, however, was finiſhed in the preſent ſeſſion. The exceptions made in the bill of indemnity were ſo extenſive, that they comprehended half the people in England. Violent debates aroſe upon the ſubject. But the ſettlement of the revenue engroſſed the greateſt part of the King's attention. He expreſſed with great vehemence his deſire of having the revenue of his predeceſſor ſettled upon him for life. The jealouſy of many prevented the accompliſhment of his deſire. The ſullenneſs of his diſpoſition was known to ſeveral. The imperiouſneſs of his character was perhaps exaggerated by all. The Whigs were afraid, that to make him independent, was to render his government arbitrary; and thoſe who adhered in ſecret to the late King, wiſhed to make the reigning Prince uneaſy upon his throne. His diſappointment induced him to renew his former threats. He ſometimes affirmed, that he would no longer remain in a country where he only enjoyed the name of King[y].

Reflections.

THE party who had raiſed William to the throne were the moſt forward in their oppoſition to the meaſure of rendering him independent. They have been, without any ſufficient reaſon, highly blamed upon this ſubject. The exigencies of the times were great. But the ſums already granted were ample. William himſelf complained of a want of permanency in the revenue, more than of the inſufficiency of the aids received. The money voted ſince the

[y] Burnet.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

beginning of the ſeſſion, exceeded, by more than one third, the receipts of any whole year in the two preceding reigns. An appearance of an appropriation of the ſupplies to particular ſervices offended the King, as it ſeemed to inſinuate a diſtruſt of his conduct. A new conſtitution was, however, to be eſtabliſhed. The commons were certainly excuſable, in continuing the dependence of the crown, till the rights of the ſubject ſhould be eſtabliſhed on a permanent and ſolid foundation. There is, however, reaſon to conclude, that the King's private conduct obſtructed the completion of his wiſhes, more than the public ſpirit of the commons. He loved not the company of his ſubjects. He neither flattered their favourite prejudices, nor mixed in their amuſements. He even quitted London when queſtions of the utmoſt importance were agitated in parliament. He paſſed his time at Hampton-Court in a ſtate of retired inactivity, which bordered upon abſolute indolence. Few had acceſs to his perſon; and thoſe that were admitted were obliged to make allowances for his diſpoſition, in reconciling their reception to their pride. He was compared, with great diſadvantage, to both his uncles. Charles and James lived in the intimacy of equals with their ſubjects. Though their conduct as ſovereigns was almoſt uniformly blamed, they were always irreprehenſible in their behaviour as gentlemen [z].

Aug. 20. Parliament adjourned.

DISSATISFIED with the conduct of the commons, haraſſed with the conteſts between the houſes, offended at their complaints againſt his own conduct with regard to Ireland, William put an end, by adjournment, to the ſeſſion on the twentieth of Auguſt. But though neither houſe had the good fortune to pleaſe the King, their meaſures ſeemed uniformly favourable to the late ſettlement of the crown. They renewed the averſion of the people againſt the bad meaſures of the two laſt reigns, by reverſing unpopular attainders and illegal judgments. The blood of Ruſſel, Sidney,

[z] Publications of the times.

Mrs.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

Mrs. Liſle, and Alderman Corniſh, was reſtored; and all the proceedings and records concerning their trials were ordered to be cancelled. Exorbitant fines impoſed in the preceding reigns were voted illegal. Money extorted by Jefferys, the late chancellor, who died on the eighteenth of April in the Tower, was charged, with intereſt, upon his eſtate. The noted Otes was remembered on this occaſion. The judgments againſt him were reverſed, and he himſelf was recommended to the King, who gratified him with an ample penſion. The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was the only one forgot of the whole party. Though urged to his ruin by the preſent King [a], and ſeduced by the prevailing party, his memory and his children were neglected. William himſelf ſeemed willing to preclude the latter from the favour which was on others liberally beſtowed. He conferred, at his coronation, the title of Earl of Monmouth on the Lord Mordaunt; perhaps that none of the poſterity of the Duke might ſucceed to his dangerous popularity [b].

Affairs of Scotland.

THE affairs of Scotland continued to be important through the greateſt part of the preſent year. On the eleventh of May, the commiſſioners appointed by the convention, with a cavalcade of moſt of the Scotiſh nobility and gentry then reſiding in London, were introduced to the King and Queen at Whitehall. They preſented to the King a letter from the ſtates, the inſtrument of government, a paper containing a liſt of grievances to be redreſſed, and an addreſs for converting the convention into a parliament. Theſe papers were ſucceſſively read, and William made a ſuitable reply. The coronation-oath was then tendered to the King by the Earl of Argyle. A ſcruple expreſſed by William to a clauſe of the oath, which ſeemed to infer religious perſecution, has been recorded to his honour. William, in his diſpoſal of places in Scotland, paid attention to his own friends. The con-

[a] D'Avaux. [b] Rereſby, Burnet, Journals, Publications, paſſim.

vention

CHAP. IX.

1689.

vention of ſtates being turned into a parliament, the Duke of Hamilton was appointed commiſſioner. The Lord Melvin, a perſon of a ductile and eaſy temper, but of limited capacity, received the ſeals, as ſecretary of ſtate. The Viſcount Stair was reſtored to the office of lord preſident of the court of ſeſſion; and his ſon, Sir John Dalrymple, was appointed lord advocate. Stair, on whoſe advice the King chiefly depended in Scotiſh affairs, was as ſingular in his character as in the fortune of his life. A man of conſiderable, but profligate abilities; he had raiſed himſelf from obſcurity, by the means of his temporiſing talents. During fifty years of his life, he complied in every thing with every government. He marked with acuteneſs the changes of the times, and ran dexterouſly down the current. True to no principle but his own intereſt, he caballed with every party, and betrayed all. He fought againſt Charles the Firſt in a military office. In a civil capacity, he abetted with zeal and eagerneſs the moſt arbitrary meaſures of his ſon. To ſum up his character in the words of thoſe who knew him beſt: He was an enthuſiaſt without religion, a judge without juſtice, a ſtateſman deſtitute of integrity and honour [b].

Progreſs of

THE placing of ſuch men in the chief offices of the kingdom furniſhed many perſons, whoſe ambition was diſappointed by the new promotions, with a plauſible pretence for an oppoſition in parliament. Beſides, the inſtructions of the King to his commiſſioner, with regard to the redreſs of grievances, were more circumſcribed in their object, than the Scots had reaſon to expect from a Prince on whom they voluntarily conferred the crown. The lords of the articles had been long deemed deſtructive to the firſt principles of a free parliament; yet the abolition of that inſtitution could not be obtained from the King. The ill humours of the parliament were, however, ſuppreſſed for ſome time, on ac-

[b] Burnet. Balcarras. Proceedings of Parliament vindicated, p. 36.

count

CHAP. IX.

1689.

count of the dangers which threatened the new government. The caſtle of Edinburgh was ſtill kept, in the name of James, by the Duke of Gordon: but, deſpairing of any relief, and preſſed by a ſiege, he ſurrendered the place, upon honourable terms, on the thirteenth of June. The adherents of the late King, terrified with this unexpected misfortune, now turned their eyes to the Viſcount Dundee. That nobleman, having been urged in vain to return to the convention, was publickly declared a fugitive, an outlaw, and a rebel, by that aſſembly. Driven by his enemies, and incited by his own native ardour, he reſolved to defend himſelf by force of arms. Apprized of a deſign laid by General Mackay to take him by ſurpriſe, he retired to the Grampian mountains, with a few horſe. He marched from thence to Gordon caſtle, where he was joined by the Earl of Dunfermling, with fifty gentlemen. He paſſed through the county of Murray to Inverneſs. Macdonald of Keppoch lay with ſeven hundred men before that town; after having ravaged, in his way from his own country, the lands of the clan of Mackintoſh [c].

the Viſcount Dundee.

DUNDEE, having promiſed to the magiſtrates of Inverneſs to repay, at the King's return, the money extorted from them by Macdonald, induced the latter to join his arms. He propoſed immediately to march in ſearch of Mackay; but Macdonald and his followers choſe firſt to return home with their ſpoil. Dundee was forced to yield. He accompanied them to Lochaber. He arrived, on the eighth of May, in Badenoch. He ſent letters from thence to the chiefs of all the clans. He appointed them to meet, at a general rendezvous in Lochaber, on the eighteenth of the ſame month. He reſolved to fill the intermediate time with action. Mackay, with his army, had arrived at Inverneſs. Dundee, paſſing ſuddenly through Athol, ſurpriſed the town of Perth. In hopes of gaining to his party the two troops of Scotiſh dra-

[c] MS. 1689.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

goons who lay at Dundee, he marched ſuddenly to that place; but the fidelity of Captain Balfour, who commanded them, diſappointed his views. Having raiſed the land-tax from the inhabitants as he paſſed, Dundee returned through Athol and Rannoch to Lochaber, to hold the diet of rendezvous. Macdonald of Glengary, Macdonald of Morer, Stewart of Appin, and Macdonald of Glenco, joined him with their followers on the day appointed. In a few days, Cameron of Lochiel, with ſix hundred men, and Macdonald of Keppoch, with two hundred, arrived in the camp of Dundee. His army now conſiſted of fifteen hundred men. With theſe he took the way of Badenoch, and forced the caſtle of Ruthven, with its garriſon of fifty Grants. Mackay, who was on his march to Ruthven, retreated upon the approach of Dundee. Colonel Ramſay, who was paſſing through Athol, with a conſiderable reinforcement, to join Mackay, fled back to Perth; and Mackay himſelf, having been purſued in vain by Dundee for four days, advanced to Strathbogy, and left the whole Highlands expoſed to the enemy [d].

He retreats to Lochaber.

THE officers of the Scotiſh dragoons, who held a ſecret correſpondence with Dundee, wrote to him falſe intelligence, as an excuſe for their own fears. They informed him, that a party of Iriſh, who had endeavoured to land in Scotland, under the Duke of Berwick, were driven back, and the Duke himſelf taken priſoner. Beſides, Mackay had been reinforced with a regiment of Engliſh horſe, and another of foot. Dundee, upon receiving this intelligence, retreated to Badenoch. The natives of the low-country, who ſerved in his army, quitted him on his march, without leave. The Highlanders, never ſubject to authority on a retreat, plundered the country wherever they came. He himſelf fell ſick. Mackay hovered on his rear. A ſlight ſkirmiſh happened, in which the Highlanders prevailed. But the victors,

[d] MS. 1689.

during

during the action, loſt their baggage. Dundee at length arrived at Ruthven[e]. Ramſay, during his abſence, had paſſed, with twelve hundred men, to Inverneſs. Mackay, joined by this timely reinforcement, advanced with haſty ſtrides. Other regiments had arrived at Perth and Dumblain. Dundee perceived dangers approaching on every ſide. The Highlanders deſerted, every night, by hundreds. He found himſelf obliged to accompany the fugitives. He retired to Lochaber. Two hundred only of his whole force remained in the field; and to complete the unhappineſs of his ſituation, he received, at the ſame time, intelligence of the ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh[f]. CHAP. IX. 1689.

Marches againſt the enemy.

LETTERS arriving on the twenty-third of June from King James, with a promiſe of immediate ſuccours from Ireland, Dundee ordered the neighbouring clans to aſſemble round his ſtandard. But ſtill he had ſcarce any thing but men for proſecuting the war. The Highlanders were armed only with their own proper weapons. He had but forty pound weight of powder in his whole army. Without cannon, without tents, without proviſions, deſtitute of money, and even poſſeſſing no commiſſion to command for the late King, his active ſpirit ſurmounted all difficulties, and communicated to others his own fire. He gained the affections of a proud and ignorant populace, by his attention to their very prejudices. He repreſſed the jarring intereſts and jealouſies of the better ſort, by the authority of his character, and their high opinion of his courage and ſkill in war. His very name reminded his followers of the gallant Montroſe. They ſaw in him what their fathers had told them of the chief of his family; and they transferred to their preſent commander their enthuſiaſtic zeal for a former leader, who had covered their arms with ſo much ſucceſs and renown. Dundee was not of a diſpoſition that would permit this ſpirit to languiſh in a ſtate of inactivity. Events daily

[e] June 4. [f] MS. paſſim.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

aroſe which hurried him to action. The Lord Murray, ſon of the Marquis of Athol, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Blair, held by ſome of the adherents of King James. Sir Alexander Maclean, then on an expedition in Cromar, by Dundee's orders, marched againſt Murray, and raiſed the ſiege. But Mackay was on his way to attack the place. Dundee, reinforced by three hundred Iriſh, under Colonel Cannon, by forced marches, arrived in Athol on the ſixteenth of July. Having refreſhed his men, he lay all night under arms in the field [s].

Meets them at Rinrory.

In the morning of the ſeventeenth of July, the Viſcount Dundee was informed, that Mackay's advanced guard, conſiſting of four hundred men, had marched through the paſs of Killicranky, a narrow defile, formed by the ſteep ſide of the Grampian mountains, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. He ordered Sir Alexander Maclean, with an equal number of his tribe, to attack the enemy. Maclean had ſcarce advanced half a mile, when Dundee was informed that Mackay had marched, with his whole army, through the paſs; and was advanced to the field of Rinrory, ſcarce two miles diſtant from the place where the Highlanders lay. He commanded Maclean to halt. He advanced ſuddenly with his whole force, being reſolved to give battle to the enemy. When he came in ſight of Mackay's army, he found them formed in eight battalions, ready for action. They conſiſted of four thouſand five hundred foot, and two troops of horſe. The Highlanders, under Dundee, amounted to little more than half that number. Theſe he ranged inſtantly in order of battle. Maclean, with his tribe, formed the right wing. The Macdonalds of Sky, under their chieftain's eldeſt ſon, formed the left. The Camerons, the Macdonalds of Glengary, the followers of Clanronald, and a few Iriſh auxiliaries, were in the center. A troop of horſe were placed behind, under Sir William Wallace. The officers ſent by

[s] MS. Account, 1689.

James

James from Ireland were diſtributed through all the line. His whole army ſtood in ſight of the enemy, for ſeveral hours, on the ſteep ſide of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line. Dundee wiſhed for the approach of night; a ſeaſon ſuited for either victory or flight [h].

Battle of Killicranky.

At five of the clock in the afternoon, a kind of ſlight ſkirmiſh began between the right wing of the Highlanders and the left of the enemy. But neither army wiſhing to change their ground, the firing was diſcontinued for three hours. Dundee, in the mean time, flew from tribe to tribe, and animated them to action. At eight of the clock he gave the ſignal for battle, and charged the enemy in perſon, at the head of the horſe. The Highlanders, in deep columns, ruſhed ſuddenly down the hill. They kept their ſhot till they were within a pike's length of the enemy; and, having fired their muſkets, fell upon them ſword in hand. Mackay's left wing could not for a moment ſuſtain the ſhock. They were driven by the Macleans, with great ſlaughter, from the field. The Macdonalds, on the left of the Highlanders, were not equally ſucceſsful. Colonel Haſting's regiment of foot ſtood their ground, and forced the Macdonalds to retreat. Maclean, with a few of his tribe, and Sir Evan Cameron, at the head of his clan, fell ſuddenly on the flank of this gallant regiment, and obliged them to give way. The ſlaughter ended not with the battle. Two thouſand fell in the field and the flight. The tents, baggage, artillery, and proviſions of the enemy, and even King William's Dutch ſtandard, which was carried by Mackay's regiment, fell into the hands of the Highlanders. The victory was now complete. But the Highlanders loſt their gallant leader. Perceiving the unexpected reſiſtance of Colonel Haſting's regiment, and the confuſion of the Macdonalds, Dundee rode rapidly to the left wing; and as he was raiſing his arm, and pointing the Camerons to ad-

[h] MS. Account, 1689.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

vance, he received a ball in his ſide. He, however, ſurvived the battle, and wrote a letter to King James, giving an account of the victory [i]. He even thought that his wound was not mortal; but he died the next morning at Blair [k].

Death and character of Dundee.

THUS fell, in the midſt of victory, the gallant Viſcount Dundee. To the enthuſiaſm of valour which ought to animate a ſoldier, he added all the ſkill and prudence of an experienced general. Trained to war from his youth, he was ever in poſſeſſion of himſelf. Danger diſcompoſed not, though it elevated his mind. He was as provident in his conduct as he was undaunted in action. Open and free by nature, winning in his manner, liberal through policy, attentive to the paſſions of others, a perfect maſter of his own; he was obliging to men whom he ought to oblige; to thoſe whom rigour could only ſubdue, occaſionally ſevere. He could deſcend to the level of the low, without loſing his dignity. He could riſe above the greateſt, without offending the proud, or awaking the envy of the jealous. Without any commiſſion from his ſovereign, without any previous acquaintance with thoſe whom he rouſed to arms, without any of the common reſources of war, deſtitute of ammunition and artillery, he reduced an ungovernable multitude into diſcipline, by the mere authority of his name. Had he ſurvived the victory which he obtained, he might have carried forward even the fickle tribes which he commanded to actions of greater conſequence and renown. They loved him with enthuſiaſm; they revered his memory when dead. Their ſongs and traditions placed him in the firſt rank of their heroes. His name is ſcarce mentioned to this day without either a ſigh or a tear. The hopes of King James in Scotland periſhed with Dundee. Colonel Cannon, who ſucceeded to the command, poſſeſſed neither the popularity nor abilities of his predeceſſor. After ſome inſignificant actions, more remarkable for their own va-

[i] MS. Letter, 1689.

[k] MS. Account, 1689.

lour

lour than for the conduct of their leader, the Highlanders diſperſed themſelves in diſguſt; and the war, ſoon after, ended favourably for William, without any repulſe given to his enemies [l].

A violent oppoſition.

DURING the military operations in the North of Scotland, the parliament ſat in a continual ferment at Edinburgh. A violent oppoſition roſe, upon various grounds. The paſſions of the diſcontented were inflamed, by men who had been diſappointed in their views of ambition. A majority appeared againſt the crown. They paſſed an act for the abolition of prelacy [m]. They incapacitated all obnoxious perſons from ſerving the government. They claimed the privilege of examining and rejecting the judges. The conduct of William, it muſt be confeſſed, furniſhed his enemies with plauſible grounds of complaint. He had named the lords of ſeſſion by an act of prerogative, though the appointing the judges in the ſame manner had been one of his own charges againſt the late King. He had broken through the whole conſtitution of the college of juſtice. In caſes of partial vacancies in the court of ſeſſion, it had been uſual for the King to nominate; and the other lords were to examine, and at pleaſure to reject or approve. The vacancy declared in the throne had made a total vacancy on the bench. The parliament claimed the power, which they had exerciſed at the reſtoration of monarchy, to examine, and to reject or receive the judges. William, to ſupport his prerogative, was adviſed to adopt a meaſure in itſelf abſurd. He continued ſuch a number of the late King's judges as were ſufficient to examine thoſe whom he wiſhed to promote. A bill was brought in, which aſſerted the total vacancy of the bench. It was provided in this act, that the nomination ſhould be in the crown, and the approbation entirely in parliament. The miniſtry adhered to the King's preſent nomination, and the parliament forbade the judges to open their commiſſions, or to hold their ſeſſion [n].

[l] MS. Account, 1689. [m] July 1. [n] Burnet, Ralph, Balcarras.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1689. in parliament.

THE diſputes ran ſo high between the two parties, that the miniſtry ſeemed reſolved to ſecure by force what they could not obtain by favour. They drew the forces, in unuſual numbers, to Edinburgh. The majority were not to be intimidated out of their opinions, Tumult and confuſion prevailed. The commiſſioner adjourned the houſe to the eighth of October. The oppoſition, inflamed with reſentment, prepared a remonſtrance to the King. Under expreſſions of zeal for his ſervice, and loyalty for his perſon, they upbraided William, in effect, with a breach of the conditions upon which he had received the crown. They recapitulated the ſeveral acts to which he had not given his aſſent, and which ſeemed to have been deſignedly defeated by a long adjournment. They annexed, in a decent but ſpirited manner, their reaſons for adhering to their votes. They requeſted the King, in proſecution of his acceptance of the claim of right, to give his aſſent to the ſpecified acts, and to take ſuch meaſures as were beſt calculated for redreſſing all the other grievances of the nation. This ferment in the Scotiſh parliament was aſcribed to the profligate politics of the two Dalrymples, who had endeavoured to impreſs the King with an opinion, that he had a ſeparate intereſt from his people [o]. Beſides, William himſelf was as fond of the prerogatives of the crown as any of his predeceſſors; and he was not a man to be convinced out of any favoured ſyſtem of government [p].

Iriſh affairs.

IRELAND preſented, in the mean time, a ſcene of miſery, diſtraction, and civil war. James, reſolving to head his army in the North, left Dublin on the eighth of April. The Proteſtant inſurgents, having ruined the country in their retreat, retired, upon his approach, to Derry and the other ſide of the river Finn. But James was in no condition to take advantage of the flight of his enemies. His troops were deſtitute of pay, without diſcipline,

[o] Proceed. vind. p. 12. Remonſtrance. [p] Auct. citat. paſſim.

and without arms. One half of the ſoldiers were armed with pikes. The other half had muſkets, but utterly unfit for ſervice. He had ordered, but without effect, the Duke of Tyrconnel, and De Pontis, the French agent, to haſten the arms and ammunition to the North. He, however, advanced toward Derry, deriving hopes of the ſurrender of that place from the apparent fears of the Proteſtants. But the enemy ſeemed reſolved to diſpute the paſſage of the river Finn. The King detached Hamilton to Straban, and the Marquis de Puſignian and the Duke of Berwick, with half their detachment, to Cladiford, four miles above that place. James himſelf remained, in the mean time, at Omi. Hamilton, Puſignian, and Berwick, joined their troops. They forced, at the head of a few volunteers, the paſſage to Cladiford, in the face of ſix thouſand of the enemy. The Mareſchal de Roſen advanced to Straban. With two troops of horſe and one of dragoons, he ſwam acroſs the river at Lifford. The inſurgents fled at the firſt charge, having reſolved to reſerve their whole efforts for the defence of Derry. King James, apprized of their deſign, reſolved to return to Dublin, to haſten from that city things neceſſary for a ſiege. The Mareſchal de Roſen was left at the head of the army; and M. de Maumont, Hamilton, the Duke of Berwick, Puſignian, and M. de Lerry, were in ſucceſſion the next in command [r].

James marches to Derry.

When the King was returned to Charlemont, he received an expreſs from his army, that Derry had deſired to capitulate. Roſen referred the deputies of the town to a declaration iſſued by the King on the firſt of April. He requeſted the preſence of James. That Prince returned ſuddenly to Straban. But Roſen had already left that place, reſolving to ſhew himſelf, with his whole army, before the town, to intimidate the inſurgents to an immediate ſurrender. James joined him, on his way from Straban. But Roſen, contrary to the King's inclination [s], ſurrounded

[r] MS. Journal, corrected by K. James.

[s] James II. 1689.

the

CHAP. IX. 1689.

the town with his army, within the diſtance of half a cannon-ſhot from the wall. A trumpet was ſent to ſummon Derry. The townſmen promiſed to ſend an anſwer in ten hours. But Roſen continuing ſtill to advance, the inſurgents fired upon his men, and the treaty was interrupted. James, provided with nothing neceſſary for a ſiege, returned, the ſecond day after his arrival, with Roſen, toward Dublin. Maumont was left before Derry in the chief command. But the precipitate motions of Roſen were not the cauſe of the change of opinion in the inhabitants of Derry. Two Engliſh regiments, under the command of the Colonels Cuningham and Richards, had arrived, a few days before, in Lake Foyle, upon which the town is ſituated. Lundy, who commanded in the place, was either ſwayed by treachery or fear. Without permitting the men to land, he ordered the officers to come to a council of war. They ſoon agreed, that the town was not tenable. Their reſolutions were communicated to the magiſtrates, and they reſolved to offer terms to the King. The Engliſh regiments prepared to return. The populace were alarmed. Tumult, clamour, and confuſion aroſe. The governor and magiſtrates loſt all authority. Some deſperate perſons flew to the walls. They turned their cannon againſt the enemy, and fired. The garriſon choſe two governors; Walker, a clergyman, and one Major Baker. Their whole force conſiſted of ſeven thouſand men and three hundred and fifty officers; with which they reſolved to hold the town to the laſt extremity [t].

Wretched ſtate of his army.

But the ſpirit of the inhabitants of Londonderry would have availed little againſt the Iriſh army, had they not been almoſt deſtitute of every implement of war. They poſſeſſed no battering cannon. They had not a ſingle mortar. Few of the ſoldiers were even provided with muſkets. A blockade, rather than a ſiege, was formed around the town. The inſurgents

[t] Walker's Diary.

had

CHAP. IX. 1689.

had ſcarce any thing to fear, except famine; and the negligence of the government of England could only deprive them of certain relief. They were, however, reſolved not to owe their ſafety entirely to the unprepared ſtate of the enemy. They made a ſally, the day after the King's departure, with three thouſand foot and three ſquadrons of horſe. They poſted their horſe upon the ſtrand. With their foot they lined the hedges, a little further advanced on the left. M. de Maumont, contemning the enemy, placed himſelf at the head of his advanced guard of forty troopers; and, with the other general officers as volunteers, charged, on full gallop, the horſe of Derry. He received the whole fire of the foot as he paſſed. But the ſhock, notwithſtanding, put the enemy in diſorder. Four hundred of his foot advancing in the mean time, he led them to the inſurgents. An obſtinate combat enſued. Maumont was killed by the firſt fire. Two horſes were killed under the Duke of Berwick. But the inſurgents were at length repulſed [u].

He returns to Dublin.

THE news of the action was carried to the King at Charlemont. He was affected beyond meaſure at the death of M. de Maumont. He commanded his body to be carried to Dublin; and ſent poſitive orders to Hamilton, on whom the command had devolved, to forbid for the future the general officers to expoſe themſelves to danger in ſuch an irregular manner. The Marquis de Puſignian died, a few days after, of the wounds he received in the ſame action. The blockade of Derry, in the mean time, continued. The hopes of James reſted upon the ſcarcity of proviſions, which threatened already to create a famine in the town. He was not, however, idle in Dublin. Such troops as could be armed filed off, by his orders, toward the North. The French fleet having landed ſome ſtores in Bantry-Bay, he expected to finiſh ſoon the ſiege by their aid. But the diſtance of the place, the ſurrounding

[u] MS. Journal, paſſim.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

moraſſes and deſerts, the want of carriages, and even the want of ſkill, retarded extremely the tranſporting the cannon and heavy ſtores. Two battering pieces and one mortar were ſent to Derry, on the thirtieth of May. The troops before the place were neither numerous nor fit for ſervice. Ill-paid, ill-clothed, half-armed and undiſciplined, they formed a rabble ſtill more deſpicable than thoſe within the walls; in whom religious enthuſiaſm, and their fears of the Iriſh Papiſts, had ſupplied the place of ſkill [x].

Iriſh parliament meets.

In purſuance of the writs iſſued by James, the parliament met at Dublin on the ſeventh of May. The admiſſion of Catholics into the ſeveral corporations, and even the terrors with which they had impreſſed the minds of the freeholders in the counties, ſecured, with little difficulty, the elections in favour of their own ſect. Six Proteſtants only were returned to ſerve in the houſe of commons; two ſent from the univerſity, and four from other places. Many of the Proteſtant nobility having left the kingdom, a very great majority of the lords aſſembled in parliament were Roman Catholics. James, ſenſible of the miſchiefs which already ſprung from his bigotry, ſhewed every inclination to be moderate on the article of religion; but he ſoon found, that he was not maſter of the kingdom in which he reigned. He opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech calculated to flatter his Iriſh ſubjects, without giving offence to the two Britiſh nations. He commended the loyalty and zeal of the firſt. He endeavoured to gain the ſecond, by expreſſing his abhorrence of perſecution and arbitrary power. He declared his firm purpoſe to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience in matters of religion. He expreſſed his diſregard of any other teſt but loyalty to his own perſon and government. He aſſured his parliament, that he would give his aſſent to all laws that might promote the proſperity of the nation, the improvement of trade, and the relief of thoſe who had been injured by the late

[x] MS. Journal, paſſim.

acts of settlement, as far as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good. He expressed his grateful sense of his obligations to the Most Christian King. He owed, he said, to his generosity the happiness of meeting his Irish subjects in parliament. He concluded with assuring them, that he was as sensible as they could desire of their signal fidelity and loyalty [y].

Their proceedings.

Sir Richard Nagle, the attorney-general, having been chosen speaker by the commons, he prompted the house to prepare immediately two addresses. The first they presented to James, expressing their loyalty and affection for his person, and their obligations to the late lord-deputy, the Duke of Tyrconnel. The second, which was to be transmitted to the Most Christian King, contained their high sense of the generosity with which that Prince had received and assisted their sovereign. A bill was brought instantly into the house, which contained a recognition of the undoubted title of King James, and an abhorrence of the usurpation and person of the Prince of Orange. The King, soon after the meeting of the parliament, published a proclamation, addressed to all his Irish subjects [z]. He expressed his satisfaction, that all the calumnies and aspersions with which his enemies had estranged from him the affections of his subjects, were now self-confuted and rejected by all. His conduct since his arrival in Ireland, he said, was sufficient to demonstrate the falsehood and malice of his enemies. He affirmed, that he had made it his chief concern to satisfy the minds of his Protestant subjects; and that the defence of their religion, their privileges, and properties, commanded equally his care with the recovery of his own rights. He appealed to the world, that he had preferred many of them to places of the highest honour and trust about his person, as well as in his army; that he had granted his royal protection to those whose minds were shaken by the arts of his rebellious subjects; that he had dispelled their

[y] Speech.

[z] May 18.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

public apprehenſions, and ſecured them againſt the attempts of their private enemies. He ſaid, that his ears had been open to all their complaints; that he had extended his mercy to the refractory: that he had pardoned many hundreds, who had appeared againſt him in arms; and that the moſt notorious criminals were kept in eaſy confinement. He reſolved, he ſaid, to entail liberty and happineſs upon his people. He promiſed to put it out of the power of his ſucceſſors "to invade the one or infringe the other;" and he ſolemnly called God to witneſs, that ſuch had always been his deſign [a].

injuſtice, and

JAMES was probably ſincere in theſe profeſſions; but he was deſtitute of the power of adhering to his declaration. The influence of the French in his councils equalled the ſuppoſed greatneſs of their aid. D'Avaux, as ambaſſador of France, exerted a kind of tyranny over a Prince whom he pretended to ſupport. He was the declared enemy of the Proteſtants; and his object was leſs to reſtore James, than to protract the war. The violence of the Roman Catholics roſe in proportion to their ſucceſs. In their zeal for their own intereſts, they paid little regard to thoſe of their unfortunate King. James had recommended ſome means of relief to the ſufferers by the acts of ſettlement; but the commons received a bill for the total repeal of theſe acts with a kind of barbarous joy. To a law which ſubverted the whole property of Ireland, James was forced, by the inſtances of D'Avaux and the violence of his parliament, much againſt his own inclination [b], to aſſent. This impolitic and precipitate meaſure was followed by others equally unjuſt and violent. The parliament paſſed a general bill of attainder, which contained more than two thouſand perſons of all orders and degrees. The Iriſh in the ſervice of King William, the Proteſtants who left the kingdom, thoſe who returned not on the proclamation of King James, many whoſe ordinary reſidence

[a] Proclamation. [b] James II. 1689.

was

was in Britain, were attainted of high treaſon, and ſubjected to the pains of death and forfeiture, unleſs they ſurrendered themſelves to trial by a certain day. This act encroached upon the prerogative of the King. He was precluded from the power of pardoning, after the firſt day of the ſucceeding November. Neither James nor the perſons affected knew the whole extent of this rigorous bill. The act was kept concealed in the cuſtody of the chancellor; and the King, four months after, learned by an accident the force of a law which ſo much intrenched on his own prerogative [c].

violence.

In a ſupplement to the act of attainder, the real and perſonal eſtates of all abſentees were veſted in the King, till they ſhould exhibit ſufficient proofs of their loyalty. To render Ireland totally independent of England, was an object which occupied the next care of this violent parliament. They declared, by an expreſs bill, that the Engliſh parliament had no power to bind Ireland; and that writs of error or appeal ſhould be no longer proſecuted in England. They paſſed a bill for a general liberty of conſcience. They recalled the proviſions ſettled on miniſters in towns corporate. They appropriated to the Popiſh clergy the eccleſiaſtical dues and tythes payable by perſons of their own perſuaſion. Notwithſtanding the bigotry of James, he was far from being pleaſed with the violent proceedings of the Roman Catholic party. Oppreſſed by the importunities of his ſubjects, intimidated by D'Avaux, who threatened to retire to France, in caſe of the King's refuſal to gratify the Papiſts, he yielded, in a degree inconſiſtent with his declarations. He, however, ſhewed at length ſome attention to the Engliſh intereſt. He refuſed to conſent to the repeal of Poynings's law. He would not permit inns of court, for the education of law-ſtudents, to be eſtabliſhed in Ireland. This obſtinacy, as it was called by his enemies, eſtranged from him the minds of the

[c] James II. 1689. Journals of the Iriſh houſe of commons.

more

CHAP. IX. 1689.

more violent Papiſts. Beſides, a faction, headed by the Duke of Tyrconnel, were in cloſe correſpondence with the court of France. They knew that James deſigned only to paſs through their country to his other dominions. They were afraid that the averſion which he had already diſcovered to the independence of Ireland might induce him, ſhould he happen to be reſtored, to ſubvert the violent regulations which they had already made. Some even formed a project of reſigning the ſovereignty of their country to Lewis the Fourteenth. Their complaints of the conduct of their ſovereign at the court of France, eſtabliſhes ſome kind of proof of this fact. James was peculiarly unfortunate. He was charged by the Proteſtants of violence in favour of the Papiſts: he was accuſed by the Papiſts of too much lenity to the Proteſtants [d].

Coin debaſed.

THE difficulties, which induced James to aſſent to the violent acts of the Iriſh parliament, betrayed him into unpopular meaſures in his executive government. The ſcanty ſums remitted from France had been committed to the management of D'Avaux, by his own court. The King was obliged to ſolicit that miniſter for the money which his neceſſities required. He was even obliged to ſatisfy the ambaſſador with regard to the ſervice for which he demanded any ſupply. But had the diſburſement been more free, the remittances were altogether inadequate to the neceſſities of the unfortunate King. The rabble, which had gone under the name of an army, had been hitherto ſupported by their officers, or fed by depredation. The funds of the officers were at length exhauſted. The country itſelf could bear no longer the riot and injuſtice of the ſoldiers. Preſſed with theſe difficulties, King James, by the advice of his council, reſolved to coin pieces of copper, which ſhould be received for ſilver. He foreſaw the inconveniencies of this meaſure [e]. But all Ireland poſſeſſed not

[d] MS. 1689. [e] Ibid. James II. 1689.

the

CHAP. IX. 1689.

the means of paying the army, in current coin, to the middle of the month of June[f]. Two hundred thouſand livres remained only of the French remittances; and the King found it abſolutely neceſſary to reſerve that ſum, to forward his meaſures with regard to Britain, and to procure intelligence of the motions of his enemies. The army was ſatisfied with even this appearance of money. The people received the fictitious coin, in hopes of being repaid in a more favourable ſtate of affairs. A tax of twenty thouſand pounds a month, granted for thirteen months by the parliament, furniſhed the government with an appearance of reſources. The King, in the mean time, endeavoured to ſupport the former revenue. He opened a trade with France, to ſupply the want of commerce with England. But the French, building upon the neceſſity of his affairs and their own ſervices, claimed and obtained advantages in traffic, which offended his own ſubjects[g].

Siege of Derry.

THE blockade of Derry, upon the arrival of ſome artillery in the Iriſh camp, was converted, in the beginning of June, into a kind of ſiege. The works of the enemy were deſtroyed in a ſally before they could be put in a poſture of defence[h]. Freſh preparations were, however, made. The beſiegers poſſeſſed neither the means nor the ſkill of attack. A force ſent from England appeared in the Lake of Derry, on the thirteenth of June. But Kirk, who commanded the ſuccours, was either too cautious or too cold in his operations. Though he aſſured the townſmen of ſpeedy relief, he avoided every hazardous enterpriſe; and, for five weeks, remained inactive in his ſhips, or loitered on an iſland in the lake. The force which he had was too ſmall for the ſervice. Though two regiments had already retired, as inſufficient, three only were ſent with Kirk to the ſame ſervice. James apprized of the arrival of the Engliſh, ſent the Mareſchal de Roſen to command before Derry. Roſen committed the care of the

[f] MS. Journals, 1689. [g] MS. 1689. [h] MS. Journals, 1689.

ſiege

CHAP. IX. 1689.

ſiege to Hamilton, and poſted himſelf on the banks of the lake, to prevent a deſcent from the Engliſh fleet. The works before the town proceeded but ſlowly till the end of June. No impreſſion could be made, even then, on the walls; as the few cannon poſſeſſed by the Iriſh were placed on the bank of the river, to prevent the approach of the Engliſh fleet. The beſieged were, in the mean time, preſſed with want of proviſions. On the twenty-ninth of June they propoſed to ſurrender, upon conditions. This was conſtrued by Roſen into a mere feint to gain time. The beſieged continued to fire, and drove the Iriſh from two retrenchments, which they had taken the day before[1].

De Roſen's cruel order.

THE Mareſchal Roſen, incenſed at the unexpected reſiſtance of Derry, adopted an expedient at once weak, unprecedented, and barbarous. He ſent parties to drive to the walls of the town all the inhabitants of the open country, as far as Charlemont. Men, women, and children, were collected from all quarters by this cruel order. He placed four thouſand unhappy perſons between his lines and the town; vainly hoping, that the beſieged would either ſurrender themſelves, or relieve their friends. This wretched meaſure produced no effect on the townſmen. They fired upon their friends from the wall; but no miſchief was done. Roſen, convinced of the folly of his expedient, or touched with a momentary pity, withdrew the unhappy people, after a few hours, and permitted them to retire home. Some might have died of hunger and fatigue. The miſeries, however, which followed this deteſtable meaſure, have been greatly exaggerated. James himſelf has been unjuſtly blamed. He was alarmed at the intelligence, and offended at his general. He wrote to all his officers, at their peril to pay no regard to the order. He ſent his expreſs commands to the Mareſchal himſelf, to drop his unjuſt as well as impolitic deſign. "Theſe people," ſays James, "lived peaceably

[1] MS. Journals, 1689.

at home. They had either my particular protection, or they relied upon my declaration. Roſen's meaſure was inevitably to depopulate a country which I was reſolved to defend. Beſides, this precipitate and unjuſt order, furniſhed my enemies with an inſtance of my breach of faith in Ireland, which would contribute to ruin my intereſt in my other kingdoms[k]."

Though Roſen upbraided James with what he called his ill-timed lenity[l]; though he iſſued orders, which manifeſtly ſhewed that he thought himſelf independent of that Prince[m]; though his late meaſure produced all the bad effects which had been foreſeen; though he even inſinuated to the men of Derry, that he would protect them, upon condition they would ſurrender, againſt the King himſelf[n]: yet ſuch was the wretched ſituation of the latter, that he durſt not remove an officer whom Lewis the Fourteenth had placed at the head of his armies. He, however, diſpatched the Lord Dover to France, to ſolicit, among other things, the removal of Roſen, as one who had much injured his ſervice by his violence and cruelty. He temporized, in the mean time, with the Mareſchal himſelf. He laid the blame upon that general's not knowing the engagements into which he had entered with his people. Roſen became peeviſh and fretful. He repreſented to the King the ill conſequences of his clemency; as his protections were found in the pockets of ſeveral, who were killed in arms againſt his authority[o]. He continued, in the mean time, the ſiege of Derry. Though an active and vigilant officer, he made little progreſs. He was deſtitute of every neceſſary. Deſertion and ſickneſs had reduced his numbers to five thouſand men. Theſe were raw and diſpirited; and the terrors as well as enthuſiaſm of the enemy rendered them obſtinate[p]. Oppoſed by James.

[k] MS. Inſtructions to Lord Dover. MS. Journal, 1689.
[l] MS. Letters of De Roſen. [m] MS. Inſtructions to Lord Dover.
[n] MS. Ibid. [o] MS. Letters of De Roſen. [p] MS. Journal.

CHAP. IX.

1689. The ſiege of Derry raiſed.

THE greateſt part of the month of July was ſpent in fruitleſs attempts to make a breach in the walls. The weather was unſuitable to the ſeaſon of the year. The heavy rains and the flux of the tide had filled the trenches. The Iriſh had but two battering-cannon; and theſe they poſſeſſed not the ſkill to uſe with effect. A council of war was held on the nineteenth of July, in which all agreed in the opinion, that famine only could reduce the place. The King ordered them to convert the ſiege into a blockade. He deſired them, in the mean time, to blow up the fort of Culmore, to lay waſte the country near Derry, to prepare every thing for a retreat, in caſe proviſions ſhould be forced into the town. The beſieged were reduced to the laſt degree of diſtreſs. They were obliged to eat ſtarch, to kill horſes, and even dogs. On the twenty-eighth of July, a ſpy was taken by the Iriſh, who aſſured them that the townſmen had now finiſhed their laſt proviſion. Their whole hopes reſted upon ſeven ſhips detached from Kirk's ſquadron, that ſeemed reſolved to enter the harbour. The ſerjeants and ſoldiers, diſregarding their leaders, ſent a ſigned paper to Major-general Buchan, offering to ſurrender the next day [q] on terms. The wind became favourable for the ſhips. Two victuallers, advancing on full ſail, broke the boom which the Iriſh had placed acroſs the river. The town was ſupplied with proviſions; and Roſen, having previouſly made every diſpoſition for a retreat, retired [r].

Rout at Newton Butler.

DURING theſe tranſactions before Derry, the Iriſh received a conſiderable check in another quarter. The Lord Mountcaſhel had been ordered, on the twentieth of July, againſt the Proteſtants of Inniſkillin, who were in arms for William and Mary. Having aſſembled his troops, to the number of three thouſand ſix hundred men, at Belturbat, he reſted in that place three days. On the thirtieth of July he made an attempt upon Crom-caſtle.

[q] July 29. [r] MS. Journal.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

He poſſeſſed himſelf of the firſt intrenchments with eaſe. But his ſoldiers, ruſhing tumultuouſly to the walls, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mountcaſhel was in the mean time alarmed with intelligence, that the Inniſkilliners, reinforced with regulars by Kirk, were on their march againſt him, with four thouſand men. He retired to Newton, to put himſelf in a condition to receive the enemy. In the morning he ordered Obrien's regiment of dragoons to advance to Liniſkenny. They met a body of the enemy, and fled without making any reſiſtance. Mountcaſhel covered them from purſuit. But he reſolved to retreat to Belturbat. The whole body of the enemy were cloſe at his heels. They overtook him at Newton. He himſelf acted at once the part of a good general and a brave ſoldier. The ſoldiers, and even many of the officers, deſerted him without firing a ſhot. Mountcaſhel diſdained to fly. Forſaken by all his own regiment, he put himſelf at the head of a few gallant officers and gentlemen volunteers. He was at laſt wounded, overpowered, and taken priſoner, having in vain courted death in the field. His whole foot were almoſt cut off to a man in their flight. Few were loſt by the enemy, as no reſiſtance had been made by the common ſoldiers*.

Factions at court.

JAMES, highly incenſed againſt the officers who had deſerted Mountcaſhel in the action, appointed a council of war to inquire into the conduct of all, and to puniſh the guilty. Alarmed at the ſame time by an unexpected invaſion, he iſſued commiſſions for raiſing new levies. He formed a camp near Dublin. All his general officers arrived from Derry. Diſaffected perſons were ſeized every where. He omitted nothing neceſſary for the ſecurity of his perſon, or the defence of the kingdom. He applied for the ſuccours from France. He endeavoured to ſhew ſpirit and reſolution in public; but he was privately in ſlaviſh ſubjection to D'Avaux and De Roſen. They joined with the moſt violent of

* MS. Journal, 1689.

CHAP. IX. 1689.

the Iriſh Papiſts againſt the King. Diſcontent, faction, and malice prevailed in his court. The adherents of Tyrconnel, the Iriſh of the ancient race, expreſſed the utmoſt reſentment againſt James's lenity to the Proteſtants, his partiality to his Britiſh ſubjects, his oppoſing the repeal of Poynings's law, his reſolution to keep Ireland in its former dependence on England [t]. D'Avaux, a man of an intriguing diſpoſition, inflamed their diſcontents, and added to their jealouſy. They entered into a cloſe correſpondence with him, and, by means of one Biſhop Malony, at Paris, with M. de Louvois, with regard to a propoſal to transfer their allegiance from James to ſome other Catholic Prince, able and willing to ſupport them againſt the uſurpations of the Engliſh. Lewis had either the generoſity or the prudence to reject this plan [u].

Diſtreſs of James.

THOUGH James was no ſtranger to theſe intrigues, he found himſelf obliged to temporize. He was in the hands of his enemies. But no ſafety remained, but in making them believe that he ſtill deemed them his friends. He had prorogued the parliament on the eighteenth of July. He was afraid to meet again an aſſembly, whoſe violent meaſures had already done ſo much detriment to his affairs. Beſides, he was informed of their vaſt deſigns [x]. Though they had, from a complaiſance to their ſovereign, dropt their ſcheme of independence on England, they were reſolved to inſiſt at their next meeting upon that meaſure. James could oppoſe no effectual force to their violence. The Proteſtants were either his enemies from the principles of their religion, or from the injuries which they had ſuſtained from his government. He was ſurrounded with difficulties on every ſide.

Schomberg lands in Ireland.

To add to the diſtreſs of his affairs at home, his kingdom was now invaded by a foreign force. Ten thouſand men, under the Duke of Schomberg, appeared on the twelfth of Au-

[t] MS. letter of Melfort. [u] Inſtructions to F. Maxwell. [x] Ibid.

guſt,

CHAP. IX. 1689.

guſt, in ninety tranſports, on the coaſt of Donaghadee, in the county of Down. He made a lodgment on ſhore the ſame evening; and the next day landed without oppoſition his army, horſes, and train of artillery. Having marched to Belfaſt on the fifteenth, he continued in that place four days, to refreſh his troops. He inveſted Carrickfergus. He ſummoned the garriſon in vain. He opened four batteries againſt the place. He attacked it with the guns of the fleet. One thouſand bombs were thrown into the town. The houſes were laid in aſhes. The garriſon, having expended their powder to the laſt barrel, marched out, on the ninth day, with all the honours of war. But the ſoldiers broke the capitulation. They diſarmed and ſtript the inhabitants, without any regard to ſex or quality. Even women, ſtark naked, were whipped publickly between the lines [y]; and all thoſe irregularities prevailed, which the ſpirit of retaliation ſuggeſts to mankind when crowned with ſucceſs.

He encamps at Dundalk.

JAMES left Dublin on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, attended by two hundred of his guards and ſome gentlemen volunteers, and placed himſelf at the head of ſeven regiments of foot at Tredath. The Duke of Berwick having, by his father's orders, broken up the roads to retard the enemy, took poſt [z] with a conſiderable detachment at Dundalk. Schomberg, joined in the mean time by the Inniſkilliners and the regulars, under Kirk, advanced ſlowly, through a difficult country, deformed with bogs and encumbered with mountains. The Duke of Berwick, upon the approach of the enemy, abandoned Dundalk. Schomberg encamped in the neighbourhood of that place. The inacceſſibleneſs of the country through which he had marched, had hitherto prevented all attempts from the enemy. But the country before him was plain. The cavalry of the enemy might cut off his communication with the fleet, which had not yet arrived, as he had directed, in the road

[y] Inſtructions to Father Maxwell. Journal.

[z] Sept. 6.

of

CHAP. IX. 1689.

of Carlingford. He himſelf laboured under every ſpecies of military diſtreſs. His troops were raw and undiſciplined. Diſeaſe had crept into his camp. He was in want of proviſions. The weather was uncommonly rainy and ſevere. He reſolved therefore to remain at Dundalk, and to fortify himſelf againſt the attacks of an enemy whom he could not engage with any proſpect of ſucceſs in the field[a].

James offers battle in vain.

THE King, being joined by the main body of his forces, and apprized of the diſtreſſed condition of Schomberg, marched from Tredath, eight Iriſh miles, to Atherdee. He advanced on the ſixteenth of September to within three miles of Dundalk. Anxious for a battle, he viewed in perſon the intrenchments of the enemy on the eighteenth. But he found that Schomberg, by fortifying himſelf in Dundalk, ſeemed leſs to prepare for battle than for a ſiege. On the twentieth of September, James advanced with his whole army near the lines of the enemy, and endeavoured in vain to provoke them to fight. He ſtood three hours in order of battle before Dundalk. But Schomberg kept within his intrenchments; and the King, diſappointed for the preſent in his hopes of ending the campaign with an engagement, retired ſlowly to his camp. Deſpairing of being able to allure the enemy to the field, he ordered Atherdee to be fortified, that he might with more advantage begin the enſuing campaign. The majority of his council of war declared themſelves againſt this meaſure. They had alſo expreſſed their diſlike againſt his advancing at all againſt the invaders. Some had adviſed him to retreat behind the Shannon[b]. The boldeſt were for placing the army behind the Boyne. James, ſupported by Tyrconnel, oppoſed both theſe timid meaſures; and, by ſhewing that he could ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, ended with a degree of reputation the campaign[c].

[a] Auct. citat. paſſim. [b] MS. 1689. [c] Journals, 1689.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1689.

THE inactivity of Schomberg proceeded leſs from his fears of the enemy, than from a want of confidence in his own army. The ſoldiers, uninured to hardſhips, were ſickly and diſpirited. The officers negligent, indolent, and ignorant of war. He laboured under a want of proviſions. A great part of the arms of the ſoldiers were unfit for ſervice. He poſſeſſed neither carts nor waggons. His men were without ſhoes, and many of them in want of clothes. But the loſs ſuſtained by ſickneſs was greatly exaggerated by thoſe who defended the Duke's conduct. Beſides, the Iriſh army was difficult of acceſs, when Schomberg, by reinforcements from England and Scotland, was enabled to puſh his operations with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The country was full of ſwamps and defiles. James lay in an advantageous poſition, behind a river; and his troops had acquired ſome confidence and diſcipline in their motions, in the view of the enemy. He, however, laboured under many of the ſame diſadvantages with Schomberg. Though his army greatly exceeded the invaders in number, ſcarce one half were completely armed; and he found as much inconvenience in receiving his proviſions from Dublin, as Schomberg felt from the uncertain ſupplies which he derived from the Engliſh fleet [d]. The two armies retired, as it were, with mutual conſent, to their winter-quarters. No action worthy of remembrance happened in Ireland. A ſlight advantage, gained by the Inniſkilliners on the ſide of Sligo, was magnified by the zeal of the party into a kind of victory [e].

Both armies retire to winter-quarters.

THE war on the continent was more ſingular in itſelf than remarkable for great events during the preſent campaign. Almoſt all Europe having combined againſt France, ſeemed to threaten that kingdom with invaſion, and even with conqueſt. Lewis the Fourteenth, truſting to his great reſources, prepared himſelf to repel with vigour the ſtorm which he had imprudently raiſed.

Foreign affairs.

[d] Schomberg's letters to William.

[e] Journals, 1689.

He

CHAP. IX. 1689.

He formed two armies in Flanders. He oppoſed a third in Catalonia to the Spaniards. To make a barrier on the ſide of Germany, he laid waſte, in a cruel manner, the Palatinate. He ſtrengthened with garriſons ſuch places in the electorate of Cologn as owned the Cardinal of Furſtemberg for their ſovereign. But, with near four hundred thouſand men in the field, he found himſelf outnumbered by his enemies. Eleven thouſand Engliſh troops, being thoſe whoſe fidelity King William could not truſt, led by the Earl of Marlborough, increaſed to forty thouſand men the army of the States of Holland, under the Prince of Waldec. The Germanic body, united under the Emperor, oppoſed their force to France. The Elector of Bavaria commanded an army on the Upper Rhine. The main army, conſiſting of the Imperialiſts and Saxons, was led by the Duke of Lorrain. The Elector of Brandenburgh, with his native forces and the troops of Weſtphalia, appeared on the Lower Rhine.

Campaign

THE Duke of Lorrain, paſſing the Rhine at Coblentz, and the Moſelle at Alcken, conducted his march through the Foreſt of Saon, to lay ſiege to Mentz. He appeared before that city on the ſeventeenth of July, and opened the trenches on the twenty-ſecond. But the Marquis d'Huxelles held the place till the eighth of September. The Elector of Brandenburgh conducted in the mean time the ſiege of Bonne in an unuſual form. He ſurrounded the city with the fire of one hundred pieces of cannon. This noiſy, but ineffectual, attack continued till Mentz fell into the hands of the Duke of Lorrain. Reinforced by a detachment of the Imperialiſts, the Elector opened his trenches on the ſixteenth of September in form. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, beſide mortars, played inceſſantly upon the place; and the Baron d'Asfeld deſired at length to capitulate from the ruins of Bonne. He received the ſame terms with Mentz, and ſurrendered the place on the twelfth of October.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1689. On the continent.

THE French, unwilling to riſk the fate of a battle, had reſolved to remain on the defenſive during the whole campaign. The Prince of Waldec made ſeveral attempts to provoke to an engagement the Mareſchal d'Humieres; and at length an undeciſive action happened at length at Walcourt. The French were forced to quit their ground with loſs; yet the Prince obtained none of thoſe advantages with which victory is uſually crowned. He was forced a few days after the battle to repaſs the Sambre; and ſuffered himſelf to be challenged to an engagement in his turn. Upon the whole, the campaign was unſucceſsful on the ſide of the French. They had loſt ſeveral places of great importance, and fortune declared againſt them in the only battle that was fought during the ſeaſon. In Catalonia they were not more ſucceſsful than in Flanders. They were driven back to their own borders by the Duke de Villa Hermoſa. That general, purſuing the Mareſchal de Noailles, laid Rouſſillon under contribution; and afterwards retook the town of Campredon in ſight of the French army. The ſame bad fortune which ſeemed to perſecute France, fell with ſtill greater weight on her friends. The Prince of Baden, who commanded for the Emperor, on the ſide of Hungary, defeated the Turks in various actions. He forced their intrenchments on the banks of the Morava, he defeated them at Niſſa, he obtained a complete victory at Widin. The diverſion to the troops of the Emperor, which had been expected from the Ottomans, was diſappointed; and France found herſelf obliged to rely on her own arms.

CHAP. X.

State of the nation.——William confirmed on the throne.——Parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Commons refractory. Parliament diſſolved.——Whigs diſguſted.——A Tory parliament.——Revenue ſettled.——Affairs of Scotland——Affairs of Ireland.——William arrives in that kingdom.——Paſſage of the Boyne.——James defeated.——Reflections.——He retires to France.——Schemes of that kingdom in his favour.——He is treated with great coldneſs.——Military tranſactions.——Athlone beſieged in vain.——William repulſed at Limerick.——He returns to England.——Mary's adminiſtration.——Battle off Beachy-head.——Foreign affairs.——Battle of Fleurus.——Campaign of 1690.*——Proceedings of parliament.——Torrington acquitted.——Preſton and Aſhton ſeized and condemned.——Intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin.——Princeſs of Denmark's correſpondence with her father.——King William in Holland.——Conference at the Hague.——Campaign of* 1691 *in Flanders,—Germany,—Savoy,—Spain,—and Hungary.——Tranſactions at ſea.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of King James.——Affairs of Ireland.——Miſeries of that country.——Athlone taken.——Battle of Aghrim.——Siege of Limerick.——Pacification in Ireland.——Reflections.——Engliſh parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Unpopularity of William.——Oppoſition in parliament.——Proceedings.——William in Holland.——Affairs of Scotland.——Maſſacre of Glenco.*

CHAP. X.

1689. State of the nation.

THE ſucceſs of William in the firſt campaign of his reign was neither anſwerable to the expectations of the nation, nor adequate to the ſupplies granted by parliament. His fleet had been worſted at ſea by an enemy, whoſe power on that element had been hitherto deſpiſed. His army at land had been defeated

defeated by a few half-armed irregulars, who carried nothing fit for war except courage to the field. While the Engliſh and Dutch navies lay, with diſeaſed crews, in a ſtate of inactivity on the coaſt of France, the narrow ſeas ſwarmed with the privateers of the enemy, who interrupted the trade of the kingdom, and with impunity enriched themſelves. The efforts againſt James in Ireland were obſtructed firſt by unaccountable delays; and they were afterwards rendered ineffectual, either through the avarice or negligence of the ſervants of the crown. Theſe misfortunes, however, ought not wholly to be laid to the account of William. The unſettled ſtate of parties at home prevented him from giving ſufficient attention to affairs abroad. He was a ſtranger in the country in which he reigned. His miniſters were either ignorant, or employed in domeſtic faction. His army was new to action. His navy was ill-provided; and his own moroſe and ſullen temper had cooled in many their late zeal for his ſervice [f].

Several biſhops refuſe the oaths.

WANT of ſucceſs in his military operations was not the only circumſtance that rendered William uneaſy on his throne. During the interval of parliament, the oaths of allegiance to the new government were to be taken. Many of the clergy choſe rather to incur ſuſpenſion than to comply. Several leſs ſcrupulous took the oaths with a kind of temporizing reſerve. Five of the ſeven biſhops, whom James had committed to the Tower, were of the number of the nonjurors. This powerful ſchiſm in the church diſturbed the King and diſtracted his government. The opinions of many of the people followed the ſcruples of the clergy, and ſurmiſes againſt William's attachment to the eſtabliſhed religion were propagated and received with ardour. The abolition of epiſcopacy in Scotland was produced as a proof even of his enmity to the church of England. He was accuſed of favouring moſt thoſe who were known to have the greateſt averſion to the mode of

[f] Burnet.

CHAP. X.

1689.

worſhip appointed by law. Theſe inſinuations had great weight with the church in general; and in the two univerſities, eſpecially in Oxford, they were received for matter of fact, without any diſpute. The conduct of William in eccleſiaſtical affairs ſeemed to juſtify the whiſpers of his enemies[g]. Though the commons rejected his ſcheme of a comprehenſion, he ſtill purſued that meaſure, with more zeal than any proſpect of ſucceſs. He reſolved to call a convocation; and he iſſued a commiſſion to ten prelates and twenty inferior clergymen, to prepare ſuch an alteration in the book of canons as might induce Diſſenters to enter the pale of the church[h].

William confirmed on the throne.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſcontents, William was now firmly ſettled upon the throne. The circumſtance which threw James into the hands of the Catholics in Ireland, proved evidently fatal to his hopes of recovering the crown of England. The violence of a Popiſh parliament was aſcribed to the enthuſiaſm of a Popiſh King. The breach upon the acts of ſettlement, the cruelties of De Roſen, the vehemence of D'Avaux, the complaints and real grievances of the Proteſtants, the miſeries of a civil war, in a country where the contending parties were inflamed with religious zeal, were laid all to the account of James. Men could not diſtinguiſh between the name of authority and the poſſeſſion of power. They were ignorant that the unfortunate King had been ſubdued by his nominal friends, when he made a ſhow of reſiſtance to his enemies. In their certain knowledge of his attachment to the Romiſh faith, they diſtruſted all his meaſures. The breaches made by others upon his declarations in favour of the Proteſtants, were attributed to his own enthuſiaſm. They conſidered a man, whom calamity itſelf could not render moderate, too dangerous to be truſted again with authority. But ſtill King James continued to have many friends. His manner, his

[g] Burnet. [h] Gazette.

perſon,

CHAP. X. 1689.

perſon, his diſpoſition, were compared with advantage to thoſe of the reigning Prince. His hereditary right to the throne ſtill ſwayed the minds of many; and ſeveral, who feared him in his proſperity, ſincerely pitied his uncommon misfortunes.

October. Parliament meets.

In this diſpoſition of the nation, William met his parliament, on the nineteenth of October. He wrote his ſpeech with his own hand in French; and a tranſlation was read in the houſe of lords by the lord chief baron Atkins, who had been appointed ſpeaker, in the room of the Marquis of Halifax. He thanked his parliament for their former ſupplies. He deemed it a misfortune to be obliged to make new demands. He explained the neceſſity of puſhing with vigour a war, into which he had entered by their advice and aſſurance of their aſſiſtance. He mentioned the perils to which he had expoſed his perſon, to reſcue the nation from the dangers which threatened their religion and liberty. He urged the propriety of an immediate ſupply, from the ſituation of affairs on the continent. To ſatisfy them how the money already granted had been expended, he had directed, he ſaid, the accounts to be laid before them, whenever they ſhould be called. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in the ſpeech is, that there is not the leaſt inſinuation dropt concerning Ireland. The King was either chiefly bent on the continental war, or, from a point of delicacy, he declined to mention a kingdom where the name of James muſt have been neceſſarily involved, in any mention to be made in its affairs. He concluded with recommending the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, which, by quieting the minds of his ſubjects, might induce them to concur in promoting the good and honour of the kingdom [1].

A temporary prorogation.

To prevent the renewal of diſputes between the two houſes, William was adviſed to prorogue, for one day, the parliament,

[1] Journals, Oct. 19.

to

CHAP. X. 1689.

to put an end to all inflammatory bills. They met again on the twenty-third of October[k]; and the King referred them to his former ſpeech. The Whigs and Tories, though enemies among themſelves, were unanimous where the crown was concerned. Their principles had yielded to their views, upon office. Each party hoped to gain an excluſive poſſeſſion of the King; and therefore each came with its claim to the political field. The Whigs expected a return to the favours which they had already conferred. The Tories built their pretenſions on their attachment to monarchy, and the proſpect of future ſervices. The commons unanimouſly reſolved to aid his Majeſty in the reduction of Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad in a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France[l]. They ordered an addreſs to the King, to lay before them an eſtimate of the expence of the war for the enſuing year. This complaiſance to the crown was immediately followed by a ſudden attack by the Whigs on the Tories. A committee was appointed to inſpect the bills left depending at the late prorogation[m]. They brought in a bill of pains and penalties againſt ſuch perſons as had been employed againſt their party in the two preceding reigns[n].

Vote of ſupply.

THOUGH theſe proceedings bore the appearance of violence, no breach had as yet happened in the good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the parliament and the crown. Upon an eſtimate of the expences of the enſuing year, two millions were voted to be added to the public revenue[o]. The ways and means for raiſing this great ſum, were interrupted by diſputes between the parties. Men of Tory principles had already filled the moſt lucrative offices under the government. The Whigs propoſed, that all officers, civil and eccleſiaſtical, now in place, ſhould pay half a year's profits of their ſalaries and perquiſites toward the preſent ſupply. They moved, that the penalties incurred by all civil of-

[k] Oct. 23. [l] Oct. 24. [m] Oct. 25. [n] Oct. 26. [o] Nov. 2.

ficers,

ficers, in not taking the teſt in the late reign, ſhould be ſpeedily levied, and applied to the ſame purpoſe. The firſt queſtion paſſed in the negative. To the ſecond the houſe agreed [p]. The commons, without finiſhing the ſupply, proceeded to an inquiry into the miſmanagement of the war in Ireland. They found that the army in that country laboured under a want of every neceſſary. They threw the whole blame upon one Shales, a commiſſary. But when they addreſſed the King, to know by whom Shales had been recommended to his office [q], he refuſed to give any anſwer. Offended at the delay in the ſupply, diſguſted at the manifeſt diſtruſt entertained concerning his own management of the war, he could no longer ſuppreſs his reſentment. He, however, conſented that the commons ſhould nominate ſome perſons to inſpect the ſtate of the army in Ireland [r].

Inquiry into abuſes.

THE abuſes committed in the victualling of the navy, were not leſs flagrant than the iniquitous frauds exerciſed with regard to the army. The ſeamen had been ſerved with cheap and unwholeſome proviſions [s]. Diſeaſes prevailed in the fleet, and many died. The ſurvivors were highly provoked, and loud in their complaints. The merchants of London complained, in a petition to the houſe of commons, of the negligence of government in protecting their trade. They affirmed, that the war with France had been declared without any previous notice being given to the city of London; that the channel was infeſted with privateers; that near one hundred ſail of ſhips, amounting in value to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, had been taken by the enemy; that ſuch veſſels as had eſcaped the hands of the French had been obliged to lie in the weſtern ports, for want of convoys; that ſome merchants had been forced to hire foreigners to protect their ſhips, or to pay money to the King's ſhips to cover them from the enemy as they ſailed into the Downs. They aſcertained by evidence the latter

[p] Nov. 8. [q] Nov. 27. [r] Nov. 30. [s] Nov. 22.

part

CHAP. X.

1689.

part of their complaint againſt Captain Churchill, who was himſelf a member of the houſe; and though ſome charges contained in the petition might have been exaggerated, enough was true to prove the unaccountable negligence of government. The navy ſeemed, in a great meaſure, to conſider themſelves as independent. Some captains had acted more like pirates than guardians of the merchantmen. Some veſſels were ſeized, plundered, and even with a kind of ceremony condemned by the commanders of ſhips of war; and one captain had refuſed to obey, though ordered, to make reſtitution by a decree of the admiralty court[t].

Commons refractory.

THESE public grievances and complaints, furniſhed matter of high debate to parties already inflamed. The whole month of November paſſed, without any conſiderable progreſs being made to aid the government with adequate ſupplies. The heats in parliament were allayed, though not extinguiſhed, before the beginning of the ſucceeding month: but ſtill the commons ſhewed leſs inclination to aſſiſt the crown, than to carp at the late meaſures. They preſented an addreſs to the King, explaining the ill ſucceſs of the affairs of the nation. They objected to the conduct of government with reſpect to Ireland. They lamented the untoward condition of the army. They were loud againſt the wretched ſtate of the fleet. They earneſtly requeſted the King to avail himſelf of the ſervice of perſons leſs ſuſpected in their principles toward his own perſon, and more ſatisfactory to the nation. Theſe complaining reſolutions roſe chiefly from the Whigs. The Tories, ſtill uncertain of the King's favour, endeavoured to carry points, which, by being accommodating to the opinions of the nation, might contribute to preſerve their own importance. They had, in the preceding ſeſſion, procured a vote for the ſettlement of an independent revenue upon the Princeſs of Denmark. The meaſure, however, was interrupted by adjournment. Some quarrels,

[t] Petition. Ralph, paſſim.

unworthy

unworthy of a place in hiſtory, happened between the royal ſiſters; and William, with a vehemence unſuitable to his prudence, took the part of his wife againſt the Princeſs of Denmark. The motion was renewed with ſucceſs. The King choſe to grant, with a good grace, a ſettlement which the Princeſs could now command; and, in an anſwer to the addreſs of the commons, he charged his revenue with an annuity in her favour of fifty thouſand pounds [u]. CHAP. X. 1689.

THE complaiſance of the commons to the King, was not equal to their attention to the Princeſs of Denmark. They reſolved to grant the revenue but for one year. The ſupplies which they had voted were either in themſelves inſufficient for the ſervice, or charged on inadequate funds. The Whigs, to whom William owed his throne, were ſevere upon his prerogative. Diſappointed in their views of an excluſive poſſeſſion of power, they founded an oppoſition to the crown, upon ſpecious grounds. In reſtoring the corporations to their former rights, they endeavoured to animadvert upon thoſe who had been inſtrumental in ſurrendering the charters in the two laſt reigns. They incorporated together the bills of indemnity, and pains and penalties. They carried upon every occaſion their reſentment into paſt times; and, in wounding the influence of the Tories, attacked the power of the crown. William, with a paſſion not unnatural to Kings, deemed every encroachment upon the royal prerogative an injuſtice to himſelf. He perceived, that the Whigs had only ſuſpended the exertion of their principles to obtain his confidence and the excluſive poſſeſſion of his favour. He reſolved to truſt the Tories, whoſe principles ſeemed to be more attached to the crown than to hereditary ſucceſſion; and he therefore came to a reſolution to diſmiſs an aſſembly that had been returned at a time favourable to the opinions which oppoſed his authority. He 1690. Parliament diſſolved.

[u] Ralph, Kennet, Journals.

CHAP. X. 1690.

came to the houſe of lords on the twenty-ſeventh of January, and prorogued the parliament to the ſecond of April. The prorogation, by putting an end to ſome favourite bills, diſconcerted and diſpleaſed the Whigs. But their aſtoniſhment was completed by a proclamation for a diſſolution, which was iſſued on the ſixth of February. A new parliament was, by the ſame inſtrument, ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the twentieth of March [x].

January. Whigs diſguſted.

THE diſſolution of the parliament raiſed the reſentment of the Whigs, as much as it elevated the ſpirits of the Tories. Such of the latter party as favoured the late King, exulted in a circumſtance which threw a kind of diſgrace on thoſe who had contributed moſt to the Revolution. The Whigs were ſaid to ſuffer their principles to be ſubdued by their rage. They admitted the emiſſaries of the late King to their converſation [y]; they expreſſed their diſtruſt of the reigning Prince, and their averſion to his favourite, the Earl of Portland [z]. They gained the city of London, to ſuch a degree, that they would advance no loans on the money-bills. They inſinuated, that the reſtoration of James would be not only eaſy, but even ſafe; and even a treaty was reported to have been ſettled by the late King, by the whole cabal. But this ſeems to have been one of the many fictions of party. The wrath of the Whigs was, however, equal to their diſappointment. They carried their complaints to the preſs. In animadverting upon the Tories, they taxed the King with ingratitude, as well as imprudence. Their arguments were as unſucceſsful, as their plan of poſſeſſing an excluſive power. Having failed in paſſing the corporation-act, with the projected amendments, the court retained its influence in the new elections. Men of monarchical principles were generally returned to the new parliament. The city of London itſelf, alienated from the King by the Whigs, choſe Tories in the room of their former members; and, in ſhort,

[x] Journals. [y] Burnet. [z] Ibid.

the

the majority of the commons were ſaid to conſiſt of men at once averſe from the perſon of William, and to the Revolution which had placed him on the throne [a].

February. Changes and promotions.

DURING the interval of parliament, ſeveral changes, unfavourable to the Whigs, were made in the higher departments of ſtate. Though the Marquis of Halifax was removed [b] from the office of privy ſeal, Danby, now Marquis of Caermarthen, who was equally obnoxious to the party, filled all vacancies with his creatures. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington, and Sir Henry Capel, whoſe zeal in the late Revolution had been much diſtinguiſhed, were diſmiſſed from the treaſury. Sir John Lowther, under the patronage of Caermarthen, was appointed firſt commiſſioner; and Hampden, accommodating his principles to his intereſt, was made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer. To this victory over their political opponents, the Tories added a conſiderable advantage of another kind. The lieutenancy of London was placed in the hands of thoſe who had held it in the reign of James. Compton, Biſhop of London, who had been a Whig againſt James, became a Tory to William. Having received orders to form a liſt, he filled it with the names of the moſt violent churchmen and Tories. The Whigs exclaimed with vehemence againſt this manifeſt partiality againſt their party; but they built too much upon their ſervices, to command longer the gratitude of the King [c].

March. A new parliament.

THE new parliament having met at Weſtminſter on the twentieth day of March, Sir John Trevor, a Tory in principle, and a man of political courage and addreſs, was choſen ſpeaker by the commons. He promiſed to the King to manage his own party, provided he might be furniſhed with money to purchaſe votes. William was too eager to carry his own favourite ſchemes in parlia-

[a] Ralph, Burnet. [b] Feb. 19. [c] Publications of the times.

CHAP. X. 1690.

ment, to refuſe[d] his conſent to a propoſal, which neceſſity itſelf can ſcarcely juſtify. In his ſpeech, he told the two houſes, that he continued his reſolution of paſſing into Ireland. He depended, he ſaid, on their chearful concurrence in reducing that kingdom, a work ſo neceſſary for their own ſafety. He deſired them forthwith to make a ſettlement of the revenue, which he was willing to convert into a fund of credit to raiſe ready-money for the war. He reminded them of the earneſtneſs with which he had recommended an act of indemnity to the laſt parliament. But, to prevent the renewal of tedious debates, when the public buſineſs required ſo much diſpatch, he promiſed to ſend them an act of grace, with the exceptions of a few perſons by name. He recommended unanimity in parliament. He inſinuated his deſire of an union with Scotland. He concluded with informing the two houſes with his reſolution to leave the adminiſtration of the government in the hands of the Queen, during his abſence in Ireland; and he left it to themſelves to conſider, whether an act of parliament ſhould be neceſſary for confirming her in that power[e].

Revenue ſettled, and other proceedings.

THE favourable complexion of the new parliament, appeared in the firſt votes of the commons. They unanimouſly thanked the King for his ſpeech. They promiſed to ſupport him with their counſel and aſſiſtance to the utmoſt extent of their power[f]. Having waited in a body upon William with their addreſs, he promiſed, as he had upon every occaſion ſince his landing in England, that, as he had already riſked his life in their cauſe, he was reſolved to venture it again in their ſervice. Whig ſeemed to ſtrive with Tory in complaiſance to the crown. A ſupply of twelve hundred thouſand pounds was voted, without one diſſenting voice[g]. They ſettled the hereditary revenue upon William and Mary[h], the King

[d] Burnet. [e] Journals, March 20. [f] March 22.
[g] March 27. [h] March 28.

and

CHAP. X.

1692.

and Queen, and the bill brought in for the purpoſe, contained a clauſe of credit for a million, which the commons undertook to diſcharge at a proper time. But though this parliament were highly complaiſant to William, the Tories, who formed a great majority in the houſe of commons, endeavoured to adhere to their principles. They rejected a bill, containing an oath of abjuration of the late King, which, it was intended, ſhould be taken by all perſons in office. A bill, recognizing the right of William and Mary to the throne, however paſſed, though it ſeemed to imply, that the convention which conferred upon them the crown was an illegal aſſembly [i]. An act of grace, ſent by the King to the commons, was paſſed, without either debate or diviſion, as the Whigs, finding the inferiority of their numbers, had declined a conteſt, which had produced nothing but repeated defeats. The King and Tories, having been thus ſucceſsful in all their views, the parliament was adjourned on the twenty-third of May [k].

Affairs of Scotland.

WHILE William ſeemed to have quaſhed all oppoſition in England, by throwing himſelf into the hands of the Tories, a violent majority appeared againſt his meaſures in the parliament of Scotland. The ill-humour which had produced the remonſtrance in the preceding year, had been augmented by the reſentment with which William received that paper. The meeting of an inflamed aſſembly was dangerous; to prorogue them for any length of time, inconvenient; and to diſſolve them in the preſent diſtractions, imprudent. The King endeavoured, in the mean time, to gain over the heads of the adverſe party, by putting into commiſſion the principal offices in the ſtate. Few were ſatisfied with what they received. The diſappointed were rendered outrageous. The Lord Melvil, a man unſuitable to troubleſome times, was appointed commiſſioner to the parliament, which was appointed to meet on the firſt of March. Terrified at the ſtate of

[i] April 25. [k] May 23.

opinions,

CHAP. X. 1690.

opinions, he prevailed with William to adjourn them from time to time. But this procraſtination of the national affairs having raiſed great clamours againſt the government, the parliament was appointed to ſit upon buſineſs on the fifteenth of April. The adherents of James derived hopes from the expected confuſion; and many took the oaths to the new government, to furniſh themſelves with an opportunity of breaking their ſolemn engagements with advantage to their favoured cauſe [l]. The moſt violent of the Preſbyterians, offended at the reſervation of patronage made by the King, in the propoſed eſtabliſhment of the church, joined themſelves to the Jacobites; and this coalition, though formed of ſuch heterogeneous materials as could promiſe no permanency, filled the new government with apprehenſions.

Intrigues in favour of James

His intrigues had placed, in ſome degree, Sir James Montgomery at the head of the oppoſition. His avowed attachment to preſbytery endeared him to the fanatics, and he had gained the Jacobites, by his profeſſed endeavours to reſtore King James to his throne. His deſign, however, was to deceive both parties. To the Preſbyterians, he averred, that the adherents of the late King would join with them in all their views to ruin Melvil and Stair. He aſſured the Jacobites, that the Preſbyterians, deſpairing to obtain their demands from the reigning Prince, would throw themſelves in the arms of the late King. In this ſituation of affairs, the parliament was opened at Edinburgh [m]. The commiſſioner began the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, recommending unanimity, and demanding a ſupply. Diffident, however, of his ſtrength, he adjourned the houſe for ſeven days. In the intermediate ſpace of time, he received the permiſſion of William to agree to any law, with regard to the government of the church, which might ſeem beſt to the majority. The hopes of the Jacobites were deſtroyed by this conceſſion. The King's ſupremacy over the church

[l] Balcarras.

[m] April 15.

was reſcinded by an act, which received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ſixth of April. Even the articles which laid ſo much reſtraint on the freedom of parliament were repealed [n]. The Preſbyterians demanded nothing which the commiſſioner was not impowered to grant. CHAP. X. 1690.

in parliament.

MONTGOMERY, who was in correſpondence with James, endeavoured to preſs the commiſſioner beyond the utmoſt limits of his inſtructions. He made a motion in parliament, for the ſettlement of the church, in the form eſtabliſhed in the year 1648. Though the houſe approved not of this meaſure, they appointed a committee to conſider of a bill to ſettle the government of the church. The late conceſſions had greatly ſoftened the rigour of the Preſbyterians toward the government. A bill was introduced for granting a ſupply to his Majeſty; and thoſe who adhered to James from principle, being deſerted by their political allies, ſunk into a kind of deſpondence. William, preparing for an expedition into Ireland, was unwilling to leave an enemy behind him in Britain. Though his troops under Livingſton had obtained a kind of victory over the Highlanders in Strathſpey, he was averſe from a vigorous proſecution of a war, which was haſtening of itſelf to an end. The oppoſition in parliament had been in the mean time diſarmed by their own folly, as well as by the ſound policy of the King. The vague conditions propoſed by Montgomery to James, in the name of the Preſbyterians, had only produced ambiguous returns from that Prince [o]. He was no ſtranger to the circumſtance which had induced the Preſbyterians to treat. He aſcribed their conduct more to their reſentment againſt William, than to any regard for himſelf. He was therefore cautious in his anſwers with regard to their general propoſals, though he endeavoured to gain individuals by honours, commiſſions, and large promiſes [p].

[n] May 8. [o] MS. 1690. [p] Annandale's confeſſion. Dalrymple's Append.

THE

CHAP. X.

1690. An end put to oppoſition.

THE conſpirators, diſappointed in their hopes in parliament, began to fear for their own ſafety. Though they had carefully burnt in the Earl of Breadalbin's bed-chamber the papers and commiſſions which they had received from James, ſome of them found in their own profligacy a cauſe of ſuſpicion againſt the fidelity of their friends. A kind of ſtrife enſued, which of them ſhould firſt appropriate to himſelf the merit of a diſcovery. The Earl of Annandale, the Lord Roſs, and Sir James Montgomery, who were the original authors of the plot, were the principals in this honourable conteſt. The noted Ferguſon, a man born for conſpiracies, was an aſſociate in this plot. Though rewarded by William with a place of conſiderable value for his former ſervices, he deſerted his principles, and intrigued for James. The Jacobite members, yielding in the mean time to their own fears, left the commiſſioner with a clear majority in parliament. He gave the royal aſſent to a bill, eſtabliſhing preſbytery as the national church of Scotland. The eſtates of thoſe in arms againſt the government were forfeited, a ſupply was raiſed by a tax upon chimneys, the army was continued, a teſt was eſtabliſhed and impoſed upon all men in office, and on the electors and elected for parliament, renouncing the pretenſions of James, and recognizing William as their rightful and lawful ſovereign [q].

Affairs of Ireland.

THE military affairs of Ireland ſuffered little change during the winter, and civil matters were governed by a Popiſh faction more than by the late King. The Proteſtants ſuffered much from the inſolence of the Papiſts, but more from their own fears. They applied to the King for a redreſs which he could no longer afford; and, according to the common fate of the unfortunate, he was blamed for neglecting what he could not perform. To the encroachments of his own ſect he had nothing but the feeble aid of proclamations to oppoſe. The Catholics denied utterly his ſupre-

[q] Ralph, Burnet, Balcarras paſſim.

macy in eccleſiaſtical affairs; and thus he found his prerogative diminiſhed by a faith to which he had imprudently ſacrificed his crown. The Engliſh army, in the mean time, lay in their winter quarters, expoſed to ſickneſs and diſtreſs. Schomberg, though every day ſupplied with reinforcements from Denmark, Scotland, and England, was in no condition to annoy effectually the enemy. James was equally inactive, though ſtrengthened with five thouſand auxiliaries from France. But even in this aid he might perceive his own total want of importance and power. The Count de Lauſun, who commanded this force, acted independently of every authority. His ſoldiers lived upon the natives at free quarters, as if he had been ſtationed in an enemy's country, not in the kingdom of a Prince whom he endeavoured to reſtore to his authority[r].

Military tranſactions.

PARTIES of the Engliſh army, detached from their winter-quarters, committed depredations on the country, and obtained advantages over the Iriſh. Colonel Wolſley, with an inferior force, gave a check to the Duke of Berwick, near Belturbet. The ſtrong caſtle of Charlemont capitulated to another party, the garriſon being in want of proviſions. The only frigate which remained to James of his once powerful navy, was taken in his ſight, in the bay of Dublin, by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel. But theſe advantages, though they were magnified in England, could little contribute to finiſh the war. James, though ill provided with the other neceſſaries of war, poſſeſſed a numerous army. But that unfortunate Prince had been long ſubdued in his own mind. Haraſſed by the tyranny of the French, tired of the frigid loyalty of the Iriſh, poſſeſſing no reſources, and deſpairing to maintain a kingdom ruined by rapine and civil war againſt the great force and ample revenue of England, he had for many months diſcovered the utmoſt impatience to quit the iſland[s]. The five thou-

[r] Ralph, Leland, Life of James II.

[s] MS. Memorial, Oct. 1689.

CHAP. X. 1690.

ſand French troops that had arrived in Ireland in the preceding winter, he had entreated the King of France to ſend with him to England. Lewis, encouraged by a conſpiracy formed in Britain, reſolved at length to aid James with a powerful fleet and army. He wrote to that Prince, to quit Ireland as untenable, and to place himſelf at the head of the force which he had prepared for his aid. But before he had taken any effectual meaſures for his departure, certain intelligence of William's expedition arrived from England.

William in Ireland.

WILLIAM left London on the fourth of June. He arrived at Carrickfergus on the fourteenth. He paſſed from thence to Liſburn, the head quarters of the Duke of Schomberg. He reviewed at Lough-britland his army, which conſiſted of thirty-ſix thouſand men. This great force was formed of various nations, Engliſh, Dutch, Germans, Danes, and French. Supplied with every neceſſary, healthy, vigorous, and fit for the field, their zeal and courage ſeemed equal to the abſolute certainty of victory which they entertained in their own minds. The Iriſh army having abandoned Ardee at the approach of William, fell back to the ſouth of the Boyne. On the banks of that river they were joined by James, who had marched from Dublin at the head of his French auxiliaries. The banks of the Boyne were ſteep. The ſouth ſide was hilly, and ſtrengthened by ditches. The river itſelf was deep, and it roſe very high with the tide. Theſe advantages induced James to reſolve, againſt the advice of his officers, to keep poſſeſſion of that poſt. His army was inferior in numbers, in diſcipline, in every thing, to the enemy. Flight would diſpirit his troops and tarniſh his own reputation. He therefore determined to throw at once on the iſſue of a battle the fate of the Iriſh. Urged by his friends in England, encouraged by a projected invaſion of that kingdom by France, aſſured of the aid of a powerful fleet, which had already entered the narrow ſeas, he had previouſly

viouſly determined to quit Ireland. But the ſtrength of his ſituation, the ſudden appearance of the enemy, which made even a retreat dangerous, induced him to defer his purpoſe [t].

CHAP. X. 1690.

THE battle of the Boyne is involved in that obſcurity which covers actions where chance, more than conduct, prevails on both ſides. On the thirtieth of June the two armies appeared on either bank of the river. James extended his troops in two lines, oppoſed to the deep and dangerous fords of the Boyne. A moraſs defended him on the left. In his rear lay the village of Dunore. Three miles behind was the narrow paſs of Duleck, calculated equally to retard and cover his retreat. William, having in perſon examined from the oppoſite ſhore the poſition of the enemy, reſolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them the next day. He formed his army in three columns. The right, under the Count de Schomberg and Douglas, was ordered to paſs near the bridge of Slane. The center, commanded by the Duke of Schomberg, was directed to force the fords in the front of the enemy. The King himſelf led the left to a fordable part in the Boyne, between his camp and the town of Drogheda. Young Schomberg was firſt in motion. He paſſed the river. He attempted the moraſs. The left wing of the Iriſh were in a manner ſurpriſed, and they retreated. The center, commanded by the Duke, paſſed the fords with little interruption. The Dutch guards formed gradually on the bank, and then advanced. The Iriſh infantry deſcended from the riſing grounds on the enemy. But they inſtantly deſerted their officers. The cavalry behaved with more ſpirit. They broke a body of Danes, and drove them into the river. They threw into confuſion the French Proteſtants. They were however repulſed with ſlaughter by the Dutch. But they had the fortune of killing Schomberg when they retreated along the line [u].

July 1. Battle of the Boyne.

[t] James II. 1690. [u] Ralph, Leland, Life of James II.

CHAP. X.

1690. James defeated.

WHEN the right of the enemy, under young Schomberg, forced the paſſage of the river, they ſtretched their line to the right. The Count de Lauſun marched with his left to obſerve the motions of the enemy. King James, believing the main body of the Engliſh were following their right, had weakened his own right wing and center, by reinforcing Lauſun. He himſelf, with the reſerve, came up with the rear of Lauſun, whom he found arranged in order of battle, within half cannon-ſhot of the enemy. When James and the French general were conſulting together about the manner of attack, the firſt was informed that the left of the enemy had forced the paſſage of the river. They prepared immediately to charge Schomberg; but the ground, interſected with ditches, was impracticable. In the mean time the whole line of the Engliſh began to move towards their right. King James, afraid of their getting poſſeſſion of the paſs of Duleck, and cutting off his retreat from Dublin, marched alſo towards his left. The defeat of his right was no longer a ſecret. Several of the ſcattered and wounded horſemen mixed themſelves in their flight with his line. When they arrived at the paſs of Duleck, the Count de Lauſun earneſtly entreated James to make the beſt of his way to Dublin. He affirmed that the enemy, who were ſo ſtrong in horſe, might make detachments, and poſſeſs themſelves of the capital. James made objections: but he yielded at length to the requeſt of Lauſun; and arrived at Dublin that night [x].

Reflections.

THE French auxiliaries, forming themſelves in the rear of the Iriſh army, preſented ſo good a countenance to the enemy, that they were ſuffered to paſs quietly through the paſs of Duleck. They even carried away five of the ſix field-pieces that attended the left wing. But when night came, the panic of the Iriſh increaſed. The greateſt part of the troops diſperſed. The French only adhered to their colours. Such was the paſſage, rather than

[x] James II. 1690.

the

CHAP. X. 1690.

the battle, of the Boyne. No action promiſed to be more important in its conſequences. None ſeems leſs remarkable for either the conduct of the leaders or the valour of the troops. In the ſpirit of the undertaking lies William's greateſt praiſe. The improvidence of James was equal to the cowardice of his army. The firſt ſeemed wantonly to riſk every thing without any apparent neceſſity. The latter was prepoſterouſly cautious, while he ſcarce had any thing further to loſe. William may be blamed for knowing ſo little of the ground through which his attacks were to be led. James was unpardonable for not availing himſelf of what fortune had thrown in his hands. But one King deſpiſed too much his enemies. The other was perplexed with a diſtruſt of his friends. Had the authority of James prevailed over the pride of the Iriſh, he might perhaps have involved his rival in thoſe difficulties which fell afterwards with ſo much weight on himſelf. By oppoſing the French auxiliaries, inſtead of the Iriſh, to the center of the enemy, he might have cut to pieces the main body, incumbered as they were in a deep river, with difficult banks, before they could derive any aid from either of their wings.

King James flies to France.

WHEN James arrived at Dublin, he found letters from his Queen, and an account of the victory obtained by the French at Fleurus over the Prince of Waldec. Encouraged by this intelligence, he began to liſten to the advice of his friends, who unanimouſly concurred in requeſting him to retire to France. When he was mounting his horſe, the French general officers arrived, and haſtened his flight, by informing him that even the French troops themſelves were diſperſed in ſearch of proviſions. With two troops of horſe he left Dublin at five in the morning. Theſe he poſted to defend the bridge of Bray, while he himſelf with a few attendants took his journey through the hills of Wicklow, and purſued his way to Duncannon. In the morning of the ſecond day he arrived at that place. He went on board a Malouine which he

CHAP. X. 1690.

he found in the harbour, fell down with the tide, and ſailed round to Kinſale. There he found three French frigates under the command of M. du Queſne. This little ſquadron had been obtained by the earneſt entreaties of his Queen, from M. de Seignelai, the French miniſter for the marine. In her anxiety for the ſafety of her huſband's perſon, ſhe perſuaded him to ſend theſe frigates to the coaſt of Ireland, to receive the orders of James and to favour his eſcape. Under the eſcort of theſe he immediately ſailed, and arrived at Breſt on the ninth of July [y].

Projects of that kingdom in his favour.

THE precipitate flight of James from Ireland ruined his reputation as well as his affairs. When he landed in France, he ſoon perceived the pernicious effects of that meaſure, and repented ſincerely of his own conduct. The French King had formed the moſt effectual plans for his ſervice. That Prince was maſter at ſea ever ſince the battle of Bantry-bay. By the victory at Fleurus he was confeſſedly ſuperior to his enemies at land. He had ordered a fleet to ſail, not only capable to engage, but, as it afterwards proved, to defeat the combined force of the maritime powers. He deſigned at the ſame time to ſend a ſquadron of twenty-five frigates to St George's channel, to burn all the ſhips on both ſides but ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary to tranſport King James and ſome troops to England. This ſcheme, if executed with ſpirit, would have confined William in Ireland, while his rival might mount without reſiſtance his throne. M. de Seignelai, the author of the project, intended to put it in execution in perſon. When he was preparing to take the command of the fleet he was ſuddenly taken ill; and his commiſſion devolved on the Chevalier de Tourville. Though the latter in ſome meaſure ſucceeded, by the defeat of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, the flight of King James had deprived him of the power of executing M. de Seignelai's whole plan [z].

[y] James II. 1690. [z] Ibid.

CHAP. X.

1690.

MORTIFICATION and diſgrace were added to the misfortunes and imprudence of the late King. When he arrived at St. Germains he was viſited by Lewis the Fourteenth. That Prince treated him with great politeneſs. But when he opened his project for invading England, Lewis received it with manifeſt coldneſs. He ſaid he could attempt nothing till he heard of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland. James argued in vain, that there was no occaſion to hear from Ireland, to convince his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty that England was naked and defenceleſs. But Lewis coldly replied, that he was averſe from another expedition, which might be as precipitately relinquiſhed as the former. He pretended an indiſpoſition. He denied, under that pretext, all acceſs to King James, till the ſeaſon of action was paſt. "When the King," ſays that unfortunate Prince himſelf, "perceived this cauſe of delay, he was afflicted and tormented with various paſſions. Shame and regret were joined to diſappointment and deſpair. The defection of his ſubjects, the deſertion of his favourites, the loſs of the battle, had never thrown him into ſuch a melancholy ſtate of mind, as his being hindered from opening his heart to that Prince who was his only friend and ſupport in the world. But he was deſtined," he continues, "to be a victim to patience by providence, which his friends and enemies exerciſed by turns. He preſſed to be permitted to go on board the French fleet. But this was refuſed, as nothing could be done without troops. The threatened junction of the Elector of Brandenburgh with the Prince of Waldec was urged as an unanſwerable excuſe [a]."

He is ill received in France.

BUT though James repined at his fortune, he had only his own imprudence and want of ſpirit to blame. The reſiſtance made by his friends in Ireland either proved that his opinion of their firmneſs was unjuſt, or that he rated too high the power and conduct of his rival and enemy. King William, having permitted his army

Tranſactions of William.

[a] James II. 1690.

to

CHAP. X. 1690.

to reſt the whole of the day which ſucceeded the paſſage of the Boyne, ſummoned Drogheda, on the third of July. The governor, intimidated with threats, that the garriſon, in caſe of any reſiſtance, ſhould be put to the ſword, yielded the place, without any honourable terms. The King advanced, on the fifth of July, to Finglaſs, a village two miles from Dublin. His firſt meaſures after his arrival in the capital were highly impolitic, if not unjuſt. He promiſed, by a declaration, to pardon and protect ſuch of the lower ſort as ſhould, in a limited time, ſurrender their arms. But he excepted the gentry, whom he reſolved to abandon to all the rigours of war and conqueſt. He iſſued a commiſſion for ſeizing all their eſtates and effects, though no court of judicature was open to proceed according to law. The eagerneſs of his followers for forfeitures ſuſpended every idea of juſtice. The commiſſioners executed their power with the utmoſt rigour. They even ruined a country, which they endeavoured to appropriate to themſelves. Public miſery, perſecution, and confuſion, prevailed every where. The King himſelf was either not ſincere in his offers of mercy to the vulgar, or he poſſeſſed no authority to reſtrain the licence of his army. His declaration was diſregarded, his protections ſlighted. Revenge, wantonneſs, and avarice, induced men to break through every form of decency, and every tie of faith. Deſpair animated the Iriſh to a renewal of hoſtilities, as ſubmiſſion produced nothing but oppreſſion, injuſtice, and ruin[c]. The general officers who had accompanied King James to Waterford, returned with a determined reſolution to continue the war. The Iriſh aſſumed courage from the languor of the enemy. They aſſembled round their colours, and, with the ſhew of an army, directed their march to Limerick and Athlone.

His military operations.

ON the ninth of July, the King reſolved to divide his army. Douglas, with fifteen regiments, was detached to inveſt Athlone.

[c] Ralph, vol. ii. p. 225. Leland, vol. iii. p. 574.

He

CHAP. X.

1690.

He himſelf advanced ſouthward in perſon, with the reſt of his troops. He was, in the mean time, oppreſſed with the news of repeated diſaſters from every quarter. He received intelligence of the bloody victory over the Prince of Waldec at Fleurus, the day after the paſſage of the Boyne. He heard of the defeat of his fleet when he had ſcarce advanced thirty miles from Dublin. He, however, reſolved to proceed. Though the late action had raiſed his reputation, it was by no means deciſive with regard to the war. He placed a garriſon in Wexford, and Clonmel was left by the Iriſh. Waterford was ſummoned and ſurrendered [d], and Duncannon yielded upon terms. Intelligence of diſaſters and dangers in England, induced the King to form a reſolution of returning to that kingdom. But, hearing of the retreat of the French fleet, he reſolved to continue the Iriſh war, and, for that purpoſe, he went back, on the ſecond of Auguſt, from the neighbourhood of Dublin to the army, with which he directed his march towards Limerick [e].

Siege of Athlone raiſed.

DOUGLAS, in the mean time, purſued his deſtructive route to Athlone. His men plundered the country; they murdered many unfortunate wretches, who relied on the King's declaration. The peaſantry came in numerous bodies to claim protection; but they were expoſed to all the inſolence, cruelty, and tyranny of a licentious army. Deteſted, abhorred, and feared, Douglas ſat down with his cruel followers before Athlone. He carried on his works with vigour; but he was ſoon forced to abandon the ſiege. He laboured under a want of proviſions; his troops were ſickly; his gunners ignorant. The garriſon, full of reſentment for their country, were all on fire. A report prevailed, that an army of Iriſh advanced, and Douglas retired at midnight through devious paths. The unfortunate perſons, who had declared for King William upon his approach, found themſelves obliged to attend him, to

[d] July 25.

[e] Publications of the times.

CHAP. X.

1690.

avoid the fury of their former friends. But they were robbed and plundered by thoſe from whom they expected protection. Nothing but miſery, diſtreſs, and even death, was ſeen. The harveſt was trodden down by the troops, the wretched cabins of the unfortunate peaſantry were conſumed with fire[f], and their cattle driven as booty away.

William beſieges Limerick;

WILLIAM, on his march toward Limerick, was joined by Douglas and his licentious army. He appeared before that place on the ninth of Auguſt. The garriſon conſiſted of near ſeven thouſand men; but they were ignorant in the ſcience of defence. Tyrconnel lay with a body of men within ten miles of the place. He could reinforce the garriſon, though he could not with any proſpect of ſucceſs attack the beſiegers. Boiſleau, a gallant Frenchman, commanded in the place; and he reſolved to ſuffer the laſt extremities before he ſhould yield. Limerick is ſituated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. A part of the town ſtands on the Munſter ſide, a part on an iſland in the Shannon, and a caſtle on the ſide of Clare. Two bridges joined together the three diviſions of the place. Limerick could be only approached on one ſide, through a paſs ſcarce one hundred and fifty yards in breadth, flanked on either ſide with impaſſable bogs. Beſides, a ſmall fort from a riſing ground commanded the paſs, which was itſelf incumbered with hedges and old walls.

but is forced to raiſe the ſiege.

THE paſs, after a ſhort reſiſtance, was deſerted by the Iriſh. The fort, which commands it, was not defended at all, and William ſat down before the place. He ſummoned Boiſleau in vain. The Iriſh cannonaded his camp. To their fire the King had only to oppoſe a few field-pieces. But he expected a train of battering artillery, under a convoy, from Dublin. Colonel Sarsfield paſſing ſuddenly the Shannon at Killaloe with a body of Iriſh horſe, intercepted the train, blew up the powder, and rendered uſeleſs the

[f] Publications of the times.

moſt

moſt of the guns. Two guns happening to receive no damage, were brought to the camp. Other pieces of artillery were tranſported from Waterford, and a breach was made in the wall. William ordered the town to be ſtormed, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt. He was, however, repulſed with great loſs. The very women defended the breach. Five hundred Engliſh, beſides the foreigners, whoſe loſs was conſiderable, lay dead on the ſpot. More than double the number of the ſlain were wounded. William, diſconcerted beyond meaſure at this unexpected check, ſent a drummer to demand a truce for the burial of the dead; but the Iriſh refuſing, in a haughty manner, his requeſt, he diſarmed his batteries and raiſed the ſiege, on the thirtieth of Auguſt.

Cruelty and injuſtice of his army.

THE Proteſtants of the country attended William's retreat, to avoid the reſentment of the Iriſh. But they found enemies in their ſuppoſed friends, and they were plundered of their effects and cattle. The army ranged at large after booty; they knew no diſcipline; they owned no authority. The King either winked at their irregularities, or he yielded to a ſtream which he could not oppoſe. His declaration was infringed, his protections diſregarded, his route covered with devaſtation, and all the other miſeries of war [g]. Exceſſes of a ſavage barbarity, but upon very queſtionable authority, have been aſcribed to the King himſelf, on his retreat from Limerick [h]. Diſappointment might certainly have raiſed his reſentment; at leaſt the outrages committed by his troops contributed to ſtain the annals of the times; but whether they proceeded from his orders or his want of authority, is hard to decide. His army conſiſted of various nations; their paſſions and their views were different, though their rage againſt the Iriſh was the ſame: the Danes yielded to their native barbarity; the Engliſh were inflamed by recent injuries, as well as by ancient prejudices;

[g] Burnet, Ralph, Leland, &c. &c.

[h] Leland, vol. iii.

CHAP. X. 1690.

the Dutch derived their claim to rigour from their attachment to their leader; and the Germans could ſcarce be ſuppoſed to ſacrifice to humanity their uſual maxims of war.

He returns to England.

WILLIAM, having left his licentious army at Clonmel, proceeded to Waterford, to take his paſſage to England. Having failed in his attempt on Limerick, no means of retrieving ſuddenly his military reputation preſented themſelves to his view. He left the adminiſtration of civil affairs in the hands of the Lord Sidney, and Thomas Coningſby. Having ſubmitted the army to the command of two Dutchmen, the Count de Solmes, and the Baron de Ginckle, he ſailed from the fort of Duncannon on the fifth of September; and, on the tenth of the ſame month, arrived at Kenſington[h]. His expedition in Ireland had neither anſwered his own expectations, nor equalled the hopes of the nation. The glory of his ſpirited paſſage of the Boyne, had been much tarniſhed by his repulſe at Limerick[i]. His conduct with regard to the Iriſh nation, was more calculated to raiſe their reſentment, than to impreſs them with fear; and his want of authority, his careleſſneſs, and perhaps reſentment, gave birth to unpardonable acts of oppreſſion. His neglecting to purſue with vigour the advantage which he had gained, protracted the war, and, with that circumſtance, the miſeries of a kingdom which he came to protect. But it ought to be confeſſed, that he laboured under difficulties, which obſtructed his beſt deſigns. His army, though more numerous, was leſs united than that of the Iriſh; and they derived a licence, which could not be ſtrictly controled, from an opinion that their enemies were traitors and rebels.

Mary's adminiſtration.

THE management of affairs in England had been veſted in Mary, by an expreſs act of parliament, during her huſband's abſence in Ireland. When the ſituation of that Princeſs brought her

[h] Kennet, vol. iii. [i] Publications of the times, paſſim.

CHAP. X. 1690.

forward to public view, her good qualities appeared with conſiderable advantage. The prejudices which the peculiarity of her ſituation had raiſed againſt her humanity, were much leſſened by an eaſy acceſs to her perſon, and the ſoftneſs of her manners. In political addreſs ſhe ſeemed not to be deficient; and the fame of her prudence roſe among the people in proportion to their prior want of information concerning her real character. The part which ſhe had to act was difficult. The times were critical and dangerous. Her council was formed, almoſt in equal numbers, of the two irreconcilable parties, the Whigs and the Tories. A powerful enemy preſſed the nation from abroad. Diſcontents, factions, and even conſpiracies, prevailed at home. Though the ſupplies for the navy had been ample, the preparations for equipping the fleet were languid; and the kingdom, through the negligence of government, or the deſign of ſome of its ſervants, ſeemed to lie expoſed to invaſion, and even to conqueſt. In this ſtate of things, the reins were left in the hands of Mary. Her inexperience in buſineſs was ſupplied by attention; and public affairs, upon the whole, ſuffered no detriment from the circumſtance of their being placed under a woman's care.

The fleets at ſea.

CERTAIN intelligence of the equipment of a powerful fleet in the ports of France had arrived in England, before William's departure for Ireland. The Earl of Torrington had hoiſted his flag in the Downs, as commander of the fleet, on the thirtieth of May. He arrived at St. Helen's on the fourteenth of June. The Dutch fleet, under Evertzen, having joined the Engliſh, the admiral weighed anchor on the twenty-third; and propoſed to wait at Dunoſe, at the back of the Iſle of Wight, for the French fleet, which had appeared, on the twentieth, before Plymouth. The French, in point of numbers and in the ſize of the ſhips, were ſuperior to the combined fleet of the allies; and therefore Torrington had reſolved not to engage the enemy in the open ſeas.

He

CHAP. X. 1690.

He was, however, forced to depart from his purpoſe, by the expreſs orders of the Queen. The enemy had been in ſight for five days: but the Engliſh admiral made ſuch uſe of the winds and tides, that he eluded all the efforts of the French to bring him to battle. The two fleets lay off Beachy-head. The morning after Torrington had received orders to fight, he gave the ſignal, as ſoon as day appeared, for forming the line. The wind was eaſterly; and he bore down upon the enemy. The Dutch, forming the van, were engaged with the van of the French about eight of the clock in the morning, while the blue ſquadron of the Engliſh attacked the rear diviſion of the enemy with great vigour[1].

Engliſh and Dutch defeated.

THE Earl of Torrington, though a man of undoubted courage, was ſlow in his motions with the red ſquadron, which he commanded in perſon. He, however, came up with the enemy at ten of the clock; but at ſuch a diſtance from the Dutch, that he permitted their whole diviſion to be ſurrounded. The Dutch behaved with the utmoſt courage. The moſt of their ſhips were diſabled, three of their line of battle were ſunk in the engagement, three more were burnt in the flight. They loſt many men. Two of their admirals, and ſeveral captains, were ſlain. The Engliſh who were engaged ſuffered extremely from the enemy. The French ſhips were well manned, their fire was regular and rapid; their management of the ſails during the action ſkilful and expeditious; and their courage equal to their hopes of a victory, which their ſuperiority in ſtrength ſeemed to promiſe. Their want of experience, and ignorance of the courſe of the tides, deprived them of a great part of the advantage which their arms had gained. Torrington having come judiciouſly to anchor, upon its falling calm in the afternoon, the French, neglecting that precaution, were imperceptibly driven weſtward with the ebb

[1] Torrington to Caermarthen, July 1, 1690.

to

CHAP. X. 1690.

to a great diſtance. The Engliſh admiral took advantage of this miſtake, and weighing in the evening, ſtood eaſtward with the tide of flood. He was followed, but at a great diſadvantage by the French, who had the folly to purſue a defeated enemy in a line. They, however, deſtroyed ſeveral diſabled Dutch men of war, they drove an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy guns aſhore near Winchelſea, and continued the chace to the bay of Rye. The allies loſt, in this unfortunate battle, eight ſhips of the line, beſides ſeveral other ſhips that were rendered totally unfit for ſervice [k].

No conſequence attends the victory.

THE French, either ſatisfied with the reputation which they had gained, or having formed no plan of an invaſion, ſailed, in a week after their victory, to their own coaſt. They returned on the twenty-firſt of July, and anchored in Torbay. The panic, which had been ſuſpended by their departure, was renewed upon their return. The militia was ordered to the coaſt. A camp was formed near Torbay. Terror, confuſion, and clamour, prevailed every where. The fears of the nation were, however, found to be ſuperfluous in the event. The enemy, having lain on the coaſt for a fortnight, concluded their naval campaign with the burning of Tinmouth, an inconſiderable village. Elated with this trivial exploit, they ſailed toward Breſt, on the fourth of Auguſt. Torrington retired after the battle to the mouth of the Thames. Having left the command to Sir John Aſhby, he himſelf returned to London. The whole city was in the utmoſt conſternation. The panic of the people was transferred to the government. The Jacobites and Non-jurors were accuſed of acting in concert with the enemy, and ſurmiſes of conſpiracies, inſurrections and treaſons were propagated and believed every where. The populace were alarmed. Their hereditary jealouſy of the French turned their whole cry in favour of the new government. The

[k] Torrington to Caermarthen, July 1, 1690. Kennet, Ralph, Burnet, Lives of the Admirals, Torrington's letter.

[l] July 8.

miniſtry,

CHAP. X. 1690.

miniſtry, taking advantage of the current of the times, ſecured many ſuſpected perſons. Proclamations were iſſued, ſignifying the adherence of ſeveral perſons of rank to the enemies of their Majeſties, in the preſent invaſion. But the conduct of the French after the victory ſeems to prove, that they neither held any regular correſpondence with the diſcontented, nor concert with the Jacobites[m]. Some wild ſchemes were certainly formed by the adherents of King James; but they appear to have had no communication with France; nor was the fleet of that kingdom furniſhed with the means of invaſion.

State of domeſtic affairs.

No circumſtance could have been more favourable to the eſtabliſhed government, or more fatal to the hopes of King James, than the ill-purſued victory obtained by the French fleet. The apprehenſions of an invaſion, and even of conqueſt, firſt raiſed the terror, and afterwards the reſentment of the nation, againſt the ſuppoſed abettors of their ancient enemies. The miniſtry, either yielding to their own ſuſpicions, or to improve to advantage the fears of the people, had ſtrengthened, by proclamations againſt known Jacobites, the ſurmiſes entertained concerning a domeſtic conſpiracy. To gratify the rage of the populace at home, as well as to quiet the tumults of the Dutch mobs, Torrington was accuſed of miſconduct, and committed priſoner to the Tower. Informations of treaſon were encouraged. The common credulity of the vulgar, with regard to dark deſigns againſt the public happineſs, was cheriſhed and improved. The credibility of a plot was eſtabliſhed by various public acts. The ſuſpended biſhops, a race of men more weak in their politics, than guilty in their conduct, were unjuſtly ſtigmatized, as perſons concerned in a plot againſt the independence of the nation. The people, by theſe arts or accidents, became parties in the cauſe of the government. Addreſſes poured in upon the Queen from every quarter. The vehemence

[m] Caveat againſt the Whigs, part iii. p. 51. Burnet.

of

CHAP. X. 1690.

of the preſent loyalty of the people increaſed in proportion to their former fears; and though William had loſt at Limerick the laurels which he had gained at the Boyne, he found his authority firmly eſtabliſhed upon his return to England [n].

Battle of Fleurus.

THE ſucceſs of the French at ſea was attended with actions of ſome renown by land. Having remained on the defenſive during the preceding campaign, the French King exerted his whole force in the preſent year. He formed four armies on the ſide of Germany and Flanders. Forty thouſand men, under the Dauphin, aſſembled at Landau. A conſiderable force, led by the Mareſchal de Boufflers, appeared upon the Moſelle. The Mareſchals d'Humieres and Luxembourg, who commanded two armies in the neighbourhood of Courtray, were firſt in motion, and came the ſooneſt to action. Luxembourg, being ſuddenly joined by the Mareſchal de Boufflers, advanced againſt the Dutch and Spaniards, under the Prince of Waldec. A bloody battle enſued [o], at Fleurus, near Charleroy. The French general, by a hazardous but a deciſive motion of his cavalry, obtained the victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a riſing ground, the horſe fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while they were engaged in front with the French infantry. The Dutch cavalry fled at the firſt ſhock, their foot ſtood and ſhewed prodigies of valour. Theſe loſt ſeven thouſand men on the ſpot; and being forced at length to retire, they left a bloody victory to the enemy [p]. Waldec being joined, ſoon after [q], by the Elector of Brandenburgh, prevented Luxembourg from deriving any conſiderable advantage from his ſucceſs at Fleurus.

Campaign in Germany, Savoy, Catalonia,

ON the French ſide of Germany, nothing conſiderable happened during the campaign. The Dauphin and the Elector of

[n] Dalrymple's Append. Auct. citat. paſſim.
[o] July 1. N. S.
[p] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.
[q] July 22.

CHAP. X. 1690.

Bavaria, at the head of two armies, obſerved the motions of each other, without riſking a battle. The firſt of thoſe Princes, having paſſed the Rhine to amuſe the enemy, after various movements intrenched himſelf in the plains of Newenburgh. Having remained in the place till the firſt of October, he left the troops, under the Mareſchal de Lorges, and returned to Paris. The two armies, ſoon after, retired to winter-quarters. The war againſt the Duke of Savoy was attended with great ſucceſs on the part of France. The Duke was totally defeated at Straffarda by the Mareſchal de Catinat[r]. Saluces, in conſequence of the victory, fell into the hands of the French. Suza, which commanded the paſſes between Dauphiny and Piedmont, was taken; and the whole dutchy of Savoy was reduced by Saint-Ruth. The ſame ſucceſs attended the French on the frontiers of Spain. Having found means to encourage an inſurrection in Catalonia, they diſtracted the councils of Charles the Second; and prevented him from aiding to effect, either the Duke of Savoy, or his allies in Flanders.

and Hungary.

THE good fortune of the houſe of Auſtria againſt the Turks ſeemed to have expired with Pope Innocent the Eleventh, who died on the twelfth of Auguſt in the preceding year. The inveteracy of that pontiff againſt France had thrown him entirely into the intereſts of the Emperor, whom, under pretence of a war with the infidels, he aided liberally with the money of the church. The court of France, having by money and influence raiſed Ottoboni to the papal chair[s], under the name of Alexander the Eighth, ſtopt the channel of a ſupply from Rome. The preparations of the court of Vienna were ſlow, and their efforts became feeble. On the ſide of Hungary, the Turks recovered all the laurels which they had loſt to the Prince of Baden in the preceding year. That general, finding himſelf obliged to march into Tranſylvania,

[r] Aug. 18.

[s] Oct. 2, 1689.

CHAP. X. 1690.

to ſtop the progreſs of the famous Tekeli, left Hungary expoſed to the enemy. The Turks retook ſucceſſively Niſſa and Widin. They reduced Belgrade by aſſault, after a vigorous ſiege. All Upper Hungary beyond the Tibiſcus fell into their hands; and they retired to winter-quarters in that country with every advantage for opening with a proſpect of ſucceſs the ſucceeding campaign [t].

Reflections on the conduct of France.

THOUGH the French and their allies were ſucceſsful in every quarter, Lewis the Fourteenth, with a happy negligence, declined to puſh his enemies on their moſt vulnerable ſide. The ignorance of the court of France with regard to the ſtate of England preſerved the latter kingdom from imminent danger, upon various occaſions; but at no juncture with more apparent good-fortune, than in the preſent year. Their victorious fleet rode in triumph in the channel for many weeks. They lay, without the fear of an enemy, in the very bay where a foreign invaſion had been made with ſucceſs about twenty months before. Had they landed an army in the name of King James, the crown of England would have been again transferred from the reigning Prince, without a battle. There was no regular force, ſufficient to face an enemy, in the kingdom. Diſcontents prevailed among the people, and factions in the cabinet. The adherents of the late King were ſtill numerous. The preſent King had loſt many of his former friends. But either Lewis was averſe from putting an end to the conteſt concerning the throne of England; or, with his uſual weakneſs, while he enjoyed the glory of victory, neglected its advantages. This undeciſiveneſs of character proved always beneficial to his enemies. England owed to it her preſent conſtitution, and, perhaps, her independence; and William derived from his mortal enemy his beſt hold of his own throne.

[t] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

CHAP. X.

1690. Parliament meets.

WILLIAM arriving at Kenſington on the tenth of September, reſolved in council to meet his parliament on the ſecond of October. The ſeſſion was accordingly opened on that day with a ſpeech from the throne. The King informed the houſe, that he had uſed his beſt endeavours to reduce Ireland into a condition that it might be no longer a charge to England. He mentioned his firſt ſucceſs in that iſland, and he laid the blame of his late miſcarriages upon the exceſſive rains. He praiſed the behaviour of the troops in general. He complained of their little pay. He had evidently ſhewn, he ſaid, that he had already preferred the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects to the moſt ſolid advantages of the crown; and he reminded them, that he had aſked no revenue for himſelf, but what he had ſubjected to be charged to the uſe of the war. He affirmed, that he had ſpared neither his perſon nor his pains to ſecure their happineſs. He recommended to them, by clearing his revenue of loans, to enable him to ſubſiſt. He deſired them to conſider immediately of means to pay off the arrears due to the army. The whole confederacy abroad, he inſinuated, depended upon the ſpeed and vigour of their proceedings. He complained of the behaviour of the Engliſh fleet in the late battle. He promiſed to vindicate the honour of the nation, by examining into miſconducts, and puniſhing the guilty. He concluded his ſpeech with obſerving, that the happineſs of the kingdom depended upon the reſult of their counſels; and he hoped that they would agree with him in the concluſion, that whoſoever ſhould obſtruct or divert their application from theſe matters, could be neither his friend nor the friend of England[u].

Proceedings

THIS parliament ſhewed no inclination to incur the cenſure of a want of friendſhip for William, by an oppoſition to his meaſures. The two houſes preſented loyal and humble addreſſes to the King for his expedition into Ireland, and for hazarding his

[u] Journals, Oct. 2.

CHAP. X. 1690.

perſon in reducing that kingdom [x]. They thanked Mary for her conduct at home, while they expreſſed their gratitude to William for his actions abroad [y]. The commons applied themſelves with great zeal to the buſineſs of the demanded ſupply. In a committee of the whole houſe, they reſolved, that a ſum, amounting to near two millions three hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be granted for the maintenance of the army, and the ſupport of the ordnance. The houſe came to a reſolution, on the ſeventeenth of October, that one million of this ſupply ſhould be raiſed on the credit or ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. The reſt of the ſum granted was charged upon new duties impoſed upon various articles of conſumption and trade. The good underſtanding which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the court and the parliament, was, in ſome degree, interrupted upon the ſubject of Iriſh forfeitures. The ſervants of the crown, and particularly the perſonal adherents of the King, had already deſtined the eſtates of rebels for themſelves. They were therefore unwilling to permit their own private advantage to be ſacrificed to the public ſervice. A long conteſt enſued. Matters were, at length, accommodated between thoſe who pretended to be the friends of the nation, and the friends of William. A third part of the forfeitures were left in the diſpoſal of the King; and he was further empowered to grant what articles or compoſitions he pleaſed to thoſe who were ſtill in arms [z].

of the commons.

THE conteſt for the favour of the court, which ſubſiſted between the Whigs and Tories, rendered the grants of the commons ample and expeditious. The demands of the war eſtabliſhment were great. The debts of the crown, ſince William landed at Torbay, notwithſtanding the great ſupplies received from parliament, amounted to two millions. More than four millions were voted, in the preſent ſeſſion, for the ſervice of the year. That ſum, together with the ſtanding revenue, amounted to ſix mil-

[x] Journals, Oct. 6. [y] Oct. 8. [z] Journals, paſſim.

lions,

CHAP. X. 1690.

lions, raiſed on the ſubject. Beſides, a clauſe of credit, at ſeven *per cent.* was inſerted in the land-tax bill, to anſwer extraordinary demands. The whole was impoſed on funds which, in the event, produced a ſurplus of near eighty thouſand pounds. Nothing, in ſhort, was omitted by the parliament, that might ſtrengthen the hands of the King. A great majority of the commons were Tories. The Whigs were either aſhamed of diſtreſſing a government which they had in a great meaſure formed, or they had not yet given all their hopes of favour away. William haſtened, from time to time, the reſolutions of the commons, by informing them of the neceſſity of his preſence at a projected congreſs at the Hague. Having, at length, brought the buſineſs of the ſupply to a happy concluſion, he adjourned the parliament, on the fifth of January, with a ſpeech of thanks from the throne [a].

Earl of Torrington acquitted.

THE peers having waved the privileges of their houſe, with regard to the Earl of Torrington, he was brought to his trial on board a frigate at Sheerneſs, on the tenth of December. The misfortunes of the Dutch, in the battle off Beachy-head, had eradicated from William's breaſt, the memory of the ſervices which he had derived from Torrington, in the late Revolution. He had ſpoken of the conduct of the fleet with great indignation, in the ſpeech with which he opened the ſeſſion of parliament. He expreſſed, upon every occaſion, his reſentment againſt the admiral. The making the Dutch parties againſt Torrington, ſecured to him the favour of the Engliſh. But when he came to his trial, juſtice only ſeemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh his reputation. He was accuſed of having, either through treachery or cowardice, miſbehaved in his command, drawn diſhonour on the nation, and ſacrificed the Dutch. Not one of the charges was proved. The rancour of Torrington's enemies appeared. His own defence was ſatisfactory and manly. He denied the juſtice of any com-

[a] Journals, paſſim.

plaint

plaint againſt his conduct. He even claimed merit from ſaving the fleet of England, when oppoſed to ſuch a ſuperior force. In the concluſion of his ſpeech, he applied to the paſſions of his judges. He hoped, he ſaid, that an Engliſh court-martial would not ſacrifice him to Dutch reſentment. He was unanimouſly acquitted. The King, however, deprived him of his command; and would never permit him to come into his preſence [b].

1691. Perſons condemned for treaſon.

On the thirtieth of December, the Lord Preſton, one Aſhton, and a Mr. Elliot, were ſeized at Graveſend, by orders from the government, in a ſmack bound for France. In their poſſeſſion were found various papers, conſiſting of cant letters, notes concerning the ſtate of the navy, and a wild project for the immediate reſtoration of King James. Preſton was brought to his trial on the twelfth of January. Though little doubt could be formed of his guilt, the proofs againſt him were not ſo complete as the ſtatutes concerning treaſon ſeemed to require. He was, however, condemned. But, upon making a diſcovery of all he knew, he received a pardon. The evidence againſt Aſhton ſeemed ſtill more ſlender than the proofs upon which Preſton had been found guilty. His defence was cool, and, in ſome degree, ſpirited and manly. He ſuffered with great compoſure. A paper which he left in the hands of the ſheriff, was publiſhed, and received with ardour, by the friends of the late King. He denied his imputed guilt. He avowed his principles. He entered into a diſcuſſion of the Revolution. He enumerated the hardſhips impoſed by the Prince of Orange upon King James. He died a member of the church of England. His paper, upon the whole, contained matter for controverſy between the friends and opponents of the reigning Prince. The minds of the clergy, in particular, had been heated with polemical diſputes; and two parties

[b] Trial, paſſim. Burnet, Ralph. Publications of the Times.

carried,

CHAP. X. 1691.

carried, with great vehemence, their arguments to the preſs [c]. The diſcovery of this plot, decided the fate of the ſuſpended biſhops. Though no poſitive proofs were produced againſt the Biſhop of Ely, he was ſuppoſed to be the writer of one of the letters that were ſeized. William, therefore, reſolved, upon his return from the Continent, to fill the vacant ſees with his own friends [d].

Correſpondence of the Earl of Marlborough.

THIS diſcovery, however, was not capable of terrifying others from making warm advances to King James. The Earl of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin were among the firſt who offered their ſervices for the reſtoration of a prince whom they contributed to expel from his kingdom. The late King doubted their profeſſions of affection for his perſon; but he aſcribed their conduct to their prudence. "The repentance of Churchill," ſays James himſelf, "aſſumed the appearance of ſincerity." He gave, without heſitation, an account of all the forces, preparations, and deſigns of the Engliſh government. He laid open the ſecret councils of the Prince of Orange; and his report concurring with undoubted intelligence received from other quarters, the King was induced to believe that he was ſincere. He carried daily intelligence of all incidents in the ſecretary's office to the Jacobites, by which they avoided many inconveniencies and troubles. He deſired inſtructions, without being admitted into the King's ſecrets; owning, that his former conduct ought juſtly to debar him from all confidence. He doubted not, he ſaid, but he could bring over many great men to the King's party. He deſired to know whether he ſhould gain the Earl of Danby, or join with the party who were contriving his ruin. He offered to bring over the troops in Flanders. But he rather propoſed to act in concert with thoſe who were, the next ſeſſion, to endeavour to expel all foreigners from the kingdom. He adviſed the King

[c] Publications of the Times.

[d] Burnet, vol. iii.

not

not to invade the kingdom with a great force. That a French power was too terrifying to the people. That twenty thouſand men were ſufficient to place him again on the throne [e]."

CHAP. X. 1691.

" CHURCHILL deſired the King," continues James, " to enjoin the Lord Godolphin not to lay down his place in the treaſury, as he muſt be made ſerviceable in that poſt. He ſaid, for himſelf, it would be impoſſible for him to enjoy any peace of mind, till he had made an atonement for his crimes, by endeavouring, though at the utmoſt peril of his life, to reſtore his injured Prince and beloved maſter. His comportment, upon the whole, ſeemed candid, and his penitence ſincere. He confirmed, by letters to James [f], the aſſurances which he made in perſon to his friends. He aſſured the King, that, upon the leaſt command, he would abandon wife, children, and country, to regain and preſerve his eſteem. But he declined to bring over the troops in Flanders. The King ſent him a letter, on the twentieth of April, 1691. He wrote to him in the moſt good-natured manner in the world. The Queen inſerted a few words, with her own hand, teſtifying, that ſhe was perfectly reconciled to Churchill. Godolphin was ordered to keep his employment to be more ſerviceable. That Lord had forgot his former ſcruples, about betraying his truſt. The Lord Dartmouth propoſed to come over, in perſon, provided he could have the command of a ſquadron of French men of war. But the court of Verſailles would not truſt their ſhips in his hands. Beſides, he was ſoon after ſent to the Tower [g]."

with King James.

THE Earl of Marlborough, as a proof of his own ſincerity, induced the Princeſs of Denmark to enter, with great zeal, into the views of her father. A letter, which ſhe wrote, ſoon after this period, to that Prince, bears all the marks of compunction and

Letter from the Princeſs of Denmark.

[e] James II. 1691. [f] Jan. 20th, and May 30th, 1691. [g] James II. 1691.

CHAP. X. 1691.

affection. She told him, "that ſhe was truly concerned for the misfortune of his condition; and ſenſible, as ſhe ought to be, of her own unhappineſs, in having contributed to the ruin of a father. If wiſhes could recall the paſt, I had long ſince," ſhe ſaid, "redeemed my fault. My mind, however, would have been greatly relieved, had I found more early means to communicate my repenting thoughts. But I hope they will derive one advantage from being late, and that is, that they will be deemed ſincere. This plain confeſſion ſhall bring relief to my mind, if I ſhall be ſo happy as to find that it carries any real ſatisfaction to yours; and that you are as indulgent and eaſy to receive my humble ſubmiſſions, as I am truly deſirous to make them, in a free, diſintereſted acknowledgment of my fault, for no other end but to deſerve and receive the pardon of an injured father. I could wiſh that one compliment ſhould be made in my name. But the expreſſions moſt proper for me would be leaſt convenient for a letter. I muſt leave it to the bearer to expreſs my reſpect for the Queen [h]."

King William goes to Holland.

THE day after the adjournment of the two houſes of parliament, King William left London, with an intention of embarking at Margate for the Hague. He lay that night at Sittingbourn. But, upon the ſetting in of an eaſterly wind, and a hard froſt, he returned to London. On the ſixteenth of January, he embarked at Graveſend; and, under the eſcort of a ſquadron of twelve ſhips of war, ſoon arrived on the coaſt of Holland. In his impatience to land, he committed himſelf and his retinue to open boats, in a foggy day. The coaſt was lined with ice. The pilots loſt their way, and night came on. During eighteen hours, he lay under a cloak in the boat. He at length gained the iſland of Goree. Having refreſhed himſelf in that place, he went again into his boat, and landing at Orange-Polder, repaired to Hounſlardike.

[h] James II. 1691.

CHAP. X. 1691.

With a pomp more ſuitable to the vanity of a ſlighter character, than the uſual gravity of his manner, he made his public entry into the Hague. In a ſet ſpeech to the States, he acknowledged his gratitude for their former favours, and promiſed his future ſervices. He took God to witneſs, that he had accepted the crown of the Britiſh kingdoms, to maintain and ſupport their religion and tranquillity; and that he might be the better enabled to ſerve his allies, and particularly the States, againſt the power of France. He excuſed himſelf, by the urgency of his affairs, for not paying them ſooner his reſpects in perſon. He expreſſed his affection to his native country, in the warmeſt terms. He aſſured them, that he was not only willing to ſacrifice all that he poſſeſſed in the world, but even his body and life, in their ſervice; and he hoped God would make him the inſtrument, to divert the danger which threatened the united States [i].

Conference at the Hague.

THE King followed this patriotic ſpeech, with one of equal ſpirit, in an aſſembly of ſome princes of the Germanic body, in which he preſided. He explained to them their former errors. He recommended expedition in their preparations, and unanimity in their counſels, as things neceſſary to their future ſucceſs. He found ſuch as were preſent of the confederates, and the abſent, by their ambaſſadours, ready to enter into all his views, with regard to an alliance, of which he was, for many reaſons, deemed the head. They entered into a ſolemn engagement, in the preſence of God, to preſerve their preſent union, and to proſecute the war againſt the King of France, till he ſhould execute certain articles. The conditions of the peace, which they propoſed to force upon Lewis, were chiefly theſe: That he ſhould make reparation to the Holy See for all injuries, and his infamous proceedings againſt Innocent the Eleventh; that he ſhould reſtore to the Proteſtants all their eſtates and goods; that he ſhould eſtabliſh an entire

[i] State of Europe, Feb. 1691.

CHAP. X. 1691.

liberty of conſcience throughout the French dominions; that he ſhould reſtore to his neighbours all the places which he had ſeized ſince the peace of Munſter; that he ſhould re-eſtabliſh, in their rights and liberties, the eſtates of the kingdom; that he ſhould not preſume to raiſe any ſupply without the conſent of the eſtates, legally called; that the tax upon ſalt, and all unreaſonable impoſitions, ſhould be aboliſhed for ever; that he ſhould reſtore to all parliaments their ancient and rightful authority; and their former franchiſes and revenues to the towns and cities of the kingdom. To effectuate this ſyſtem of freedom, the French gentry were called from their allegiance; and to qualify the whole, the aſſembly of confederates ſolemnly averred, that they had nothing in view but the reformation of the government of France, which had been diſcompoſed by violence and oppreſſion[k].

The French take Mons.

To theſe romantic and wild articles, the aſſembled princes added reſolutions of a more ſerious kind. They determined to employ againſt France two hundred and twenty thouſand men, during the approaching campaign. But when they were projecting future operations, the enemy entered upon preſent action. Lewis the Fourteenth ſat down, ſuddenly, before Mons. William, who had retired from the Hague to Loo, placed himſelf at the head of the army. He advanced to Hall, within the ſound of the enemy's guns. The ſtate of his troops was ſo bad, and the diſpoſitions of the enemy ſo good, that he durſt not venture a battle, to relieve the place. Mons was taken, after a gallant defence, on the ninth of April[l]. Lewis, whoſe vanity was at leaſt equal to his ambition, returned to Verſailles; and, to celebrate his conqueſt, ſtruck a medal, which reflected on the paſſive conduct of William. That Prince, repairing to the Hague, embarked for England on the twelfth of April[m]; and the next evening, arrived in London, where he found the palace of Whitehall in ruins, by an

[k] Declaration of the Allies. [l] Hiſt. de France, vol. iii. [m] Kennet, vol. iii.

accidental

CHAP. X. 1691.

accidental fire. His firſt buſineſs, after his arrival, was to fill the vacant ſees; and though the nonjuring biſhops had been long in a deprived ſtate, in conſequence of the act for altering the oaths, their removal became the ſubject of much polemical diſquiſition and altercation[n].

Campaign in Flanders.

THE King, having ſettled the affairs of the church, prorogued the parliament, and given orders concerning the management of the war in Ireland[o], reſolved to return to the Continent, to place himſelf at the head of the allied army. He embarked at Harwich, on the ſecond of May; and, in the evening of the third, arrived at the Hague. The preparations of the confederates, and the character and ſituation of their leader, raiſed their hopes to a certainty of ſucceſs, on their own part, and abſolute ruin, on the ſide of France. The event was not anſwerable to theſe high expectations. The Mareſchal Luxembourgh, having ſuddenly poſſeſſed himſelf of Hall, which the allies had, in ſome degree, fortified, kept cloſe within his lines. William, at the head of a ſuperior army, failed in all his attempts to place the fate of the campaign on the deciſion of a battle. Luxembourg perceived, that to prevent a defeat, was to gain glory, when oppoſed to ſuch odds. The ſummer was ſpent in a ſtate of inactivity. Some unimportant movements were made on both ſides. But the French had determined to engage only at a manifeſt advantage. Tired of a campaign which produced no laurels, William quitted the command of the army to the Prince of Waldec, on the twelfth of Auguſt. The Prince, in withdrawing the troops at Leuſe, was attacked, unexpectedly, in the rear, by Luxembourg. The allies ſuffered ſome loſs. But the French obtained little advantage. The glory of having ſtopt the progreſs of a ſuperior enemy, was the only thing gained by Lewis, on the ſide of Flanders, ſince the taking of Mons, in the month of April[p].

[n] Publications of the Times.
[o] Burnet, vol. ii.
[p] Hiſt. de France, vol. iii. State of Europe.

ON

CHAP. X.

1691. In Germany, Spain, Savoy, and Hungary.

On the frontiers of Germany the war languiſhed between France and the confederates. The French had thrown their chief force into Flanders. The Emperor had turned his principal attention to the operations in Hungary. In Catalonia the French arms were crowned with ſucceſs. The Mareſchal de Noailles took Urgel in the preſence of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who commanded the forces of the Catholic King. While the navy of Spain lay loitering in their ports, a ſquadron of the enemy inſulted the coaſt, and bombarded Alicant and Barcelona. In Savoy, the fortune which had attended the Mareſchal de Catinat ſeemed to have deſerted his arms. Though he took Veilana, and ſome other places of importance, he was repulſed at Coni, in Piedmont, and forced ſoon after to repaſs the Po. He was, however, more fortunate toward the end of the campaign. He converted into a ſiege the blockade of Montmelian, the only city in Savoy ſtill held for the Duke; and that place, after a vigorous defence, was taken upon terms. The Imperial troops, ſent to the aid of the Duke of Savoy, ſeemed more anxious to plunder their friends than to oppoſe the enemy. The Turks loſt in the mean time all the advantages which they had gained on the ſide of Hungary in the preceding campaign. They were totally defeated at Salankemen by the Prince of Baden. Twenty thouſand either lay dead on the ſpot, or were ſlain in the flight. The vizier, the ſeraſkier, the moſt of the principal officers were killed; and the remains of the Ottoman army were obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind the Saave [q].

Tranſactions at ſea.

The combined fleets of England and Holland, commanded by Ruſſel, performed nothing worthy of memory during the ſummer of the preſent year. Their manifeſt inferiority either confined the French to their ports, or induced the Count de Tourville to avoid the enemy at ſea. When Ruſſel ſent his large ſhips into harbour,

[q] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, vol. vii.

the

the French took that advantage to aid their friends in Ireland. A squadron of eighteen men of war with twenty tranſports entered the Shannon. An Engliſh fleet, under Sir Ralph Delaval, ſoon after arrived on the coaſt: but the French remained unmoleſted in the bays of Ireland till the end of November. In the Eaſt and Weſt Indies the war languiſhed on both ſides. The French having attacked a Dutch ſquadron, conſiſting of five ſhips, that had taken ſhelter under the guns of Fort St. George, on the coaſt of Coromandel, were obliged to cut their cables and ſtand out to ſea. An attempt on Guadalupe, one of the French Leeward Iſlands, failed through a miſunderſtanding between General Codrington and Commodore Wright; and no other hoſtilities of any note happened in the poſſeſſions of either nation abroad[r]. CHAP. X. 1691.

THE diſcovery made by the conſpirators in Scotland of their own plot, had quaſhed the hopes of the adherents of James in that kingdom. They even made offers of ſubmiſſion and fidelity to the reigning Prince; and he had the prudence to liſten to their propoſals. Some Highlanders, headed by Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel, oppoſed all treaty with William. Though they had ſuffered a repulſe at Cromdale, though James had left Ireland, and his affairs in that kingdom were ruined, they adhered to their political principles; and, without the means of carrying on a war with ſucceſs, continued their hoſtilities. The lenity of William to the Scotiſh conſpirators, his avowed diſlike to the violence of the Preſbyterians in their aſſembly, and, above all, the influence of the Earl of Breadalbin, who promiſed to effect with money, the pacification which could not be extorted from the Highlanders by force of arms, reſtored the North to tranquillity. Cameron himſelf ſubmitted to the new government. An end put to a war which promiſed little glory and no reward of victory filled the mind of William with unfeigned joy[s]. Affairs of Scotland.

[r] Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii. [s] Burnet. Mem. of N. Britain.

BUT

CHAP. X.

1691. Intrigues of James.

BUT he owed this pacification more to the influence of James than to his own power. The late King held by his agents a communication with Breadalbin; and he correſponded with the chiefs of the inſurgents. He ſuggeſted the ſcheme adopted by the former. He induced the latter to liſten to propoſals of peace. He had formed a project of invaſion with the court of France; and he wiſhed his adherents to reſerve their ſtrength till it could be exerted with a greater proſpect of ſucceſs. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacted in the North, his emiſſaries were not idle in the South. He ſent Mr. Ord, a gentleman of Northumberland, with inſtructions to ſome of his adherents in that county, and to the Earl of Home, one of his firmeſt friends. He recommended to them to hold themſelves in readineſs to join his intended invaſion. He deſired them to form meaſures for ſurpriſing Berwick, and, if poſſible, Newcaſtle and Tinmouth. He enjoined them to obſerve the exacteſt diſcipline upon their riſing, to commit no oppreſſion, to pay for every thing needful, and to rely upon his honour in being indemnified for their expence. In the mean time he required them to remain quiet, and, by preſerving themſelves, to take care of his intereſt [t].

William offended with the Preſbyterians.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe precautions, the government formed ſome ſuſpicions concerning a ſecret plot in Scotland. The Earl of Home, Sir Peter Fraſer, Sir Æneas Macpherſon, and ſome other determined Jacobites, were ſeized and confined. But the arts of James's friends had in ſome degree lulled William into ſecurity. Their ready ſubmiſſion to his authority ſeemed to obliterate the memory of their former violence. Thoſe who oppoſed him moſt became his greateſt favourites. The epiſcopal party atoned for their oppoſition to the title of the King, by their inviolable adherence to the prerogatives of the crown; and the ſuppoſed inſolence of the Preſbyterians was calculated to throw William in the ſcale of their

[t] MS. Inſtructions to Mr. Ord, 1691.

political

political enemies. The republican form of their church government appeared contrary to the firſt principles of monarchy; and they ſeemed unwilling to relinquiſh any part of their independence to a Prince who thought that they owed to himſelf the whole. To gratify his new friends, he enjoined the general aſſembly to receive ſuch of the epiſcopal clergy as ſhould demand ſeats, into the number of their members. They refuſed this demand, and he ordered them to be diſſolved. They proteſted againſt the diſſolution, as illegal; and to preſerve their independence, they adjourned themſelves. The King was highly offended at their conduct; and the Jacobites ſeemed to enjoy the diſſenſion which their own arts had raiſed [u].

Affairs of Ireland.

THE campaign of the preceding year had not ended in Ireland with William's departure from that kingdom. When the fears of the nation were diſſipated by the final retreat of the French fleet to their own coaſt, the Earl of Marlborough prevailed with the Queen and her council to permit him to lead five thouſand men from England, on an expedition againſt Cork and Kinſale. On the twenty-firſt of September, 1690, he arrived before the former place; and two days after landed all his troops. Ginckle, who had ſucceeded Solmes in the command of the army in Ireland, detached near a thouſand horſe to the aid of Marlborough; and ſoon after he had opened his trenches before Cork, he was reinforced with four thouſand Danes, under the Duke of Wirtemberg. The ſiege, already carried on with ſucceſs, was in ſome degree retarded by a diſpute about the command, between the Duke and the Earl. A breach was however made in the wall. The beſiegers prepared for a general aſſault. The ammunition of the garriſon being exhauſted, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Though the ſeaſon was far advanced, Kinſale was ſummoned. The Iriſh governor reſolved to defend the fort to the laſt extremity. He

[u] Burnet. Mem. of N. Britain. MS. 1691.

CHAP. X. 1691.

burnt the town, as untenable. He retired to the old and new fort. The firſt was taken after a gallant defence. The ſiege of the ſecond was preſſed with vigour. In ten days the place capitulated. The garriſon were permitted to retire to Limerick, with all the honours of war; and Marlborough, having accompliſhed the object of his expedition, ſent his troops to winter-quarters, and returned to England *.

Unparalleled miſeries

THOUGH the winter ſuſpended the regular operations of war, the miſeries of Ireland increaſed during that ſeaſon. Ginckle having neglected to form a regular line of troops along the Shannon, the enemy croſſed that river in parties, and frequently beat up his quarters with ſucceſs. The French having retired to Galway, to wait for a paſſage home, the whole weight of their own defence devolved on the native Iriſh. Deſpair and animoſity had at the beginning ſeized their minds. Their ſucceſs againſt William at Limerick had lately added to their confidence and courage. In their excurſions againſt the enemy, they ſpread miſery, ruin, and deſolation over the whole country. The inhabitants were plundered. Their houſes and cabins were burnt to the ground. The Engliſh and their auxiliaries and mercenaries yielded not to their enemies in this deſtructive and mercileſs mode of war.

To add to the diſtreſſes of an unfortunate nation, private murderers and robbers joined their depredations to the public devaſtations committed by two licentious armies. A ſpecies of wild Iriſh, who, from their habitual injuſtice and cruelties, had been ſucceſſively diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of Creaghts and Tories, infeſted the whole country, in ſmall parties. An improvement on the barbariſm of their predeceſſors impoſed upon them a new name. They were called Rapparees, from the Iriſh name of a pike, with which they maſſacred indiſcriminately the unfortunate

* Lediord, vol. i.

perſons

CHAP. X. 1691.

perſons who fell into their hands. They hovered on the ſkirts of the Engliſh army. They haraſſed them with purſuits. They cut off their ſtragglers. They ſurrounded their quarters with murder and deſolation. To repel the fury of theſe aſſaſſins, the Engliſh eſtabliſhed marauders of a ſimilar kind. In injuſtice and cruelty they yielded not to their infamous opponents. The army itſelf, as poſſeſſing more force and as little humanity, were even worſe than the Rapparees. Murder, anarchy, and miſery, were ſeen every where. Men ſeemed to have forgot all their paſſions but avarice and revenge; and the cries of a wretched people brought nothing but an accumulation of diſtreſs [y].

of that kingdom.

THE appearance, rather than the ſubſtance of a civil government, ſubſiſted at Dublin. The courts of juſtice were opened. A privy council was formed of men attached to the reigning King. They, however, poſſeſſed little authority. Their power was contemned by the army. The ſoldiers owned no ſuperiors but the military officers. They diſregarded even theſe, when their orders interfered with their own rapacity. The winter was throughout diſgraced with acts of barbarity on both ſides. The year 1691, in its firſt months, produced no memorable event. Tyrconnel, though ſtript of his character of chief governor by James, had returned from France with a pitiful ſum of money, to maintain the Iriſh war. Yielding to deſpondence, or ſwayed by his diſgrace, he endeavoured to induce the Iriſh to ſubmit to the new government, upon terms. This meaſure was oppoſed by Sarſfield, who had acquired ſo much reputation for his exploits in the former campaign. Quarrels and animoſities prevailed. To put an end to diſputes which threatened his intereſt in Ireland with ruin, James conferred the chief command on St. Ruth, a French general of experience and reputation. That officer arrived in Ireland; but he was furniſhed with none of the neceſſaries of

[y] Leland, vol. iii. Ralph, vol. ii. Impartial Hiſt. Mem. of Ireland, MS. 1691.

CHAP. X. 1691.

war. Deſtitute of pay, in want of proviſions, without ſtores, and ill provided with ammunition, a great part of the army had been forced to diſperſe. St. Ruth found himſelf obliged, by the bad ſtate of his troops, to act upon the defenſive; and, having placed a ſtrong garriſon in Athlone, he reſolved to wait for the enemy on the further ſide of the Shannon [z].

Athlone beſieged.

GINCKLE, ſupplied with every thing neceſſary to open the campaign with vigour, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Molingar. He decamped from that place on the ſixth of June; and having, with little difficulty, obliged the garriſon of Ballymore to ſurrender, he advanced toward Athlone. His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men. Having paſſed through dangerous and narrow defiles without any oppoſition, he arrived, on the nineteenth of June, before the place. Athlone, as well as Limerick, is divided by the Shannon. It was ſtrongly garriſoned and tolerably fortified. The Iriſh army lay behind the town, on the ſide of Connaught. Ginckle, having finiſhed his batteries, conſiſting of ten eighteen pounders, began to play on the baſtion next the river toward Laneſborough, in the night of the twentieth of June. A practicable breach was made in a few hours. An aſſault was given at ſix of the clock the next evening; and the part of the town lying next to Leinſter was taken with little loſs [a].

Athlone taken.

GINCKLE played inceſſantly upon the Iriſh town. He expended twelve thouſand bullets and ſix hundred bombs in the ſpace of ten days. The place was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. The Iriſh continued obſtinate. Having had ſome advantage over the enemy, by burning their bridge of boats, they were lulled into a fatal ſecurity. On the thirtieth of June, Ginckle ſuddenly entering the river in columns, ſurpriſed the town. Little reſiſtance was made by the Iriſh; and all that fell in the way of the

[z] Auct. citat. paſſim. MS. 1691. [a] MS. Journal.

aſſailants

assailants were put to the sword. The boldness and vigilance of Ginckle could be only equalled by the negligence of the Irish. History can scarce furnish a parallel to the success of an undertaking which seemed in itself impracticable. A fortified town attacked across a river, sustained behind by a considerable army, was taken in less than a quarter of an hour by a body of three thousand men, who were breast-high in water when they advanced to the breach [b]. St. Ruth, when informed of the assault, could scarce give any credit to the intelligence. He, however, ordered some battalions to sustain the besieged; but the succours came too late. The works of the town toward his camp were entire. The enemy had already lined the walls, and repulsed the Irish from their own works [c].

C H X

1691.

ST. RUTH, covered with shame at his own negligence, decamped without beat of drum in the night. Having marched ten miles from Athlone, he posted himself at Aghrim, determined to recover his own reputation or to lose the kingdom, in one decisive battle. To augment his army he had withdrawn the garrisons from Sligo, Lanesborough, and James-town. Ginckle followed his example in reinforcing his army with all his detached parties. Having remained ten days at Athlone, he marched into Roscommon, and encamped along the river Suc. The Irish army extended their line more than two miles on the rising grounds of Kilcommeden. The slope before them was lined with hedges and ditches. A bog defended their front. Morasses skirted their right and left. On the twelfth of July, Ginckle determined to attack the enemy. St. Ruth marked his motions from the eminence, and formed his own line. He exhibited in his dispositions all the conduct of an experienced officer. He rode along the line. He directed every thing. He animated his troops with words calculated to confirm their courage and to rouse their minds. The strength of

Battle of Aghrim.

[b] MS. Journal, 1691.

[c] Ibid.

the

CHAP. X. 1691.

the ground, the ardour of his men, his excellent diſpoſitions, the raſhneſs of the enemy, who ſeemed determined to advance, filled him with every hope of victory [d].

Iriſh defeated.

GINCKLE, having croſſed the Suc without oppoſition, advanced to the moraſs in the front of the enemy. One paſs led to their camp on their right; another, by the caſtle of Aghrim, to the left. The firſt was ordered to be attacked. It was gained, after much reſiſtance. The ſpirit of the enemy, and the difficulties of the ground, induced Ginckle to ſuſpend his deſign to engage. But, to prevent the retreat of the enemy, he again changed his mind. The paſs on the left was attacked, at five in the evening. General Mackay, in the mean time, plunged into the bog with the center, and advanced againſt the enemy. He was received, however, with ſuch warmth, that his men were forced to retreat. St. Ruth, beholding this advantage, was elevated with the hopes of victory. The Engliſh cavalry, having forced the paſs on the left, advanced in full ſpeed on the flank of the purſuing Iriſh. The fugitives rallied, formed, and advanced. The battle ſeemed to hang in equal ſcales, when it was ſuddenly decided by fortune. St. Ruth, deſcending from the hill, advanced with a ſquadron of horſe to ſuſtain his foot, and attack the Engliſh cavalry. When he was on the point of coming to blows with the enemy, he was killed by a cannon-ball. The ſpirit of the Iriſh fell with their leader. Sarsfield, the next in command, was not ſtationed where his preſence was moſt required. Confuſion, diſorder, and terror, ſpread from wing to wing. The Iriſh, on the point of being victors, reſigned themſelves to panic and flight. Many were ſlain in the battle, but more in a bloody purſuit of three miles. Several thouſands of the vanquiſhed were killed. The victors loſt ſeven hundred men. The crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth. His death ſnatched victory from his hands; and,

[d] Ralph, Burnet, Leland, Mem. of Ireland.

by

by breaking the power of the Catholics, leſſened their miſeries, by deciding ſooner their fate. Ginckle gained reputation by the action; but his army loſt every claim to humanity, by giving no quarter [e].

CHAP. X. 1691.

THE bulk of the Iriſh fugitives retired to Limerick, after the battle of Aghrim. Ginckle, having refreſhed his army a few days, advanced to Galway. He ſat down before that place on the nineteenth of July. Galway, though garriſoned with ſeven regiments, was not provided with the means of defence. Ginckle, wiſhing to end the war, permitted the Iriſh to retire to Limerick. He himſelf advanced toward that place. He ſat down before it on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt. Contention, diſcord, confuſion prevailed within the walls. Some were for ſurrendering upon terms for themſelves; others, upon conditions, in favour of their whole party. The majority, headed by the French officers, reſolved to hold Limerick to the laſt extremity. The ſucceſsful defence of the place in the preceding year animated them with hopes of the ſame good fortune. Succours were expected from France. A fleet of twenty ſail was already on the way, with men, proviſions, ammunition, and money. The deſpair of the proſcribed Catholics inflamed their minds againſt an enemy who had ſhewn ſo little humanity in the late battle. Tyrconnel, who had uniformly propoſed ſubmiſſion, had died a few days before, in Limerick. Sarsfield, his political opponent, loved war, on account of its dangers; and the generals d'Oſſone and de Teſſe were reſolved, for the benefit of their own country, to continue, as long as poſſible, the diſtraction among her enemies [f].

Galway ſurrenders.

THE particulars of the ſecond ſiege of Limerick are neither important nor diſtinctly known. Six weeks were ſpent before the place, without any deciſive effect. The garriſon was well ſup-

Siege of Limerick.

[e] Mem. of Ireland, Leland, Ralph.

[f] Auct. citat. paſſim.

CHAP. X. 1691.

plied with proviſions. They were provided with all means of defence. The ſeaſon was now far advanced. The rains had ſet in. The winter itſelf was near. Ginckle had received orders to finiſh the war upon any terms. The diſſenſions between the French and Iriſh were renewed with redoubled fury. The Engliſh general offered conditions, which the Iriſh, had they even been victors, could ſcarce refuſe with prudence. He agreed, that all in arms ſhould receive their pardon: That their eſtates ſhould be reſtored, their attainders annulled, their outlawries reverſed: That none ſhould be liable for debts incurred through deeds done in the courſe of hoſtilities: That all Roman Catholics ſhould enjoy the ſame toleration, with regard to their religion, as in the reign of Charles the Second: That the gentry ſhould be permitted to make uſe of arms: That the inferior ſort ſhould be allowed to exerciſe their callings and profeſſions: That no oaths, but that of allegiance, ſhould be required of high or low: That ſhould the troops, or any number of them, chuſe to retire into any foreign ſervice, they ſhould be conveyed to the continent, at the expence of the King. Sarsfield, who had obtained the title of Earl of Lucan from James after his abdication, was permitted to retain a dignity which the laws could not recogniſe[g]. The lords juſtices had arrived from Dublin on the firſt of October. They ſigned the articles, together with Ginckle; and thus the Iriſh Papiſts put a happy period to a war which threatened their party with abſolute ruin.

Obſervations on the

THOUGH the terms granted at the capitulation of Limerick were, perhaps, neceſſary in themſelves, and highly ſuitable to humanity, they were, ſoon after, equally diſliked by both parties. The Engliſh Proteſtants looked with unbounded reſentment upon articles, which rendered, in ſome meaſure, independent a ſect, whom, on account of ancient prejudices and recent injuries, they

[g] Articles of capitulation.

abhorred.

abhorred. The Iriſh, having obtained with ſo much facility ſuch good terms, imbibed an opinion, that they might have extorted conditions ſtill more favourable from an exhauſted enemy. The arrival of the French fleet, two days after the capitulation, with arms, ſtores, proviſions, and ammunition, confirmed them in their ſentiments on this ſubject. But that circumſtance, in conjunction with many other obvious reaſons, juſtified William for putting an end to the war, upon moderate terms. Many millions had already been expended in the reduction of Ireland. Near one hundred thouſand men had been loſt by ſickneſs and the ſword. The army, though victorious in the field, were exhauſted with fatigue. Winter was approaching. The ſiege of Limerick muſt, in all probability, have been raiſed. A ſecond diſappointment before that place would have been equal to a defeat. The ſpirits of the Iriſh would riſe. The French, encouraged by their ſucceſs, would aid their allies with more effect. CHAP. X. 1691.

THE pacification with the Iriſh furniſhed matter for much diſpute; but the peculiar ſituation of that nation ſeems to have been overlooked in the conteſt. The deſertion, upon which the deprivation of James had been founded in England, had not exiſted in Ireland. The lord-lieutenant had retained his allegiance. The government was uniformly continued under the name of the Prince from whom the ſervants of the crown had derived their commiſſions. James himſelf had, for more than ſeventeen months, exerciſed the royal function in Ireland. He was certainly *de facto*, if not *de jure*, King. The rebellion of the Iriſh muſt therefore be founded on the ſuppoſition, that their allegiance is tranſferrable by the parliament of England. A ſpeculative opinion can ſcarce juſtify the puniſhment of a great majority of a people. The Iriſh ought to have been conſidered as enemies, rather than rebels. If, therefore, the pacification was expedient, it was certainly juſt. Iriſh

CHAP. X.

1691. pacification.

BUT the opponents of William give him no credit, either for his juſtice or his humanity, upon the preſent occaſion. They aſcribe his eagerneſs to finiſh the troubles of Ireland, to his earneſt deſire of proſecuting with more vigour the war on the continent. They allege, that had not an Engliſh parliament deprived his creatures of the hopes of Iriſh forfeitures, he would have been leſs liberal in the conceſſions which he made. Though there may have been more malice than truth in theſe allegations, ſome of the terms were neither ſuitable to his dignity, nor conſiſtent with his uſual prudence. The French fleet, by an expreſs article between the generals Talmaſh and d'Uſſone [h], were permitted to remain in ſecurity till the end of November in the bays of Ireland. The permiſſion given to the Iriſh ſoldiers to enter into the ſervice of France, the mortifying condition of tranſporting more than twelve thouſand ſubjects, at the expence of government, to the country, and to ſtrengthen the armies of an enemy; the general pardon granted to robbers, aſſaſſins, and Rapparees; the lenity of the King to thoſe in arms; his rigour to thoſe who had formerly ſubmitted; all contributed to deſtroy, in a great meaſure, the merit of a pacification which relieved the Engliſh nation from the burden of an expenſive and deſtructive war.

William meets his parliament.

WILLIAM, having left the army on the twelfth of Auguſt, ſpent near two months in hunting in the neighbourhood of Loo. In the beginning of October he arrived at the Hague, and having ſettled ſome public affairs with the States, he embarked for England on the eighteenth of October, and landed the next day at Margate. On the twenty-ſecond of the month, the parliament met at Weſtminſter. The King told them in his ſpeech, that he had appointed their meeting, to conſider of the beſt and moſt effectual means of proſecuting the war againſt France in the next campaign. He hoped, he ſaid, that the late ſucceſs in Ireland

[h] Ralph, vol. ii. Burnet.

CHAP. X. 1691.

would encourage them to ſtrengthen his hands. He doubted not but they would take care to pay the arrears of the army in Ireland; and he promiſed, that no attention on his part ſhould be ſpared to keep that kingdom from being burdenſome to England for the future. He mentioned the expediency of ſending a ſtrong fleet to ſea early in the ſummer. He inſiſted upon the abſolute neceſſity of employing an army of ſixty-five thouſand men to defend the kingdom, and to annoy the common enemy. He recommended vigour and diſpatch in their counſels. He deſired them not to neglect an opportunity, which might never return, of not only eſtabliſhing the quiet and proſperity of the kingdom, but the peace and ſecurity of all Europe[j].

Supplies granted.

THOUGH the nation in general were averſe from a great ſtanding army, though a party had been formed to oppoſe the government in parliament, the commons, after returning congratulatory thanks to the King, reſolved to take his ſpeech into immediate conſideration[k]. Several days, however, paſſed before they granted a ſupply[l]. They ordered at length a ſtate of the war to be laid before them, to aſcertain the ſums neceſſary for the ſervice of the next year. On the eighteenth of November, a bill was preſented to the houſe for giving one million five hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, for the charge of the navy. But the bill for granting one million nine hundred thouſand pounds for proſecuting with vigour the war againſt France, was not paſſed till the twenty-fourth of December[m]. Though the adherents of the crown prevailed in procuring a compliance with the King's demands, the buſineſs of the ſupply proceeded with languor. Men the moſt oppoſite in opinions joined in oppoſition. The Whigs, however, were more violent than the Tories. The firſt were irritated at their want of influence with a Prince who had aſcended, upon their principles, the throne. The latter had, in ſome degree, forgot their objections to the title of Wil-

[j] Journals, Oct. 22. [k] Oct. 27. [l] Nov. 6. [m] Dec. 24.

CHAP. X. 1691.

liam, in his obvious attachment to the high prerogatives of the crown.

Unpopularity of the King.

IN clogging the meaſures of government, the diſcontented among the two parties ſtood upon popular grounds. They railed againſt continental connexions, they argued for exerting the force of the nation at ſea, they took advantage of the impolitic preference given by the King to his own countrymen, the Dutch, they added their force to the general diſguſt which his forbidding manner had ſpread among the Engliſh officers and nobility [n]. Though William could have been no ſtranger to theſe diſcontents, he took little pains to gain the eſteem of the nation. He ſhut himſelf up all day. His cloſet was almoſt inacceſſible. The few whom he received to an audience were more diſguſted at his habitual ſilence, than if they had been denied admiſſion to his preſence [o]. When he dined in public with his Dutch officers and favourites, his Engliſh ſubjects were excluded from his table. The firſt nobility ſtood behind him unnoticed, or retired in ſilence and diſguſt [p]. He entered, in a manner unſuitable to his dignity, into the quarrels between the royal ſiſters. He treated the Earl of Marlborough, who had deſerved much at his hands, with coldneſs and contempt; becauſe that nobleman and his lady were in high favour with the Princeſs of Denmark [q]. The King, however, ought not to be altogether blamed for a conduct which ſeemed impolitic. The Whigs, who had raiſed him to the throne, ſoured his temper by their rudeneſs and preſumption [r]; and he ſuſpected, that the Tories were ready to make uſe of his favours againſt his authority.

An oppoſition in parliament.

THE views of oppoſition extended farther than to the poſſeſſion of power. They adopted, however, the true intereſt, and

[n] Burnet, vol. iii.
[o] Ibid.
[p] MS. 1689.
[q] Burnet, vol. iii.
[r] Secret Hiſt. of one Year.

favoured

favoured the prejudices of the nation, to give weight to their arguments. They extended their inquiries to the management of the war at ſea in the preceding ſummer. Many, who were diſpleaſed at the diſgrace thrown on Torrington, to gratify the Dutch, ſhewed an inclination to animadvert upon the inactivity of Ruſſel, who had ſucceeded him in the command of the fleet. Ruſſel exculpated himſelf, by laying the blame on the government. The commons turned their inquiries from the navy to the army. They detected frauds in the muſters. They found miſapplications of money in the accounts of contingencies. In examining into the abuſes of civil offices, they came to a reſolution agreeable to the people, but diſtreſsful to government. They voted, that all the profits ariſing from every place under the crown, above five hundred pounds, ſhould be applied to the charge of the war[s]. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the judges, miniſters at foreign courts, and the officers of the fleet and army, were excepted. The miniſtry, alarmed at this formidable reſolve, made ſome members of the houſe ſenſible, by places and penſions, that the propoſed reformation was contrary to their own intereſt[t]. New exceptions were made; and even the reſolve itſelf, at length, was dropt.

CHAP. X. 1691.

Their proceedings.

THIS politic mode of convincing the moſt obſtinate members, ſmoothed the paſſage of the ſupplies through the lower houſe. The grants amounted to more than three millions, for the ſervice of the ſucceeding year. Though the Iriſh pacification diſpleaſed the nation, little animadverſion was made upon that important meaſure in parliament. To facilitate the execution of the terms granted by Ginckle, a bill was introduced, early in the ſeſſion[u], for abrogating the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance in Ireland. The oaths of fidelity and allegiance taken in England were ſubſtituted in their place. On a bill for regulating trials in caſes of

[s] Dec. 12. [t] Burnet, vol. iii. [u] Oct. 28.

high

CHAP. X. 1691.

high treaſon, a difference happened between the two houſes of parliament. The commons diſapproved of an alteration made by the lords in the forms of their own trials. Conference followed conference. Both parties were obſtinate, and the bill was loſt. The affairs of the Eaſt-India company engroſſed a great part of the attention of the commons in the preſent ſeſſion. Several merchants petitioned againſt the company, and their allegations, after repeated replies, were conſidered as ſufficiently proved. The commons brought in a bill [x], upon various reſolutions, for the eſtabliſhment of a new Eaſt-India company. The debates continued three weeks. The houſe, at length, addreſſed the King to diſſolve the preſent company, and to conſtitute another, according to the powers reſerved in their charter. William demanded time to anſwer. He ſeemed inclined to countenance the company; and the whole affair was laid before the privy-council.

William embarks for Holland.

THOUGH the oppoſition ſuffered the ſupplies to paſs through the houſe of commons, they carried ſome bills that were diſagreeable to the King. A bill was brought in, and paſſed by the two houſes, for aſcertaining the ſalaries and commiſſions of the judges. It deprived the King of the power of ſtopping the former, or annulling the latter, except for miſbehaviour in office, or a perverſion of juſtice. William was not of a complexion to yield any part of the power which the prerogatives of the crown had placed in his hands. He peremptorily refuſed his aſſent to a bill highly ſuitable to thoſe principles which had placed him on the throne. On the twenty-ninth of February, he adjourned the parliament with a ſpeech, in which he warmly thanked the commons for their great ſupplies. He acquainted the two houſes of his intention of going beyond ſea [y]. He ordered them to adjourn themſelves to the twelfth of April. To gratify the Tories, whom he found to be the beſt friends of his power, he admitted the Earls of

[x] Jan. 16, 1692. [y] Journals, Feb. 29.

Rocheſter

CHAP. X.

Rocheſter and Ranelagh, the Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour, into the privy-council [z]. Seymour ſucceeded Sir John Lowther, another Tory, at the board of treaſury; and Cornwallis was conſtituted, in the room of the Earl of Pembroke, a commiſſioner of the admiralty. Theſe men had uniformly oppoſed his meaſures, diſputed his title, and reflected on his conduct [a]; but he forgot, however, their avowed diſlike to his perſon, in their attachment to the prerogative of the crown. He embarked, on the fifth of March, for Holland, having devolved the adminiſtration of affairs, as uſual, upon the Queen [b].

1691.

1692. Affairs of Scotland.

AN action of unexampled barbarity diſgraced, in Scotland, the government of William, in the commencement of the year 1692. In the preceding Auguſt, in conſequence of the pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been iſſued to ſuch inſurgents as ſhould take the oaths to the King and Queen on or before the laſt day of December. The chiefs of the few tribes who had been in arms for James, complied, ſoon after, with the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glenco; and even HE failed in ſubmitting within the limited time, more from accident than deſign. In the end of December he came to Colonel Hill, who commanded the garriſon in Fort-William, to take the oaths of allegiance to the government. Hill, having furniſhed Macdonald with a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, ſheriff of the county of Argyle, directed him to repair immediately to Inverary, to make his ſubmiſſion, in a legal manner, before that magiſtrate. The way to Inverary lay acroſs almoſt impaſſable mountains. The ſeaſon was extremely rigorous, and the whole country covered with a deep ſnow. So eager, however, was Macdonald to take the oaths, before the limited time ſhould expire, that, though the road lay within half a mile of his own houſe, he would not ſtop to viſit his family. After various obſtructions,

[z] Kennet. [a] Burnet, vol. iii. [b] Kennet. vol. iii.

he

CHAP. X. 1692.

he arrived at Inverary. But the time being elapſed, the ſheriff heſitated to receive his ſubmiſſion. Macdonald, however, prevailed at laſt over his ſcruples, with importunities, and even with tears [c].

Maſſacre

Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, a man of profligate principles, attended King William, as ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland. Taking advantage of Macdonald's neglecting to take the oaths within the time preſcribed, he procured from the King a warrant of military execution againſt him and his whole tribe. As a mark of his own eagerneſs, or to ſave Dalrymple, William ſigned the warrant, both above and below, with his own hand. The ſecretary, in letters expreſſive of a brutal ferocity of mind, urged the military officers who commanded in the Highlands to execute their orders with the utmoſt rigour. Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in the Earl of Argyle's regiment, and two ſubalterns, were ordered, with one hundred and twenty men, to repair to Glenco on the firſt of February. Campbell, being uncle to young Macdonald's wife, was received by the father with friendſhip and hoſpitality. The men were treated in the houſes of his tenants with free quarters and kind entertainment. Till the thirteenth of February, the troops lived in good humour and familiarity with the people. The officers themſelves, on the very night of the maſſacre, paſſed the evening and played at cards in Macdonald's houſe. In the night, Lieutenant Lindſay, with a party of ſoldiers, called in a friendly manner at his door. He was inſtantly admitted. Macdonald, as he was riſing from his bed to receive his gueſt, was ſhot dead behind with two bullets, which entered the back part of his head. His wife had already put on her clothes; but ſhe was ſtript naked by the ſoldiers, who tore the rings from her fingers with their teeth [d].

[c] Inquiry into the Maſſacre of Glenco. State Tracts, vol. iii. [d] Ibid.

The

CHAP. X. 1692. of Glenco.

THE ſlaughter now became general. To prevent the pity of the ſoldiers to their hoſts, their quarters had been changed the night before. Neither age nor infirmity was ſpared. Some women, in defending their children, were killed. Boys, imploring mercy, were ſhot by officers, on whoſe knees they hung. In one place, nine perſons, as they ſat enjoying themſelves at table, were ſhot dead by the ſoldiers. The aſſaſſins are even ſaid to have made a ſport of death. At Inverrigen, in Campbell's own quarters, nine men were firſt bound by the ſoldiers, then ſhot at intervals, one by one. Near forty perſons were maſſacred by the troops. Several, who fled to the mountains, periſhed by faming and the inclemency of the ſeaſon. Thoſe who eſcaped owed their lives to a tempeſtuous night. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had the charge of the execution from Dalrymple, was on his march with four hundred men, to occupy all the paſſes which led from the valley of Glenco. He was obliged to ſtop by the ſeverity of the weather, which proved the ſafety of the unfortunate tribe. He entered the valley the next day. He laid all the houſes in aſhes, and carried away all the cattle and ſpoil, which were divided among the officers and ſoldiers *.

Obſervations.

ALL Europe, as well as Britain, was ſhocked at the particulars of a maſſacre, at once barbarous, impolitic, and inhuman. The rigour of the warrant, the circumſtances of its execution, the maſk of friendſhip under which an unſuſpecting and unarmed people were butchered by ſoldiers, could ſcarce be exaggerated by the enemies of William, or defended by his friends. The blame was laid by the latter on the miniſter. They affirmed, that the King, ever ſlow in tranſacting buſineſs †, had ſigned the warrant, among other papers, without inquiry. Some, with a mixture of abſurdity and injuſtice, defended the meaſure itſelf, as conſiſtent

* State Trials, vol. iii. † Burnet, vol. iii.

CHAP. X. 1692.

with the laws of Scotland. Others averred, that the officers extended their rigour beyond the letter of their orders. Though the opponents of William owned, that he was inſtigated to the meaſure by Dalrymple, they would not allow that he could be ignorant of the contents of a paper, which, apparently to ſcreen his ſecretary, he had ſigned both above and below. Warrants of fire and ſword, they acknowledged, had been often granted in Scotland; but they were ſeldom executed with any degree of rigour, and never againſt men who were not at the time actually in arms. If the troops exceeded their orders, a point by no means clear, the King, they ſaid, in approving afterwards of their conduct, made their cauſe his own. He would not permit the actors in this tragedy to be puniſhed. He even promoted the moſt active, and diſtinguiſhed them with his favour [a].

[a] State Trials, vol. iii. p. 914.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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